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THE BABUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH

(MEMOIRS OF BĀBUR).

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The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

BY

Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*

50579

Translated from the original Turki Text

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE.

Issued in Four Fasciculi :—Farghana 1912 — Kabul 1914—Hindustan 1917—Preface, Indices, etc. 1921.

Vol. II

SOLD BY

LUZAC & CO., 40 Great Russell Street, London.

1921

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THE MEMOIRS OF BABUR

SECTION III. HINDŪSTĀN

AH.—OCT. 18TH 1525 TO OCT. 8TH 1526 AD.[1]

Fifth expedition into Hindūstān.)

Nov. 17th) On Friday the 1st of the month of Ṣafar at the 932, the Sun being in the Sign of the Archer, we set out Hindūstān, crossed the small rise of Yak-langa, and dis- nted in the meadow to the west of the water of Dih-i-ya'qūb.[2] du'l-malūk the armourer came into this camp; he had gone n or eight months earlier as my envoy to Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān Kāshghar), and now brought one of the Khān's men, styled ngī Beg (new beg) Kūkūldāsh who conveyed letters, and

Haidarābād MS. Fol. 251*b*.

Elph. MS. f. 205*b*; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 199*b* omits the year's events on the nd that Shaikh Zain has translated them; I.O. 217 f. 174; Mems. p. 290; r's Codex p. 1084.
considerable amount of reliable textual material for revising the Hindūstān on of the English translation of the *Bābur-nāma* is wanting through loss of pages the Elphinstone Codex; in one instance no less than an equivalent of 36 folios e Haidarābād Codex are missing (f. 356 *et seq.*), but to set against this loss there e valuable *per contra* that Kehr's manuscript throughout the section becomes of antial value, losing its Persified character and approximating closely to the true of the Elphinstone and Haidarābād Codices. Collateral help in revision is given he works specified (*in loco* p. 428) as serving to fill the gap existing in Bābur's ative previous to 932 AH. and this notably by those described by Elliot and rson. Of these last, special help in supplementary details is given for 932 AH. and of 933 AH. by Shaikh Zain [*Khawāfi*]'s *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī*, which is a highly orical paraphrase of Bābur's narrative, requiring familiarity with ornate Persian nderstand. For all my references to it, I am indebted to my husband. It may entioned as an interesting circumstance that the B. M. possesses in Or. 1999 a copy his work which was transcribed in 998 AH. by one of Khwānd-amīr's grandsons judging from its date, presumably for Abū'l-faẓl's use in the *Akbar-nāma*.
like part of the Kābul section, the Hindūstān one is in diary-form, but it is still e heavily surcharged with matter entered at a date later than the diary. It departs n the style of the preceding diary by an occasional lapse into courtly phrase and exchange of some Turkī words for Arabic and Persian ones, doubtless found ent in Hind, *e.g. fauj, dīra, manzil, khail-khāna*.
This is the Logar affluent of the Bārān-water (Kābul-river). Masson describes haltingplace (iii, 174).

small presents, and verbal messages [1] from the Khānīms and the Khān.[2]

(*Nov. 18th to 21st*) After staying two days in that camp for the convenience of the army,[3] we marched on, halted one night,[4] and next dismounted at Bādām-chashma. There we ate a confection (*ma'jūn*).

(*Nov. 22nd*) On Wednesday (Ṣafar 6th), when we had dismounted at Bārīk-āb, the younger brethren of Nūr Beg—he himself remaining in Hindūstān—brought gold *ashrafīs* and *tankas* [5] to the value of 20,000 *shāhrukhīs*, sent from the Lāhor revenues by Khwāja Ḥusain. The greater part of these moneys was despatched by Mullā Aḥmad, one of the chief men of Balkh, for the benefit of Balkh.[6]

(*Nov. 24th*) On Friday the 8th of the month (Ṣafar), after
Fol. 252. dismounting at Gandamak, I had a violent discharge;[7] by God's mercy, it passed off easily.

[1] *muḥaqqar saughāt u bīlāk* or *tīlāk*. A small verbal point arises about *bīlāk* (or *tīlāk*). *Bīlāk* is said by Quatremère to mean a gift (N. et E. xiv, 119 n.) but here *muḥaqqar saughāt* expresses gift. Another meaning can be assigned to *bīlāk* here, [one had also by *tīlāk*,] *viz.* that of word-of-mouth news or communication, sometimes supplementing written communication, possibly secret instructions, possibly small domestic details. In *bīlāk*, a gift, the root may be *bīl*, the act of knowing, in *tīlāk* it is *tīl*, the act of speaking [whence *tīl*, the tongue, and *tīl tūtmāk*, to get news]. In the sentence noted, either word would suit for a verbal communication. Returning to *bīlāk* as a gift, it may express the *nuance* of English *token*, the maker-known of friendship, affection and so-on. This differentiates *bīlāk* from *saughāt*, used in its frequent sense of ceremonial and diplomatic presents of value and importance.

[2] With Sa'īd at this time were two Khānīms Sulṭān-nigār and Daulat-sulṭān who were Bābur's maternal-aunts. Erskine suggested Khūb-nigār, but she had died in 907 AH. (f. 96).

[3] Humāyūn's non-arrival would be the main cause of delay. Apparently he should have joined before the Kābul force left that town.

[4] The halt would be at Būt-khāk, the last station before the Adīnapūr road takes to the hills.

[5] Discussing the value of coins mentioned by Bābur, Erskine says in his *History of India* (vol. i, Appendix E.) which was published in 1854 AD. that he had come to think his estimates of the value of the coins was set too low in the *Memoirs* (published in 1826 AD.). This sum of 20,000 *shāhrukhīs* he put at £1000. Cf. E. Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Dihli* and *Resources of the Mughal Empire*.

[6] One of Masson's interesting details seems to fit the next stage of Bābur's march (iii, 179). It is that after leaving Būt-khāk, the road passes what in the thirties of the 19th Century, was locally known as Bābur Pādshāh's Stone-heap (cairn) and believed piled in obedience to Bābur's order that each man in his army should drop a stone on it in passing. No time for raising such a monument could be fitter than that of the fifth expedition into Hindūstān when a climax of opportunity allowed hope of success.

[7] *rezāndalīk*. This Erskine translates, both here and on ff. 253, 254, by *defluxion*, but de Courteille by *rhume de cerveau*. Shaikh Zain supports de Courteille by writing, not *rezāndalīk*, but *nuzla*, catarrh. De Courteille, in illustration of his

(*b. Mention of the Mubīn.*[1])

From time to time before it,[2] whatever came into my head, of good or bad, grave or jest, used to be strung into verse and written down, however empty and harsh the verse might be, but while I was composing the *Mubīn*, this thought pierced through my dull wits and made way into my troubled heart, "A pity it Fol. 253. will be if the tongue which has treasure of utterances so lofty as these are, waste itself again on low words; sad will it be if again vile imaginings find way into the mind that has made exposition of these sublime realities."[3] Since that time I had refrained from satirical and jesting verse; I was repentant (*ta'īb*); but these matters were totally out of mind and remembrance when I made that couplet (on Mullā 'Alī-jān).[4] A few days later in Bīgrām when I had fever and discharge, followed by cough, and I began to spit blood each time I coughed, I knew whence my reproof came; I knew what act of mine had brought this affliction on me.

"Whoever shall violate his oath, will violate it to the hurt of his own soul; but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with God, to that man surely will He give great reward" (*Qorān* cap. 48 v. 10).

(*Turkī*) What is it I do with thee, ah! my tongue?
My entrails bleed as a reckoning for thee.
Good once[5] as thy words were, has followed this verse
Jesting, empty,[6] obscene, has followed a lie.
If thou say, "Burn will I not!" by keeping this vow
Thou turnest thy rein from this field of strife.[7]

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[1] The *Mubīn* (*q.v.* Index) is mentioned again and quoted on f. 351*b*. In both places its name escaped the notice of Erskine and de Courteille, who here took it for *mīn*, I, and on f. 351*b* omitted it, matters of which the obvious cause is that both translators were less familiar with the poem than it is now easy to be. There is amplest textual warrant for reading *Mubīn* in both the places indicated above; its reinstatement gives to the English and French translations what they have needed, namely, the clinch of a definite stimulus and date of repentance, which was the influence of the Mubīn in 928 AH. (1521–2 AD.). The whole passage about the peccant verse and its fruit of contrition should be read with others that express the same regret for broken law and may all have been added to the diary at the same time, probably in 935 AH. (1529 AD.). They will be found grouped in the Index *s.n.* Bābur.

[2] *mūndīn būrūn*, by which I understand, as the grammatical construction will warrant, *before writing the Mubīn*. To read the words as referring to the peccant verse, is to take the clinch off the whole passage.

[3] *i.e.* of the *Qorān* on which the *Mubīn* is based.

[4] Dropping down-stream, with wine and good company, he entirely forgot his good resolutions.

[5] This appears to refer to the good thoughts embodied in the *Mubīn*.

[6] This appears to contrast with the "sublime realities" of the *Qorān*.

[7] In view of the interest of the passage, and because this verse is not in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*, as are many contained in the Hindūstān section, the Turkī original is

"O Lord! we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; if Thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those that perish"[1] (*Qorān* cap. 7 v. 22).

Taking anew the place of the penitent pleading for pardon, I gave my mind rest[2] from such empty thinking and such unlawful occupation. I broke my pen. Made by that Court, such reproof of sinful slaves is for their felicity; happy are the high, and the slave when such reproof brings warning and its profitable fruit.

(*c. Narrative resumed.*)

(*Dec. 8th continued*) Marching on that evening, we dismounted at 'Alī-masjid. The ground here being very confined, I always
Fol. 253*b*. used to dismount on a rise overlooking the camp in the valley-bottom.[3] The camp-fires made a wonderful illumination there at night; assuredly it was because of this that there had always been drinking there, and was so now.

(*Dec. 9th and 10th*) To-day I rode out before dawn; I preferred a confection (*ma'jūn*)[4] and also kept this day a fast. We dismounted near Bīgrām (Peshāwar); and next morning, the camp remaining on that same ground, rode to Karg-awī.[5] We crossed the Siyāh-āb in front of Bīgrām, and formed our hunting-circle looking down-stream. After a little, a person brought

quoted. My translation differs from those of Mr. Erskine and M. de Courteille; all three are tentative of a somewhat difficult verse.

Nī qīlā mīn sīnīng bīla āī tīl?
Jihatīng dīn mīnīng aīchīm qān dūr.
Nīcha yakhshī dīsāng bū hazl aīla shi'r
Bīrī-sī faḥash ū bīrī yālghān dūr.
Gar dīsāng kūīmā mīn, bū jazm bīla
Jalāu'īngnī bū 'arṣa dīn yān dūr.

[1] The Qorān puts these sayings into the mouths of Adam and Eve.

[2] Ḥai. MS. *tīndūrūb*; Ilminsky, p. 327, *yāndūrūb*; W.-i-B. I.O. 217, f. 175, *sard sākhta*.

[3] Of 'Alī-masjid the *Second Afghān War* (official account) has a picture which might be taken from Bābur's camp.

[4] Shaikh Zain's list of the drinking-days (f. 252 note) explains why sometimes Bābur says he preferred *ma'jūn*. In the instances I have noticed, he does this on a drinking-day; the preference will be therefore for a confection over wine. December 9th was a Saturday and drinking-day; on it he mentions the preference; Tuesday Nov. 21st was a drinking day, and he states that he ate *ma'jūn*.

[5] presumably the *karg-khāna* of f. 222*b*, rhinoceros-home in both places. A similar name applies to a tract in the Rawalpindi District,—Bābur-khāna, Tiger-home, which is linked to the tradition of Buddha's self-sacrifice to appease the hunger of seven tiger-cubs. [In this Bābur-khāna is the town Kacha-kot from which Bābur always names the river Hārū.]

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word that there was a rhino in a bit of jungle near Bīgrām, and that people had been stationed near-about it. We betook ourselves, loose rein, to the place, formed a ring round the jungle, made a noise, and brought the rhino out, when it took its way across the plain. Humāyūn and those come with him from that side (Tramontana), who had never seen one before, were much entertained. It was pursued for two miles; many arrows were shot at it; it was brought down without having made good set at man or horse. Two others were killed. I had often wondered how a rhino and an elephant would behave if brought face to face; this time one came out right in front of some elephants the mahauts were bringing along; it did not face them Fol. 254. when the mahauts drove them towards it, but got off in another direction.

(*d. Preparations for ferrying the Indus.*[1])

On the day we were in Bīgrām, several of the begs and household were appointed, with pay-masters and dīwāns, six or seven being put in command, to take charge of the boats at the Nīl-āb crossing, to make a list of all who were with the army, name by name, and to count them up.

That evening I had fever and discharge[2] which led on to cough and every time I coughed, I spat blood. Anxiety was great but, by God's mercy, it passed off in two or three days.

(*Dec. 11th*) It rained when we left Bīgrām; we dismounted on the Kābul-water.

(*e. News from Lāhor.*)

News came that Daulat Khān[3] and (Apāq) Ghāzī Khān, having collected an army of from 20 to 30,000, had taken Kilānūr, and intended to move on Lāhor. At once Mumin-i-'alī the commissary was sent galloping off to say, "We are advancing march by march;[4] do not fight till we arrive."

[1] This is the first time on an outward march that Bābur has crossed the Indus by boat; hitherto he has used the ford above Attock, once however specifying that men on foot were put over on rafts.

[2] f. 253.

[3] In my Translator's Note (p. 428), attention was drawn to the circumstance that Bābur always writes Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail*, and not Daulat Khān *Lūdī*. In doing this, he uses the family- or clan-name instead of the tribal one, Lūdī.

[4] *i.e.* day by day.

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(*Dec. 14th*) With two night-halts on the way, we reached the water of Sind (Indus), and there dismounted on Thursday the 28th (of Ṣafar).

(*f. Ferrying the Indus.*)

(*Dec. 16th*) On Saturday the 1st of the first Rabī', we crossed the Sind-water, crossed the water of Kacha-kot (Hārū), and dismounted on the bank of the river.[1] The begs, pay-masters and dīwāns who had been put in charge of the boats, reported that the number of those come with the army, great and small, good and bad, retainer and non-retainer, was written down as 12,000.

(*g. The eastward march.*)

The rainfall had been somewhat scant in the plains, but
Fol. 254*b*. seemed to have been good in the cultivated lands along the hill-skirts; for these reasons we took the road for Siālkot along the skirt-hills. Opposite Hātī *Kakar's* country[2] we came upon a torrent[3] the waters of which were standing in pools. Those pools were all frozen over. The ice was not very thick, as thick as the hand may-be. Such ice is unusual in Hindūstān; not a sign or trace of any was seen in the years we were (*aīdūk*) in the country.[4]

We had made five marches from the Sind-water; after the sixth (*Dec. 22nd*—Rabī' I. 7th) we dismounted on a torrent in the camping-ground (*yūrt*) of the Bugiāls[5] below Balnāth Jogī's hill which connects with the Hill of Jūd.

[1] *daryā*, which Bābur's precise use of words *e.g.* of *daryā*, *rūd*, and *sū*, allows to apply here to the Indus only.

[2] Presumably this was near Parhāla, which stands, where the Sūhān river quits the hills, at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky gorge a mile in length. It will have been up this gorge that Bābur approached Parhāla in 925 AH. (Rawalpindi Gazetteer p. 11).

[3] *i.e.* here, bed of a mountain-stream.

[4] The Elphinstone Codex here preserves the following note, the authorship of which is attested by the scribe's remark that it is copied from the handwriting of Humāyūn Pādshāh:—As my honoured father writes, we did not know until we occupied Hindūstān (932 AH.), but afterwards did know, that ice does form here and there if there come a colder year. This was markedly so in the year I conquered Gujrāt (942 AH.–1535 AD.) when it was so cold for two or three days between Bhūlpūr and Guālīār that the waters were frozen over a hand's thickness.

[5] This is a Kakar (Gakkhar) clan, known also as Baragowah, of which the location in Jahāngīr Pādshāh's time was from Rohtās to Hātya, *i.e.* about where Bābur encamped (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge, p. 97; E. and D. vi, 309; Provincial Gazetteers of Rawalpindi and Jihlam, p. 64 and p. 97 respectively).

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(*Dec. 23rd*) In order to let people get provisions, we stayed the next day in that camp. *'Araq* was drunk on that day. Mullā Muḥ. *Pargharī* told many stories; never had he been so talkative. Mullā Shams himself was very riotous; once he began, he did not finish till night.

The slaves and servants, good and bad, who had gone out after provisions, went further than this [1] and heedlessly scattered over jungle and plain, hill and broken ground. Owing to this, a few were overcome; Kīchkīna *tūnqiṭār* died there.

(*Dec. 24th*) Marching on, we crossed the Bihat-water at a ford below Jīlam (Jīhlam) and there dismounted. Walī *Qīzīl* (Rufus) came there to see me. He was the Sīālkot reserve, and held the parganas of Bīmrūkī and Akrīāda. Thinking about Sīālkot, Fol. 255. I took towards him the position of censure and reproach. He excused himself, saying "I had come to my *pargana* before Khusrau Kūkūldāsh left Sīālkot; he did not even send me word." After listening to his excuse, I said, "Since thou hast paid no attention to Sīālkot, why didst thou not join the begs in Lāhor?" He was convicted, but as work was at hand, I did not trouble about his fault.

(*h. Scouts sent with orders to Lāhor.*)

(*Dec. 25th*) Sayyid Ṭūfān and Sayyid Lāchīn were sent galloping off, each with a pair-horse,[2] to say in Lāhor, "Do not join battle; meet us at Sīālkot or Parsrūr" (mod. Pasrūr). It was in everyone's mouth that Ghāzī Khān had collected 30 to 40,000 men, that Daulat Khān, old as he was, had girt two swords to his waist, and that they were resolved to fight. Thought I, "The proverb says that ten friends are better than nine; do you not make a mistake: when the Lāhor begs have joined you, fight there and then!"

(*Dec. 26th and 27th*) After starting off the two men to the begs, we moved forward, halted one night, and next dismounted on the bank of the Chīn-āb (Chan-āb).

[1] *āndīn aūtūb*, a reference perhaps to going out beyond the corn-lands, perhaps to attempt for more than provisions.

[2] *qūsh-āt*, a led horse to ride in change.

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As Buhlūlpūr was *khalṣa*,[1] we left the road to visit it. Its fort is situated above a deep ravine, on the bank of the Chīn-āb. It pleased us much. We thought of bringing Sīālkot to it. Please God! the chance coming, it shall be done straightway!

Fol. 255*b*. From Buhlūlpūr we went to camp by boat.

(*i. Jats and Gujūrs.*[2])

(*Dec. 29th*) On Friday the 14th of the first Rabī' we dismounted at Sīālkot. If one go into Hindūstān the Jats and Gujūrs always pour down in countless hordes from hill and plain for loot in bullock and buffalo. These ill-omened peoples are just senseless oppressors! Formerly their doings did not concern us much because the country was an enemy's, but they began the same senseless work after we had taken it. When we reached Sīālkot, they fell in tumult on poor and needy folks who were coming out of the town to our camp, and stripped them bare. I had the silly thieves sought for, and ordered two or three of them cut to pieces.

From Sīālkot Nūr Beg's brother Shāham also was made to gallop off to the bēgs in Lāhor to say, "Make sure where the enemy is; find out from some well-informed person where he may be met, and send us word."

A trader, coming into this camp, represented that 'Ālam Khān had let Sl. Ibrāhīm defeat him.

[1] According to Shaikh Zain it was in this year that Bābur made Buhlūlpūr a royal domain (B.M. Add. 26,202 f. 16), but this does not agree with Bābur's explanation that he visited the place because it was *khalṣa*. Its name suggests that it had belonged to Buhlūl *Lūdī*; Bābur may have taken it in 930 AH. when he captured Sīālkot. It never received the population of Sīālkot, as Bābur had planned it should do because pond-water was drunk in the latter town and was a source of disease. The words in which Bābur describes its situation are those he uses of Akhsī (f. 4*b*); not improbably a resemblance inclined his liking towards Buhlūlpūr. (It may be noted that this Buhlūlpūr is mentioned in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* and marked on large maps, but is not found in the G. of I. 1907.)

[2] Both names are thus spelled in the *Bābur-nāma*. In view of the inclination of Turkī to long vowels, Bābur's short one in Jat may be worth consideration since modern usage of Jat and Jāt varies. Mr. Crooke writes the full vowel, and mentions that Jāts are Hindūs, Sikhs, and Muḥammadans (*Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Oude*, iii, 38). On this point and on the orthography of the name, Erskine's note (*Memoirs* p. 294) is as follows: "The Jets or Jats are the Muḥammadan peasantry of the Panj-āb, the bank of the Indus, Sīwistān *etc.* and must not be confounded with the Jāts, a powerful Hindū tribe to the west of the Jamna, about Agra *etc.* and which occupies a subordinate position in the country of the Rājpūts."

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(j. 'Ālam Khān's action and failure.[1])

Here are the particulars :—'Ālam Khān, after taking leave of me (in Kābul, 931AH.), went off in that heat by double marches, regardless of those with him.[2] As at the time I gave him leave to go, all the Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns had laid siege to Balkh, Fol. 256. I rode for Balkh as soon as I had given him his leave. On his reaching Lāhor, he insisted to the begs, "You reinforce me; the Pādshāh said so; march along with me; let us get (Apāq) Ghāzī Khān to join us; let us move on Dihlī and Āgra." Said they, "Trusting to what, will you join Ghāzī Khān? Moreover the royal orders to us were, 'If at any time Ghāzī Khān has sent his younger brother Ḥājī Khān with his son to Court, join him; or do so, if he has sent them, by way of pledge, to Lāhor; if he has done neither, do not join him.' You yourself only yesterday fought him and let him beat you! Trusting to what, will you join him now? Besides all this, it is not for your advantage to join him!" Having said what-not of this sort, they refused 'Ālam Khān. He did not fall in with their views, but sent his son Sher Khān to speak with Daulat Khān and with Ghāzī Khān, and afterwards all saw one another.

'Ālam Khān took with him Dilāwar Khān, who had come into Lāhor two or three months earlier after his escape from prison; he took also Maḥmūd Khān (son of) Khān-i-jahān,[3] to

[1] The following section contains a later addition to the diary summarizing the action of 'Ālam Khān before and after Bābur heard of the defeat from the trader he mentions. It refutes an opinion found here and there in European writings that Bābur used and threw over 'Ālam Khān. It and Bābur's further narrative shew that 'Ālam Khān had little valid backing in Hindūstān, that he contributed nothing to Bābur's success, and that no abstention by Bābur from attack on Ibrāhīm would have set 'Ālam Khān on the throne of Dihlī. It and other records, Bābur's and those of Afghān chroniclers, allow it to be said that if 'Ālam Khān had been strong enough to accomplish his share of the compact that he should take and should rule Dihlī, Bābur would have kept to his share, namely, would have maintained supremacy in the Panj-āb. He advanced against Ibrāhīm only when 'Ālam Khān had totally failed in arms and in securing adherence.

[2] This objurgation on over-rapid marching looks like the echo of complaint made to Bābur by men of his own whom he had given to 'Ālam Khān in Kābul.

[3] Maḥmūd himself may have inherited his father's title Khān-i-jahān but a little further on he is specifically mentioned as the son of Khān-i-jahān, presumably because his father had been a more notable man than he was. Of his tribe it may be noted that the Ḥaidarābād MS. uniformly writes Nuḥānī and not Luḥānī as is usual in European writings, and that it does so even when, as on f. 149*b*, the word is applied to a trader. Concerning the tribe, family, or caste *vide* G. of I. *s.n.* Lohānas and Crooke *l.c. s.n.* Pathān, para. 21.

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whom a *pargana* in the Lāhor district had been given. They seem to have left matters at this:—Daulat Khān with Ghāz Khān was to take all the begs posted in Hindūstān to himself, indeed he was to take everything on that side;[1] while 'Ālam
Fol. 256*b*. Khān was to take Dilāwar Khān and Hājī Khān and, reinforced by them, was to capture Dihlī and Āgra. Ismā'īl *Jilwānī* and other amīrs came and saw 'Ālam Khān; all then betook themselves, march by march, straight for Dihlī. Near Indri came also Sulaimān Shaikh-zāda.[2] Their total touched 30 to 40,000 men.

They laid siege to Dihlī but could neither take it by assault nor do hurt to the garrison.[3] When Sl. Ibrāhīm heard of their assembly, he got an army to horse against them; when they heard of his approach, they rose from before the place and moved to meet him. They had left matters at this:—"If we attack by day-light, the Afghāns will not desert (to us), for the sake of their reputations with one another; but if we attack at night when one man cannot see another, each man will obey his own orders." Twice over they started at fall of day from a distance of 12 miles (6 *kurohs*), and, unable to bring matters to a point, neither advanced nor retired, but just sat on horseback for two or three watches. On a third occasion they delivered an attack when one watch of night remained—their purpose seeming to be the burning of tents and huts! They went; they set fire from every end; they made a disturbance. Jalāl Khān *Jig-hat*[4] came with other amīrs and saw 'Ālam Khān.

Sl. Ibrāhīm did not bestir himself till shoot of dawn from where he was with a few of his own family[5] within his own enclosure (*sarācha*). Meantime 'Ālam Khān's people were busy
Fol. 257. with plunder and booty. Seeing the smallness of their number, Sl. Ibrāhīm's people moved out against them in rather small

[1] *i.e.* west of Dihlī territory, the Panj-āb.

[2] He was of the Farmul family of which Bābur says (f. 139*b*) that it was in high favour in Hindūstān under the Afghāns and of which the author of the *Wāqi'āt-i-mushtāqī* says that it held half the lands of Dihlī in *jāgīr* (E. and D. iv, 547).

[3] Presumably he could not cut off supplies.

[4] The only word similar to this that I have found is one "Jaghat" said to mean serpent and to be the name of a Hindū sub-caste of Nats (Crooke, iv, 72 & 73). The word here might be a nick-name. Bābur writes it as two words.

[5] *khaṣa-khail*, presumably members of the Sāhū-khail (family) of the Lūdī tribe of the Afghān race.

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force with one elephant. 'Ālam Khān's party, not able to make stand against the elephant, ran away. He in his flight crossed over into the Mīān-dū-āb and crossed back again when he reached the Pānīpat neighbourhood. In Indrī he contrived on some pretext to get 4 *laks* from Mīān Sulaimān.[1] He was deserted by Ismā'īl *Jilwānī*, by Biban [2] and by his own oldest son Jalāl, who all withdrew into the Mīān-dū-āb; and he had been deserted just before the fighting, by part of his troops, namely, by Daryā Khān (*Nūḥānī*)'s son Saif Khān, by Khān-i-jahān (*Nūḥānī*)'s son Maḥmūd Khān, and by Shaikh Jamāl *Farmulī*. When he was passing through Sihrind with Dilāwar Khān, he heard of our advance and of our capture of Milwat (Malot).[3] On this Dilāwar Khān—who always had been my well-wisher and on my account had dragged out three or four months in prison,—left 'Ālam Khān and the rest and went to his family in Sulṭānpūr. He waited on me three or four days after we took Milwat. 'Ālam Khān and Ḥājī Khān crossed the Shatlut (*sic*)-water and went into Gingūta,[4] one of the strong-holds in the range that lies between the valley and the plain.[5] There our Afghān and Hazāra[6] troops besieged them, and had Fol. 257*b*. almost taken that strong fort when night came on. Those inside were thinking of escape but could not get out because of the press of horses in the Gate. There must have been elephants also; when these were urged forward, they trod down and killed many horses. 'Ālam Khān, unable to escape mounted, got out on foot in the darkness. After a *lak* of difficulties, he joined Ghāzī Khān, who had not gone into Milwat but had fled into the

[1] Erskine suggested that this man was a rich banker, but he might well be the Farmulī Shaikh-zāda of f. 256*b*, in view of the exchange Afghān historians make of the Farmulī title Shaikh for Mīān (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D. iv, 347 and *Tārīkh-i-daudī* ib. 457).

[2] This Biban, or Bīban, as Bābur always calls him without title, is Malik Biban *Jilwānī*. He was associated with Shaikh Bāyazīd *Farmulī* or, as Afghān writers style him, Mīān Bāyazīd *Farmulī*. (Another of his name was Mīān Biban, son of Mīān Ātā *Sāhū-khail* (E. & D. iv, 347).)

[3] This name occurs so frequently in and about the Panj-āb as to suggest that it means a fort (Ar. *maluzat*?). This one in the Siwāliks was founded by Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (*Lūdī*) in the time of Buhlūl *Lūdī* (E. and D. iv, 415).

[4] In the Beth Jalandhar *dū-āb*.

[5] *i.e.* on the Siwāliks, here locally known as Katār Dhār.

[6] Presumably they were from the Hazāra district east of the Indus. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* mentions that this detachment was acting under Khalīfa apart from Bābur and marching through the skirt-hills (lith. ed. p. 182).

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hills. Not being received with even a little friendliness by Ghāzī Khān; needs must! he came and waited on me at the foot of the dale[1] near Pehlūr.

(*k. Diary resumed.*)

A person came to Sīālkot from the Lāhor begs to say they would arrive early next morning to wait on me.

(*Dec. 30th*) Marching early next day (Rabī' I. 15th), we dismounted at Parsrūr. There Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Khwāja Ḥusain, and several braves waited on me. As the enemy's camp seemed to be on the Lāhor side of the Rāvī, we sent men out under Būjka for news. Near the third watch of the night they brought word that the enemy, on hearing of us, had fled, no man looking to another.

(*Dec. 31st*) Getting early to horse and leaving baggage and train in the charge of Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Jān Beg, we bestirred ourselves. We reached Kalānūr in the afternoon, and there dismounted. Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā and 'Ādil Sl.[2] came
Fol. 258r. to wait on me there, together with some of the begs.

(*Jan. 1st 1526 AD.*) We marched early from Kalānūr. On the road people gave us almost certain news of Ghāzī Khān and other fugitives. Accordingly we sent, flying after those fliers, the commanders Muḥammadī, Aḥmadī, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī and most of those begs who, in Kābul, had recently bent the knee for their begship. So far it was settled:—That it would be good indeed if they could overtake and capture the fugitives; and that, if they were not able to do this, they were to keep careful watch round Milwat (Malot), so as to prevent those inside from getting out and away. Ghāzī Khān was the object of this watch.

(*l. Capture of Milwat.*)

(*Jan. 2nd and 3rd*) After starting those begs ahead, we crossed the Bīāh-water (Beas) opposite Kanwāhīn[3] and dismounted. From there we marched to the foot of the valley of Fort Milwat, making two night-halts on the way. The begs who

[1] *dūn*, f. 260 and note.
[2] These were both refugees from Harāt.
[3] Sarkār of Baṭāla, in the Bārī *dū-āb* (A.-i-A. Jarrett, p. 110).

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had arrived before us, and also those of Hindūstān were ordered to dismount in such a way as to besiege the place closely.

A grandson of Daulat Khān, son of his eldest son 'Alī Khān, Ismā'īl Khān by name, came out of Milwat to see me; he took back promise mingled with threat, kindness with menace.

(*Jan. 5th*) On Friday (Rabī' I. 21st) I moved camp forward to within a mile of the fort, went myself to examine the place, posted right, left and centre, then returned to camp.

Daulat Khān sent to represent to me that Ghāzī Khān had fled into the hills, and that, if his own faults were pardoned, he would take service with me and surrender Milwat. Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān was sent to chase fear from his heart and to escort him out; he came, and with him his son 'Ali Khān. I had ordered that the two swords he had girt to his waist to fight me with, should be hung from his neck. Was such a rustic blockhead possible! With things as they were, he still made pretensions! When he was brought a little forward, I ordered the swords to be removed from his neck. At the time of our seeing one another[1] he hesitated to kneel; I ordered them to pull his leg and make him do so. I had him seated quite in front, and ordered a person well acquainted with Hindūstānī to interpret my words to him, one after another. Said I, "Thus speak:—I called thee Father. I shewed thee more honour and respect than thou couldst have asked. Thee and thy sons I saved from door-to-door life amongst the Balūchīs.[2] Thy family and thy *ḥaram* I freed from Ibrāhīm's prison-house.[3] Three *krors* I gave thee on Tātār Khān's lands.[4] What ill sayest thou I have done thee, that thus thou shouldst hang a sword on thy either side,[5] lead an army out, fall on lands of ours,[6] and stir strife and trouble?" Dumbfounded, the old man Fol. 258*b*.

[1] *kūrūshūr waqt* (Index *s.n. kūrūsh*).

[2] Bābur's phrasing suggests beggary.

[3] This might refer to the time when Ibrāhīm's commander Bihār (Bahādur) Khān *Nūḥānī* took Lāhor (Translator's Note *in loco* p. 441).

[4] They were his father's. Erskine estimated the 3 *krors* at £75,000.

[5] *shiqq*, what hangs on either side, perhaps a satirical reference to the ass' burden.

[6] As illustrating Bābur's claim to rule as a Tīmūrid in Hindūstān, it may be noted that in 814 AH. (1411 AD.), Khiẓr Khān who is allowed by the date to have been a Sayyid ruler in Dihlī, sent an embassy to Shāhrukh Mīrzā the then Tīmūrid ruler of Samarkand to acknowledge his suzerainty (*Maṭla'u's-sa'dain*, Quatremère, N. et Ex. xiv, 196).

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Fol. 259. stuttered a few words, but he gave no answer, nor indeed could answer be given to words so silencing. He was ordered to remain with Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Saturday the 22nd of the first Rabī', I went myself to safeguard the exit of the families and *ḥarams*[1] from the fort, dismounting on a rise opposite the Gate. To me there came 'Alī Khān and made offering of a few *ashrafīs*. People began to bring out the families just before the Other Prayer. Though Ghāzi Khān was reported to have got away, there were who said they had seen him in the fort. For this reason several of the household and braves[2] were posted at the Gate, in order to prevent his escape by a ruse, for to get away was his full intention.[3] Moreover if jewels and other valuables were being taken away by stealth, they were to be confiscated. I spent that night in a tent pitched on the rise in front of the Gate.

(*Jan. 7th*) Early next morning, Muḥammadī, Aḥmadī, Sl. Junaid, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and Qūtlūq-qadam were ordered to enter the fort and take possession of all
Fol. 259*b*. effects. As there was much disturbance at the Gate, I shot off a few arrows by way of chastisement. Humāyūn's story-teller (*qiṣṣa-khwān*) was struck by the arrow of his destiny and at once surrendered his life.

(*Jan. 7th and 8th*) After spending two nights[4] on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghāzī Khān's book-room ;[5] some of the precious things found in it I gave to Humāyūn, some sent to Kāmrān (in Qandahār). There were many books of learned contents,[6] but not so many valuable ones as had at first appeared. I passed that night in the fort ; next morning I went back to camp.

(*Jan. 9th*) It had been in our minds that Ghāzī Khān was in the fort, but he, a man devoid of nice sense of honour, had

[1] Firishta says that Bābur mounted for the purpose of preserving the honour of the Afghāns and by so doing enabled the families in the fort to get out of it safely (lith. ed. p. 204).

[2] *chuhra* ; they will have been of the Corps of braves (*yīgīt* ; Appendix H. section *c*.).

[3] *kīm kullī gharẓ aūl aīdī* ; Pers. trs. *ka gharẓ-i-kullī-i-au būd*.

[4] Persice, the eves of Sunday and Monday ; Anglice, Saturday and Sunday nights.

[5] Ghāzī Khān was learned and a poet (Firishta ii, 42).

[6] *mullayāna khūd*, perhaps books of learned topic but not in choice copies.

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escaped to the hills, abandoning father, brethren and sisters in Milwat.

See that man without honour who never
The face of good luck shall behold;
Bodily ease he chose for himself,
In hardship he left wife and child (*Gulistān* cap. i, story 17).

(*Jan. 10th*) Leaving that camp on Wednesday, we moved towards the hills to which Ghāzī Khān had fled. When we dismounted in the valley-bottom two miles from the camp in the mouth of Milwat,[1] Dilāwar Khān came and waited on me. Daulat Khān, 'Alī Khān and Ismā'īl Khān, with other chiefs, were given into Kitta Beg's charge who was to convey them to the Bhīra fort of Milwat (Malot),[2] and there keep guard over Fol. 260. them. In agreement with Dilāwar Khān, blood-ransom was fixed for some who had been made over each to one man; some gave security, some were kept prisoner. Daulat Khān died when Kitta Beg reached Sultānpūr with the prisoners.[3]

Milwat was given into the charge of Muh. 'Alī *Jang-jang* who, pledging his own life for it, left his elder brother Arghūn and a party of braves in it. A body of from 200 to 250 Afghāns were told off to reinforce him.

Khwāja Kalān had loaded several camels with Ghaznī wines. A party was held in his quarters overlooking the fort and the whole camp, some drinking *'araq*, some wine. It was a varied party.

(*m. Jaswān-valley.*)

Marching on, we crossed a low hill of the grazing-grounds (*argha-dāl-līq*) of Milwat and went into the *dūn*, as Hindūstānīs

[1] f. 257. It stands in 31° 50′ N. and 76° E. (G. of I.).

[2] This is on the Salt-range, in 32° 42′ N. and 72° 50′ E. (*Āyīn-i-akbarī* trs. Jarrett, ii, 325; Provincial Gazetteer, Jihlam District).

[3] He died therefore in the town he himself built. Kitta Beg probably escorted the Afghān families from Milwat also; Dilāwar Khān's own seems to have been there already (f. 257).

The *Bābur-nāma* makes no mention of Daulat Khān's relations with Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, nor does it mention Nānak himself. A tradition exists that Nānak, when on his travels, made exposition of his doctrines to an attentive Bābur and that he was partly instrumental in bringing Bābur against the Afghāns. He was 12 years older than Bābur and survived him nine. (Cf. *Dabistān* lith. ed. p. 270; and, for Jahāngīr Pādshāh's notice of Daulat Khān, *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge, p. 87).

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are understood to call a dale (*julga*).[1] In this dale is a running-water[2] of Hindūstān; along its sides are many villages; and it is said to be the parganā of the Jaswāl, that is to say, of Dilāwar Khān's maternal uncles. It lies there shut-in, with meadows along its torrent, rice cultivated here and there, a three or four mill-stream flowing in its trough, its width from two to
Fol. 260*b*. four miles, six even in places, villages on the skirts of its hills—hillocks they are rather—where there are no villages, peacocks, monkeys, and many fowls which, except that they are mostly of one colour, are exactly like house-fowls.

As no reliable news was had of Ghāzī Khān, we arranged for Tardīka to go with Bīrīm Deo *Malinhās* and capture him wherever he might be found.

In the hills of this dale stand thoroughly strong forts; one on the north-east, named Kūtila, has sides 70 to 80 yards (*qārī*) of straight fall, the side where the great gate is being perhaps 7 or 8 yards.[3] The width of the place where the draw-bridge is made, may be 10 to 12 yards. Across this they have made a bridge of two tall trees[4] by which horses and herds are taken over. This was one of the local forts Ghāzī Khān had strengthened; his man will have been in it now. Our raiders (*chāpqūnchī*) assaulted it and had almost taken it when night came on. The garrison abandoned this difficult place and went off. Near this dale is also the stronghold of Ginguta; it is girt

[1] I translate *dūn* by *dale* because, as its equivalent, Bābur uses *julga* by which he describes a more pastoral valley than one he calls a *dara*.

[2] *bīr āqār-sū*. Bābur's earlier uses of this term [*q.v.* index] connect it with the swift flow of water in irrigation channels; this may be so here but also the term may make distinction between the rapid mountain-stream and the slow movement of rivers across plains.

[3] There are two readings of this sentence; Erskine's implies that the neck of land connecting the fort-rock with its adjacent hill measures 7–8 *qārī* (yards) from side to side; de Courteille's that where the great gate was, the perpendicular *fall* surrounding the fort shallowed to 7–8 yards. The Turkī might be read, I think, to mean whichever alternative was the fact. Erskine's reading best bears out Bābur's account of the strength of the fort, since it allows of a cleft between the hill and the fort some 140–160 feet deep, as against the 21–24 of de Courteille's. Erskine may have been in possession of information [in 1826] by which he guided his translation (p. 300), "At its chief gate, for the space of 7 or 8 *gez* (*qārī*), there is a place that admits of a draw-bridge being thrown across; it may be 10 or 12 *gez* wide." If de Courteille's reading be correct in taking 7–8 *qārī* only to be the depth of the cleft, that cleft may be artificial.

[4] *yīghāch*, which also means wood.

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round by precipices as Kūtila is, but is not so strong as Kūtila. As has been mentioned 'Ālam Khān went into it.[1] Fol. 261.

(n. Bābur advances against Ibrāhīm.)

After despatching the light troop against Ghāzī Khān, I put my foot in the stirrup of resolution, set my hand on the rein of trust in God, and moved forward against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Buhlūl *Lūdī Afghān*, in possession of whose throne at that time were the Dihlī capital and the dominions of Hindūstān, whose standing-army was called a *lak* (100,000), whose elephants and whose begs' elephants were about 1000.

At the end of our first stage, I bestowed Dībālpūr on Bāqī *shaghāwal*[2] and sent him to help Balkh[3]; sent also gifts, taken in the success of Milwat, for (my) younger children and various train in Kābul.

When we had made one or two marches down the (Jaswān) *dūn*, Shāh 'Imād *Shīrāzī* arrived from Araish Khān and Mullā Muḥammad *Mazhab*,[4] bringing letters that conveyed their good wishes for the complete success of our campaign and indicated their effort and endeavour towards this. In response, we sent, by a foot-man, royal letters expressing our favour. We then marched on.

[1] f. 257.

[2] chief scribe (f. 13 n. to 'Abdu'l-wahhāb). Shaw's Vocabulary explains the word as meaning also a "high official of Central Asian sovereigns, who is supreme over all *qāzīs* and *mullās*.

[3] Bābur's persistent interest in Balkh attracts attention, especially at this time so shortly before he does not include it as part of his own territories (f. 270).

Since I wrote of Balkh *s.a.* 923 AH. (1517 AD.), I have obtained the following particulars about it in that year; they are summarized from the *Ḥabību's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 371). In 923 AH. Khwānd-amīr was in retirement at Pasht in Ghūrjistān where also was Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā. The two went in company to Balkh where the Mīrzā besieged Bābur's man Ibrāhīm *chāpūk* (Slash-face), and treacherously murdered one Aūrdū-shāh, an envoy sent out to parley with him. Information of what was happening was sent to Bābur in Kābul. Bābur reached Balkh when it had been besieged a month. His presence caused the Mīrzā to retire and led him to go into the Darā-i-gaz (Tamarind-valley). Bābur, placing in Balkh Faqīr-i-'alī, one of those just come up with him, followed the Mīrzā but turned back at Āq-gumbaz (White-dome) which lies between Chāch-charān in the Heri-rūd valley and the Ghūrjistān border, going no further because the Ghūrjistānīs favoured the Mīrzā. Bābur went back to Kābul by the Fīrūz-koh, Yaka-aūlāng (cf. f. 195) and Ghūr; the Mīrzā was followed up by others, captured and conveyed to Kābul.

[4] Both were amīrs of Hind. I understand the cognomen Mazhab to imply that its bearer occupied himself with the Muḥammadan Faith in its exposition by divines of Islām (*Hughes' Dictionary of Islām*).

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(*o. 'Ālam Khān takes refuge with Bābur.*)

The light troop we had sent out from Milwat (Malot), took Hurūr, Kahlūr and all the hill-forts of the neighbourhood—places to which because of their strength, no-one seemed to have gone for a long time—and came back to me after plundering a little. Came also 'Ālam Khān, on foot, ruined, stripped bare. We sent some of the begs to give him honourable meeting, sent horses too, and he waited (*malāzamat qīldī*) in that
Fol. 261*b*. neighbourhood.[1]

Raiders of ours went into the hills and valleys round-about, but after a few nights' absence, came back without anything to count. Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Jān Beg and a few of the braves asked leave and went off for a raid.

(*p. Incidents of the march for Pānī-pat.*)

While we were in the (Jaswān) *dūn*, dutiful letters had come more than once from Ismā'īl *Jilwānī* and Biban; we replied to them from this place by royal letters such as their hearts desired. After we got out of the dale to Rūpar, it rained very much and became so cold that a mass of starved and naked Hindūstānīs died.

When we had left Rūpar and were dismounted at Karal,[2] opposite Sihrind, a Hindūstānī coming said, "I am Sl. Ibrāhīm's envoy," and though he had no letter or credentials, asked for an envoy from us. We responded at once by sending one or two Sawādī night-guards (*tunqiṭār*).[3] These humble persons Ibrāhīm put in prison; they made their escape and came back to us on the very day we beat him.

After having halted one night on the way, we dismounted on the bank of the torrent[4] of Banūr and Sanūr. Great rivers

[1] These incidents are included in the summary of 'Ālam Khān's affairs in section *i* (f. 255*b*). It will be observed that Bābur's wording implies the "waiting" by one of lower rank on a superior.

[2] Elph. MS. Karnāl, obviously a clerical error.

[3] Shaikh Sulaimān Effendi (Kunos) describes a *tunqiṭār* as the guardian in war of a prince's tent; a night-guard; and as one who repeats a prayer aloud while a prince is mounting.

[4] *rūd*, which, inappropriate for the lower course of the Ghaggar, may be due to Bābur's visit to its upper course described immediately below. As has been noted, however, he uses the word *rūd* to describe the empty bed of a mountain-stream as well as the swift water sometimes filling that bed. The account, here-following, of his visit to the upper course of the Ghaggar is somewhat difficult to translate.

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apart, one running water there is in Hindūstān, is this[1]; they call it the water of Kakar (Ghaggar). Chitr also is on its bank. We rode up it for an excursion. The rising-place (*zih*) of the water of this torrent (*rūd*) is 3 or 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.) above Chitr. Going up the (Kakar) torrent, we came to where a 4 or 5 mill-stream issues from a broad (side-)valley (*dara*), up which there Fol. 262. are very pleasant places, healthy and convenient. I ordered a Chār-bāgh to be made at the mouth of the broad valley of this (tributary) water, which falls into the (Kakar-) torrent after flowing for one or two *kurohs* through level ground. From its infall to the springs of the Kakar the distance may be 3 to 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.). When it comes down in flood during the rains and joins the Kakar, they go together to Sāmāna and Sanām.[2]

In this camp we heard that Sl. Ibrāhīm had been on our side of Dihlī and had moved on from that station, also that Ḥamīd Khān *khāṣa-khail*,[3] the military-collector (*shiqdār*) of Ḥiṣār-fīrūza, had left that place with its army and with the army of its neighbourhood, and had advanced 10 or 15 *kurohs* (20–30 m.). Kitta Beg was sent for news to Ibrāhīm's camp, and Mumin Ātaka to the Ḥiṣār-fīrūza camp.

(*q. Humāyūn moves against Ḥamīd Khān.*)

(*Feb. 25th*) Marching from Ambāla, we dismounted by the side of a lake. There Mumin Ātāka and Kitta Beg rejoined us, both on the same day, Sunday the 13th of the first Jumāda.

We appointed Humāyūn to act against Ḥamīd Khān, and joined the whole of the right (wing) to him, that is to say, Khwāja Kalān, Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, Treasurer Walī, and also some of the begs whose posts were in Hindūstān, namely, Khusrau, Hindū Beg, 'Abdu'l-'azīz and Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, with also, from the household and braves of the centre, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Kitta Beg and Muḥibb-i 'alī. Fol. 262*b*.

[1] *Hindūstāndā daryālārdīn bāshqa, bīr āqār-sū kīm bār* (*dūr*, is added by the Elph. MS.), *bū dūr*. Perhaps the meaning is that the one (chief?) irrigation stream, apart from great rivers, is the Ghaggar. The bed of the Ghaggar is undefined and the water is consumed for irrigation (G. of I. xx, 33; Index *s.n. āqār-sū*).

[2] in Patiāla. Maps show what may be Bābur's strong millstream joining the Ghaggar.

[3] Presumably he was of Ibrāhīm's own family, the Sāhū-khail. His defeat was opportune because he was on his way to join the main army.

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Biban waited on me in this camp. These Afghāns remain very rustic and tactless! This person asked to sit although Dilāwar Khān, his superior in following and in rank, did not sit, and although the sons of 'Ālam Khān, who are of royal birth, did not sit. Little ear was lent to his unreason!

(*Feb. 26th*) At dawn on Monday the 14th Humāyūn moved out against Ḥamīd Khān. After advancing for some distance, he sent between 100 and 150 braves scouting ahead, who went close up to the enemy and at once got to grips. But when after a few encounters, the dark mass of Humāyūn's troops shewed in the rear, the enemy ran right away. Humāyūn's men unhorsed from 100 to 200, struck the heads off one half and brought the other half in, together with 7 or 8 elephants.

(*March 2nd*) On Friday the 18th of the month, Beg Mīrak *Mughūl* brought news of Humāyūn's victory to the camp. He (Humāyūn?) was there and then given a special head-to-foot and a special horse from the royal stable, besides promise of guerdon (*juldū*).

(*March 5th*) On Monday the 25th of the month, Humāyūn arrived to wait on me, bringing with him as many as 100 prisoners and 7 or 8 elephants. Ustād 'Alī-qulī and the
Fol. 263. matchlockmen were ordered to shoot all the prisoners, by way of example. This had been Humāyūn's first affair, his first experience of battle; it was an excellent omen!

Our men who had gone in pursuit of the fugitives, took Ḥiṣār-fīrūza at once on arrival, plundered it, and returned to us. It was given in guerdon to Humāyūn, with all its dependencies and appurtenances, with it also a *kror* of money.

We marched from that camp to Shāhābād. After we had despatched a news-gatherer (*tīl-tūtār kīshī*) to Sl. Ibrāhīm's camp, we stayed a few days on that ground. Raḥmat the foot-man was sent with the letters of victory to Kābul.

(*r. News of Ibrāhīm.*)

(*March 13th*) On Monday the 28th of the first Jumāda,[1] we being in that same camp, the Sun entered the Sign of the Ram.

[1] At this place the Elphinstone Codex has preserved, interpolated in its text, a note of Humāyūn's on his first use of the razor. Part of it is written as by Bābur :—

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News had come again and again from Ibrāhīm's camp, "He is coming, marching two miles" or "four miles", "stopping in each camp two days," or "three days". We for our part advanced from Shāhābād and after halting on two nights, reached the bank of the Jūn-river (Jumna) and encamped opposite Sarsāwa. From that ground Khwāja Kalān's servant Ḥaidar-qulī was sent to get news (*tīl tūtā*).

Having crossed the Jūn-river at a ford, I visited Sarsāwa. That day also we ate *ma'jūn*. Sarsāwa[1] has a source (*chashma*) from which a smallish stream issues, not a bad place! Tardī Beg *khāksār* praising it, I said, "Let it be thine!" so just because he praised it, Sarsāwa was given to him! Fol. 263*b*.

I had a platform fixed in a boat and used to go for excursions on the river, sometimes too made the marches down it. Two marches along its bank had been made when, of those sent to gather news, Ḥaidar-qulī brought word that Ibrāhīm had sent Daud Khān (*Lūdī*) and Ḥātim Khān (*Lūdī*) across the river into the Mīān-dū-āb (Tween-waters) with 5 or 6000 men, and that these lay encamped some 6 or 7 miles from his own.

(*s. A successful encounter.*)

(*April 1st*) On Sunday the 18th of the second Jumāda, we sent, to ride light against this force, Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān,[2]

"Today in this same camp the razor or scissors was applied to Humāyūn's face." Part is signed by Humāyūn:—"As the honoured dead, earlier in these Acts (*wāqi'āt*) mentions the first application of the razor to his own face (f. 120), so in imitation of him I mention this. I was then at the age of 18; now I am at the age of 48, I who am the sub-signed Muḥammad Humāyūn." A scribe's note attests that this is "copied from the hand-writing of that honoured one". As Humāyūn's 48th (lunar) birthday occurred a month before he left Kābul, to attempt the re-conquest of Hindūstān, in November 1554 AD. (in the last month of 961 AH.), he was still 48 (lunar) years old on the day he re-entered Dihlī on July 23rd 1555 AD. (Ramẓān 1st 962 AH.), so that this "shaving passage" will have been entered within those dates. That he should study his Father's book at that time is natural; his grandson Jahāngīr did the same when going to Kābul; so doubtless would do its author's more remote descendants, the sons of Shāh-jahān who reconquered Transoxiana.

(Concerning the "shaving passage" *vide* the notes on the Elphinstone Codex in JRAS. 1900 p. 443, 451; 1902 p. 653; 1905 p. 754; and 1907 p. 131.)

[1] This ancient town of the Sahāranpūr district is associated with a saint revered by Hindūs and Muḥammadans. Cf. W. Crooke's *Popular Religion of Northern India* p. 133. Its *chashma* may be inferred (from Bābur's uses of the word *q.v.* Index) as a water-head, a pool, a gathering place of springs.

[2] He was the eighth son of Bābur's maternal-uncle Sl. Aḥmad Khān *Chaghatāī* and had fled to Bābur, other brothers following him, from the service of their eldest brother Manṣūr, Khāqān of the Mughūls (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. p. 161).

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Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān, and the whole of the left, namely, Sl. Junaid, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Qūtlūq-qadam, and with them also sent 'Abdu'l-lāh and Kitta Beg (of the centre). They crossed from our side of the water at the Mid-day Prayer, and between the Afternoon and the Evening Prayers bestirred themselves from the other bank. Biban having crossed the water on pretext of this movement, ran away.

(*April 2nd*) At day-break they came upon the enemy;[1] he made as if coming out in a sort of array, but our men closed with his at once, overcame them, hustled them off, pursued and unhorsed them till they were opposite Ibrāhīm's own camp. Ḥātim Khān was one of those unhorsed, who was Daud Khān (*Lūdī*)'s elder brother and one of his commanders. Our men brought him in when they waited on me. They brought also
Fol. 264. 60–70 prisoners and 6 or 7 elephants. Most of the prisoners, by way of warning, were made to reach their death-doom.

(*t. Preparations for battle.*)

While we were marching on in array of right, left and centre, the army was numbered;[2] it did not count up to what had been estimated.

At our next camp it was ordered that every man in the army should collect carts, each one according to his circumstances. Seven hundred carts (*arāba*) were brought[3] in. The order given

[1] *farz-waqtī*, when there is light enough to distinguish one object from another.

[2] *dīm kūrūldī* (Index *s.n. dīm*). Here the L. & E. *Memoirs* inserts an explanatory passage in Persian about the *dīm*. It will have been in one of the *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī MSS.* Erskine used; it is in Muḥ. *Shīrāzī*'s lithograph copy of the Udaipūr Codex (p. 173). It is not in the Turkī text or in all the MSS. of the Persian translation. Manifestly, it was entered at a time when Bābur's term *dīm kūrūldī* requires explanation in Hindustan. The writer of it himself does not make details clear; he says only, "It is manifest that people declare (the number) after counting the mounted army in the way agreed upon amongst them, with a whip or a bow held in the hand." This explanation suggests that in the march-past the troops were measured off as so many bow- or whip-lengths (Index *s.n. dīm*).

[3] These *arāba* may have been the baggage-carts of the army and also carts procured on the spot. Erskine omits (*Memoirs* p. 304) the words which show how many carts were collected and from whom. Doubtless it would be through not having these circumstances in his mind that he took the *arāba* for gun-carriages. His incomplete translation, again, led Stanley Lane-Poole to write an interesting note in his *Bābur* (p. 161) to support Erskine against de Courteille (with whose rendering mine agrees) by quoting the circumstance that Humāyūn had 700 guns at Qanauj in 1540 AD. It must be said in opposition to his support of Erskine's "gun-carriages" that there is no textual or circumstantial warrant for supposing Bābur to have had guns, even if

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to Ustād 'Alī-qulī was that these carts should be joined together in Ottoman[1] fashion, but using ropes of raw hide instead of chains, and that between every two carts 5 or 6 mantelets should be fixed, behind which the matchlockmen were to stand to fire. To allow of collecting all appliances, we delayed 5 or 6 days in that camp. When everything was ready, all the begs with such braves as had had experience in military affairs were summoned to a General Council where opinion found decision at this :— Pānī-pat[2] is there with its crowded houses and suburbs. It would be on one side of us ; our other sides must be protected by carts and mantelets behind which our foot and matchlockmen would stand. With so much settled we marched forward, halted one night on the way, and reached Pānī-pat on Thursday the last day (29th) of the second Jumāda (April 12th).

(*u. The opposed forces.*)

On our right was the town of Pānī-pat with its suburbs ; in front of us were the carts and mantelets we had prepared ; on our left and elsewhere were ditch and branch. At distances of Fol. 264*b*. an arrow's flight[3] sally-places were left for from 100 to 200 horsemen.

Some in the army were very anxious and full of fear. Nothing recommends anxiety and fear. For why ? Because what God has fixed in eternity cannot be changed. But though this is so, it was no reproach to be afraid and anxious. For why ? Because those thus anxious and afraid were there with a two or three months' journey between them and their homes ; our affair was

made in parts, in such number as to demand 700 gun-carriages for their transport. What guns Bābur had at Pānī-pat will have been brought from his Kābul base ; if he had acquired any, say from Lāhor, he would hardly omit to mention such an important reinforcement of his armament ; if he had brought many guns on carts from Kābul, he must have met with transit-difficulties harassing enough to chronicle, while he was making that long journey from Kābul to Pānī-pat, over passes, through skirt-hills and many fords. The elephants he had in Bīgrām may have been his transport for what guns he had ; he does not mention his number at Pānī-pat ; he makes his victory a bow-man's success ; he can be read as indicating that he had two guns only.

[1] These Ottoman (text, *Rūmī*, Roman) defences Ustād 'Alī-qulī may have seen at the battle of Chāldirān fought some 40 leagues from Tābrīz between Sl. Salīm *Rūmī* and Shāh Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* on Rajab 1st 920 AH. (Aug. 22nd 1514 AD.). Of this battle Khwānd-amīr gives a long account, dwelling on the effective use made in it of chained carts and palisades (*Ḥabību's-siyar* iii, part 4, p. 78 ; *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 241).

[2] Is this the village of the Pānī Afghāns ?

[3] Index *s.n.* arrow.

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with a foreign tribe and people; none knew their tongue, nor did they know ours :—

A wandering band, with mind awander;
In the grip of a tribe, a tribe unfamiliar.[1]

People estimated the army opposing us at 100,000 men; Ibrāhīm's elephants and those of his amīrs were said to be about 1000. In his hands was the treasure of two forbears.[2] In Hindūstān, when work such as this has to be done, it is customary to pay out money to hired retainers who are known as *b:d-hindī*.[3] If it had occurred to Ibrāhīm to do this, he might have had another *lak* or two of troops. God brought it right! Ibrāhīm could neither content his braves, nor share out his treasure. How should he content his braves when he was ruled by avarice and had a craving insatiable to pile coin on coin? He was an unproved brave[4]; he provided nothing for his
Fol. 265. military operations, he perfected nothing, nor stand, nor move, nor fight.

In the interval at Pānī-pat during which the army was preparing defence on our every side with cart, ditch and branch, Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* had once said to me, "With such precautions taken, how is it possible for him to come?" Said I, "Are you likening him to the Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns?

[1] *Pareshān jam'ī u jam'ī pareshān;*
Giriftār qaumī u qaumī 'ajā'ib.
These two lines do not translate easily without the context of their original place of occurrence. I have not found their source.

[2] *i.e.* of his father and grandfather, Sikandar and Buhlūl.

[3] As to the form of this word the authoritative MSS. of the Turkī text agree and with them also numerous good ones of the Persian translation. I have made careful examination of the word because it is replaced or explained here and there in MSS. by *s:hb:ndī*, the origin of which is said to be obscure. The sense of *b:d-hindī* and of *s:hb:ndī* is the same, *i.e.* irregular levy. The word as Bābur wrote it must have been understood by earlier Indian scribes of both the Turkī and Persian texts of the *Bābur-nāma*. Some light on its correctness may be thought given by Hobson Jobson (Crooke's ed. p. 136) *s.n.* Byde or Bede Horse, where the word Byde is said to be an equivalent of *pindārī*, *lūtī*, and *qāzzāq*, raider, plunderer, so that Bābur's word *b:d-hindī* may mean *qāzzāq* of Hind. Wherever I have referred to the word in many MSS. it is pointed to read *b:d*, and not *p:d*, thus affording no warrant for understanding *pad*, foot, foot-man, infantry, and also negativing the spelling *bīd*, *i.e.* with a long vowel as in *Byde*.

It may be noted here that Muḥ. *Shīrāzī* (p. 174) substituted *s:ḥḍ:ndī* for Bābur's word and that this led our friend the late William Irvine to attribute mistake to de Courteille who follows the Turkī text (*Army of the Mughūls* p. 66 and *Mémoires* ii, 163).

[4] *bī tajarba yīgīt aīdī* of which the sense may be that Bābur ranked Ibrāhīm, as a soldier, with a brave who has not yet proved himself deserving of the rank of beg. It cannot mean that he was a youth (*yīgīt*) without experience of battle.

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In what of movement under arms or of planned operations is he to be compared with them?" God brought it right! Things fell out just as I said!

(*Author's note on the Aūzbeg chiefs.*) When I reached Hiṣār in the year I left Samarkand (918 AH.–1512 AD.), and all the Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns gathered and came against us, we brought the families and the goods of the Mughūls and soldiers into the Hiṣār suburbs and fortified these by closing the lanes. As those khāns and sulṭāns were experienced in equipment, in planned operations, and in resolute resistance, they saw from our fortification of Hiṣār that we were determined on life or death within it, saw they could not count on taking it by assault and, therefore, retired at once from near Nūndāk of Chaghānīān.

(*v. Preliminary encounters.*)

During the 7 or 8 days we lay in Pānī-pat, our men used to go, a few together, close up to Ibrāhīm's camp, rain arrows down on his massed troops, cut off and bring in heads. Still he made Fol. 265*b*. no move; nor did his troops sally out. At length, we acted on the advice of several Hindūstānī well-wishers and sent out 4 or 5000 men to deliver a night-attack on his camp, the leaders of it being Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Khusrau, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master of the Horse, Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī, Khalīfa's Muḥibb-i-'alī, Pay-master Muḥammad, Jān Beg and Qarā-qūzī. It being dark, they were not able to act together well, and, having scattered, could effect nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrāhīm's camp till dawn, when the nagarets sounded and troops of his came out in array with elephants. Though our men did not do their work, they got off safe and sound; not a man of them was killed, though they were in touch with such a mass of foes. One arrow pierced Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*'s leg; though the wound was not mortal, he was good-for-nothing on the day of battle.

On hearing of this affair, I sent off Humāyūn and his troops to go 2 or 3 miles to meet them, and followed him myself with the rest of the army in battle-array. The party of the night-attack joined him and came back with him. The enemy making no further advance, we returned to camp and dismounted. That night a false alarm fell on the camp; for some 20 minutes (one *garī*) there were uproar and call-to-arms; the disturbance died down after a time. Fol. 266.

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(*w. Battle of Pānī-pat.*[1])

(*April 20th*) On Friday the 8th of Rajab,[2] news came, when it was light enough to distinguish one thing from another (*farẓ-waqtī*) that the enemy was advancing in fighting-array. We at once put on mail,[3] armed and mounted.[4] Our right was Humāyūn, Khwāja Kalān, Sulṭān Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, Hindū Beg, Treasurer Walī and Pīr-qulī *Sīstānī*; our left was Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Mahdī Khwāja, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Jān Beg, Pay-master Muḥammad, and Shah Ḥusain (of) Yāragī *Mughūl Ghānchī* (?).[5] The right hand of the centre[6] was Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, Sulaimān Mīrzā,[7] Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī, Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* and 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalīfa, Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān, Secretary Aḥmadī, Tardī Beg (brother) of Qūj Beg, Khalīfa's Muḥibb-i-'alī and Mīrzā Beg Tarkhān. The advance was Khusrau Kūkūldāsh and Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*. 'Abdu'l-'azīz

[1] Well-known are the three decisive historical battles fought near the town of Pānī-pat, *viz.* those of Bābur and Ibrāhīm in 1526, of Akbar and Hīmū in 1556, and of Aḥmad *Abdālī* with the Mahratta Confederacy in 1761. The following lesser particulars about the battle-field are not so frequently mentioned :—(*i*) that the scene of Bābur's victory was long held to be haunted, Badāyūnī himself, passing it at dawn some 62 years later, heard with dismay the din of conflict and the shouts of the combatants; (*ii*) that Bābur built a (perhaps commemorative) mosque one mile to the n.e. of the town ; (*iii*) that one of the unaccomplished desires of Sher Shāh *Sūr*, the conqueror of Bābur's son Humāyūn, was to raise two monuments on the battle-field of Pānī-pat, one to Ibrāhīm, the other to those Chaghatāī sulṭāns whose martyrdom he himself had brought about ; (*iv*) that in 1910 AD. the British Government placed a monument to mark the scene of Shāh *Abdālī's* victory of 1761 AD. This monument would appear, from Sayyid Ghulām-i-'alī's *Nigār-nāma-i-hind*, to stand close to the scene of Bābur's victory also, since the Mahrattas were entrenched as he was outside the town of Pānī-pat. (Cf. E. & D. viii, 401.)

[2] This important date is omitted from the L. & E. *Memoirs*.

[3] This wording will cover armour of man and horse.

[4] *ātlāndūk*, Pers. trs. *sūwār shudīm*. Some later oriental writers locate Bābur's battle at two or more miles from the town of Pānī-pat, and Bābur's word *ātlāndūk* might imply that his cavalry rode forth and arrayed outside his defences, but his narrative allows of his delivering attack, through the wide sally-ports, after arraying behind the carts and mantelets which checked his adversary's swift advance. The Mahrattas, who may have occupied the same ground as Bābur, fortified themselves more strongly than he did, as having powerful artillery against them. Aḥmad Shāh *Abdālī's* defence against them was an ordinary ditch and *abbattis*, [Bābur's ditch and branch,] mostly of *dhāk* trees (*Butea frondosa*), a local product Bābur also is likely to have used.

[5] The preceding three words seem to distinguish this Shāh Ḥusain from several others of his name and may imply that he was the son of *Yāragī Mughūl Ghānchī* (Index and I.O. 217 f. 184*b* l. 7).

[6] For Bābur's terms *vide* f. 209*b*.

[7] This is Mīrzā Khān's son, *i.e.* Wais *Mīrān-shāhī's*.

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the Master of the Horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning-party (*tūlghuma*) at the point of the right wing,[1] we fixed on Red Walī and Malik Qāsim (brother) of Bābā *Qashqa*, with their Mughūls; for the turning-party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qarā-qūzī, Abū'l-muḥammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamāl *Bārīn's* Shaikh 'Alī, Mahndī (?) and Tīngrī-bīrdī *Bashaghī* (?) *Mughūl*; these two parties, directly the enemy got near, were to turn his rear, one from the right, the other from the left. Fol. 266*b*.

When the dark mass of the enemy first came in sight, he seemed to incline towards our right; 'Abdu'l-'azīz, who was the right-reserve, was sent therefore to reinforce the right. From the time that Sl. Ibrāhīm's blackness first appeared, he moved swiftly, straight for us, without a check, until he saw the dark mass of our men, when his pulled up and, observing our formation and array,[2] made as if asking, "To stand or not? To advance or not?" They could not stand; nor could they make their former swift advance.

Our orders were for the turning-parties to wheel from right and left to the enemy's rear, to discharge arrows and to engage in the fight; and for the right and left (wings) to advance and join battle with him. The turning-parties wheeled round and began to rain arrows down. Mahdī Khwāja was the first of the left to engage; he was faced by a troop having an elephant with it; his men's flights of arrows forced it to retire. To reinforce the left I sent Secretary Aḥmadī and also Qūj Beg's Tardī Beg and Khalīfa's Muḥibb-i-'alī. On the right also there was some stubborn fighting. Orders were given for Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-lāh to engage those facing them in front of the centre. From that same position Ustād 'Alī-qulī made good discharge of *firingī* shots;[3]

[1] A dispute for this right-hand post of honour is recorded on f. 100*b*, as also in accounts of Culloden.

[2] *tartīb u yāsāl*, which may include, as Erskine took it to do, the carts and mantelets; of these however, Ibrāhīm can hardly have failed to hear before he rode out of camp.

[3] f. 217*b* and note; Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughuls* p. 133. Here Erskine notes (*Mems.* p. 306) "The size of these artillery at this time is very uncertain. The word *firingī* is now (1826 AD.) used in the Deccan for a swivel. At the present day, *zarb-zan* in common usage is a small species of swivel. Both words in Bābur's time

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Mustafa the commissary for his part made excellent discharge
Fol. 267. of *zarb-zan* shots from the left hand of the centre. Our right, left, centre and turning-parties having surrounded the enemy, rained arrows down on him and fought ungrudgingly. He made one or two small charges on our right and left but under our men's arrows, fell back on his own centre. His right and left hands (*qūl*) were massed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us nor force a way for flight.

When the incitement to battle had come, the Sun was spear-high; till mid-day fighting had been in full force; noon passed, the foe was crushed in defeat, our friends rejoicing and gay. By God's mercy and kindness, this difficult affair was made easy for us! In one half-day, that armed mass was laid upon the earth. Five or six thousand men were killed in one place close to Ibrāhīm. Our estimate of the other dead, lying all over the field, was 15 to 16,000, but it came to be known, later in Āgra from the statements of Hindūstānīs, that 40 or 50,000 may have died in that battle.[1]

The foe defeated, pursuit and unhorsing of fugitives began. Our men brought in amīrs of all ranks and the chiefs they captured; *mahauts* made offering of herd after herd of elephants.

Ibrāhīm was thought to have fled; therefore, while pursuing
Fol. 267*b*. the enemy, we told off Qismatāī Mīrzā, Bābā *chuhra* and Būjka of the *khaṣa-tābīn*[2] to lead swift pursuit to Āgra and try to take him. We passed through his camp, looked into his own enclosure (*sarācha*) and quarters, and dismounted on the bank of standing-water (*qarā-sū*).

appear to have been used for field-cannon." (For an account of guns, intermediate in date between Bābur and Erskine, *see* the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*. Cf. f. 264 n. on the carts (*arāba*).)

[1] Although the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afaghāna* is not weighty its reproduction of Afghān opinion is worth consideration. It says that astrologers foretold Ibrāhīm's defeat; that his men, though greatly outnumbering Bābur's, were out-of-heart through his ill-treatment of them, and his amīrs in displeasure against him, but that never-the-less, the conflict at Pānī-pat was more desperate than had ever been seen. It states that Ibrāhīm fell where his tomb now is (*i.e.* in *circa* 1002 AH.–1594 AD.); that Bābur went to the spot and, prompted by his tender heart, lifted up the head of his dead adversary, and said, "Honour to your courage!", ordered brocade and sweetmeats made ready, enjoined Dilāwar Khān and Khalīfa to bathe the corpse and to bury it where it lay (E. & D. v, 2). Naturally, part of the reverence shewn to the dead would be the burial together of head and trunk.

[2] f. 209*b* and App. H. section *c*. Bābā *chuhra* would be one of the corps of braves.

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It was the Afternoon Prayer when Khalīfa's younger brother-in-law Ṭāhir Tībrī [1] who had found Ibrāhīm's body in a heap of dead, brought in his head.

(*x. Detachments sent to occupy Dihlī and Āgra.*)

On that very same day we appointed Humāyūn Mīrzā [2] to ride fast and light to Āgra with Khwāja Kalān, Muḥammadī, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī, 'Abdu'l-lah and Treasurer Walī, to get the place into their hands and to mount guard over the treasure. We fixed on Mahdī Khwāja, with Muḥammad Sl. Mīrza, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and Qūtlūq-qadam to leave their baggage, make sudden incursion on Dihlī, and keep watch on the treasuries.[3]

(*April 21st*) We marched on next day and when we had gone 2 miles, dismounted, for the sake of the horses, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna).

(*April 24th*) On Tuesday (Rajab 12th), after we had halted on two nights and had made the circuit of Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn *Auliyā*'s tomb [4] we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn over against Dihlī.[5] That same night, being Wednesday-eve, we made an excursion into the fort of Dihlī and there spent the night.

(*April 25th*) Next day (Wednesday Rajab 13th) I made the circuit of Khwāja Quṭbu'd-dīn's [6] tomb and visited the tombs and residences of Sl. Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn *Balban* [7] and Sl. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn

[1] He was a brother of Muhibb-i-'alī's mother.

[2] To give Humāyūn the title Mīrzā may be a scribe's lapse, but might also be a *nuance* of Bābur's, made to shew, with other *minutiae*, that Humāyūn was in chief command. The other minute matters are that instead of Humāyūn's name being the first of a simple series of commanders' names with the enclitic accusative appended to the last one (here Walī), as is usual, Humāyūn's name has its own enclitic *nī*; and, again, the phrase is "*Humāyūn with*" such and such begs, a turn of expression differentiating him from the rest. The same unusual variations occur again, just below, perhaps with the same intention of shewing chief command, there of Mahdī Khwāja.

[3] A small matter of wording attracts attention in the preceding two sentences. Bābur, who does not always avoid verbal repetition, here constructs two sentences which, except for the place-names Dihlī and Āgra, convey information of precisely the same action in entirely different words.

[4] d. 1325 AD. The places Bābur visited near Dihlī are described in the *Reports of the Indian Archaeological Survey*, in Sayyid Aḥmad's *Aṣār Sanādīd* pp. 74–85, in Keene's *Hand-book to Dihlī* and Murray's *Hand-book to Bengal etc.* The last two quote much from the writings of Cunningham and Fergusson.

[5] and on the same side of the river.

[6] d. 1235 AD. He was a native of Aūsh [Ush] in Farghāna.

[7] d. 1286 AD. He was a Slave ruler of Dihlī.

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Fol. 268. *Khiljī*,[1] his Minār, and the Ḥauẓ-shamsī, Ḥauẓ-i-khaṣ and the tombs and gardens of Sl. Buhlūl and Sl. Sikandar (*Lūdī*). Having done this, we dismounted at the camp, went on a boat, and there *'araq* was drunk.

We bestowed the Military Collectorate (*shiqdārlīghī*) of Dihlī on Red Walī, made Dost Dīwān in the Dihlī district, sealed the treasuries, and made them over to their charge.

(*April 26th*) On Thursday we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn, over against Tūghlūqābād.[2]

(*y. The khuṭba read for Bābur in Dihlī.*)

(*April 27th*) On Friday (Rajab 15th) while we remained on the same ground, Maulānā Maḥmūd and Shaikh Zain went with a few others into Dihlī for the Congregational Prayer, read the *khuṭba* in my name, distributed a portion of money to the poor and needy,[3] and returned to camp.

(*April 28th*) Leaving that ground on Saturday (Rajab 16th), we advanced march by march for Āgra. I made an excursion to Tūghlūqābād and rejoined the camp.

(*May 4th*) On Friday (Rajab 22nd), we dismounted at the mansion (*manzil*) of Sulaimān *Farmulī* in a suburb of Āgra, but as the place was far from the fort, moved on the following day to Jalāl Khān *Jigr-hat's* house.

On Humāyūn's arrival at Āgra, ahead of us, the garrison had made excuses and false pretexts (about surrender). He and his noticing the want of discipline there was, said, "The long hand may be laid on the Treasury"! and so sat down to watch the roads out of Āgra till we should come.

[1] 'Alāu'u'd-dīn Muḥ. Shāh *Khiljī Turk* d. 1316 AD. It is curious that Bābur should specify visiting his Minār (*minārī*, Pers. trs. I.O. 217 f. 185*b*, *minār-i-au*) and not mention the Quṭb Minār. Possibly he confused the two. The 'Alāī Minār remains unfinished; the Quṭb is judged by Cunningham to have been founded by Quṭbu'd-dīn Aībak *Turk*, *circa* 1200 AD. and to have been completed by Sl. Shamsu'd-dīn Altamsh (Aīltimīsh?) *Turk*, *circa* 1220 AD. Of the two tanks Bābur visited, the Royal-tank (*ḥauẓ-i-khāṣ*) was made by 'Alāu'u'd-dīn in 1293 AD.

[2] The familiar Turkī word Tūghlūq would reinforce much else met with in Dihlī to strengthen Bābur's opinion that, as a Turk, he had a right to rule there. Many, if not all, of the Slave dynasty were Turks; these were followed by the Khiljī Turks, these again by the Tūghlūqs. Moreover the Panj-āb he had himself taken, and lands on both sides of the Indus further south had been ruled by Ghaznawīd Turks. His latest conquests were "where the Turk had ruled" (f. 226*b*) long, wide, and with interludes only of non-Turkī sway.

[3] Perhaps this charity was the *Khams* (Fifth) due from a victor.

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(*z. The great diamond.*)

In Sultan Ibrāhīm's defeat the Rāja of Gūāliār Bikramājīt the Hindū had gone to hell.[1] Fol. 268*b*.

*(*Author's note on Bikramājīt.*) The ancestors of Bikramājīt had ruled in Gūāliār for more than a hundred years.[2] Sikandar (*Lūdī*) had sat down in Āgra for several years in order to take the fort; later on, in Ibrāhīm's time, 'Azim Humāyūn *Sarwānī*[3] had completely invested it for some while; following this, it was taken on terms under which Shamsābād was given in exchange for it.[4]

Bikramājīt's children and family were in Āgra at the time of Ibrāhīm's defeat. When Humāyūn reached Āgra, they must have been planning to flee, but his postings of men (to watch the roads) prevented this and guard was kept over them. Humāyūn himself did not let them go (*bārghālī qūīmās*). They made him a voluntary offering of a mass of jewels and valuables amongst which was the famous diamond which 'Alāu'u'd-dīn must have brought.[5] Its reputation is that every appraiser has estimated its value at two and a half days' food for the whole world. Apparently it weighs 8 *miṣqāls*.[6] Humāyūn offered it to me when I arrived at Āgra; I just gave it him back.

(*aa. Ibrāhīm's mother and entourage.*)

Amongst men of mark who were in the fort, there were Malik Dād *Karānī*, Millī *Sūrdūk* and Fīrūz Khān *Mīwātī*. They, being convicted of false dealing, were ordered out for capital punishment. Several persons interceded for Malik Dād *Karānī* and four or five days passed in comings and goings before the

[1] Bikramājīt was a Tūnūr Rājpūt. Bābur's unhesitating statement of the Hindu's destination at death may be called a fruit of conviction, rather than of what modern opinion calls intolerance.

[2] 120 years (Cunningham's *Report of the Archaeological Survey* ii, 330 *et seq.*).

[3] The *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī* tells a good deal about the man who bore this title, and also about others who found themselves now in difficulty between Ibrāhīm's tyranny and Bābur's advance (E. & D. iv, 301).

[4] Gūāliār was taken from Bikramājīt in 1518 AD.

[5] *i.e.* from the Deccan of which 'Alāu'u'd-dīn is said to have been the first Muhammadan invader. An account of this diamond, identified as the Koh-i-nūr, is given in *Hobson Jobson* but its full history is not told by Yule or by Streeter's *Great Diamonds of the World*, neither mentioning the presentation of the diamond by Humāyūn to Taḥmāsp of which Abū'l-faẓl writes, dwelling on its overplus of payment for all that Humāyūn in exile received from his Persian host (*Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 349 and note; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1899 H. Beveridge's art. *Bābur's diamond; was it the Koh-i-nūr?*).

[6] 320 *ratīs* (Erskine). The *ratī* is 2.171 Troy grains, or in picturesque primitive equivalents, is 8 grains of rice, or 64 mustard seeds, or 512 poppy-seeds,—uncertain weights which Akbar fixed in cat's-eye stones.

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matter was arranged. We then shewed to them (all?) kindness and favour in agreement with the petition made for them, and we restored them all their goods.[1] A *pargana* worth 7 *laks*[2] was bestowed on Ibrāhīm's mother; *parganas* were given also to these begs of his.[3] She was sent out of the fort with her old servants and given encamping-ground (*yūrt*) two miles below
Fol. 269. Āgra.

(*May 10th*) I entered Āgra at the Afternoon Prayer of Thursday (Rajab 28th) and dismounted at the mansion (*manzil*) of Sl. Ibrāhīm.

EXPEDITIONS OF TRAMONTANE MUḤAMMADANS INTO HIND.

(*a. Bābur's five attempts on Hindūstān.*)

From the date 910 at which the country of Kābul was conquered, down to now (932 AH.) (my) desire for Hindūstān had been constant, but owing sometimes to the feeble counsels of begs, sometimes to the non-accompaniment of elder and younger brethren,[4] a move on Hindūstān had not been practicable and its territories had remained unsubdued. At length no such obstacles were left; no beg, great or small (*beg begāt*) of lower birth,[5] could speak an opposing word. In 925 AH. (1519 AD.) we led an army out and, after taking Bajaur by storm in 2–3 *garī* (44–66 minutes), and making a general massacre of its people, went on into Bhīra. Bhīra we neither over-ran nor plundered; we imposed a ransom on its people, taking from them in money and goods to the value

[1] Bābur's plurals allow the supposition that the three men's lives were spared. Malik Dād served him thenceforth.

[2] Erskine estimated these as *dams* and worth about £1750, but this may be an underestimate (*H. of I.* i, App. E.).

[3] "These begs of his" (or hers) may be the three written of above.

[4] These will include cousins and his half-brothers Jahāngīr and Nāṣir as opposing before he took action in 925 AH. (1519 AD.). The time between 910 AH. and 925 AH. at which he would most desire Hindūstān is after 920 AH. in which year he returned defeated from Transoxiana.

[5] *kīchīk karīm*, which here seems to make contrast between the ruling birth of members of his own family and the lower birth of even great begs still with him. Where the phrase occurs on f. 295, Erskine renders it by "down to the dregs", and de Courteille (ii, 235) by "*de toutes les bouches*" but neither translation appears to me to suit Bābur's uses of the term, inasmuch as both seem to go too low (cf. f. 270*b*).

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of 4 *laks* of *shāhrukhīs* and having shared this out to the army and auxiliaries, returned to Kābul. From then till now we laboriously held tight[1] to Hindūstān, five times leading an army into it.[2] The fifth time, God the Most High, by his own mercy and favour, made such a foe as Sl. Ibrāhīm the vanquished and loser, such a realm as Hindūstān our conquest and possession.

(*b. Three invaders from Tramontana.*)

From the time of the revered Prophet down till now[3] three men from that side[4] have conquered and ruled Hindūstān. Sl. Maḥmūd *Ghāzī*[5] was the first, who and whose descendants sat long on the seat of government in Hindūstān. Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn Fol. 269*b*. of Ghūr was the second,[6] whose slaves and dependants royally shepherded[7] this realm for many years. I am the third.

But my task was not like the task of those other rulers. For why? Because Sl. Maḥmūd, when he conquered Hindūstān, had the throne of Khurāsān subject to his rule, vassal and obedient to him were the sulṭāns of Khwārizm and the Marches (*Dāru'l-marz*), and under his hand was the ruler of Samarkand. Though his army may not have numbered 2 *laks*, what question is there that it[8] was one. Then again, rājas were his opponents; all Hindūstān was not under one supreme head (*pādshāh*), but each rāja ruled independently in his own country. Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn again, —though he himself had no rule in Khurāsān, his elder brother Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn had it. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*[9] brings it forward

[1] *aīūrūshūb*, Pers. trs. *chaspīda*, stuck to.

[2] The first expedition is fixed by the preceding passage as in 925 AH. which was indeed the first time a passage of the Indus is recorded. Three others are found recorded, those of 926, 930 and 932 AH. Perhaps the fifth was not led by Bābur in person, and may be that of his troops accompanying 'Ālam Khān in 931 AH. But he may count into the set of five, the one made in 910 AH. which he himself meant to cross the Indus. Various opinions are found expressed by European writers as to the dates of the five.

[3] Muḥammad died 632 AD. (11 AH.).

[4] Tramontana, n. of Hindū-kush. For particulars about the dynasties mentioned by Bābur see Stanley Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*.

[5] Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, a Turk by race, d. 1030 AD. (421 AH.).

[6] known as Muḥ. *Ghūrī*, d. 1206 AD. (602 AH.).

[7] *sūrūbtūrlār*, lit. drove them like sheep (cf. f. 154*b*).

[8] *khūd*, itself, not Bābur's only Hibernianism.

[9] "This is an excellent history of the Musalmān world down to the time of Sl. Nāṣir of Dihlī A.D. 1252. It was written by Abū 'Umar Minhāj al Jūrjānī. See Stewart's catalogue of Tipoo's Library, p. 7" (Erskine). It has been translated by Raverty.

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that he once led into Hindūstān an army of 120,000 men and horse in mail.[1] His opponents also were rāīs and rājas; one man did not hold all Hindūstān.

That time we came to Bhīra, we had at most some 1500 to 2000 men. We had made no previous move on Hindūstān with an army equal to that which came the fifth time, when we beat Sl. Ibrāhīm and conquered the realm of Hindūstān, the total written down for which, taking one retainer with another, and
Fol. 270. with traders and servants, was 12,000. Dependent on me were the countries of Badakhshān, Qūndūz, Kābul and Qandahār, but no reckonable profit came from them, rather it was necessary to reinforce them fully because several lie close to an enemy. Then again, all Māwarā'u'n-nahr was in the power of the Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns, an ancient foe whose armies counted up to 100,000. Moreover Hindūstān, from Bhīra to Bihār, was in the power of the Afghāns and in it Sl. Ibrāhīm was supreme. In proportion to his territory his army ought to have been 5 *laks*, but at that time the Eastern amīrs were in hostility to him. His army was estimated at 100,000 and people said his elephants and those of his amīrs were 1000.

Under such conditions, in this strength, and having in my rear 100,000 old enemies such as are the Aūzbegs, we put trust in God and faced the ruler of such a dense army and of domains so wide. As our trust was in Him, the most high God did not make our labour and hardships vain, but defeated that powerful foe and conquered that broad realm. Not as due to strength and effort of our own do we look upon this good fortune, but as had solely through God's pleasure and kindness. We know that this happiness was not the fruit of our own ambition and resolve, but that it was purely from His mercy and favour.

DESCRIPTION OF HINDŪSTĀN.

(*a. Hindūstān.*)

The country of Hindūstān is extensive, full of men, and full
Fol. 270*b*. of produce. On the east, south, and even on the west, it ends at its great enclosing ocean (*muḥiṭ daryā-sī-gha*). On the north

[1] *bargustwān-wār*; Erskine, cataphract horse.

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it has mountains which connect with those of Hindū-kush, Kāfiristān and Kashmīr. North-west of it lie Kābul, Ghaznī and Qandahār. Dihlī is held (*aīrīmīsh*) to be the capital of the whole of Hindūstān. From the death of Shihābu'd-dīn *Ghūrī* (d. 602 AH.—1206 AD.) to the latter part of the reign of Sl. Fīrūz Shāh (*Tūghlūq Turk* d. 790 AH.—1388 AD.), the greater part of Hindūstān must have been under the rule of the sulṭāns of Dihlī.

(*b. Rulers contemporary with Bābur's conquest.*)

At the date of my conquest of Hindūstān it was governed by five Musalmān rulers (*pādshāh*)[1] and two Pagans (*kāfir*). These were the respected and independent rulers, but there were also, in the hills and jungles, many rāīs and rājas, held in little esteem (*kīchīk karīm*).

First, there were the Afghāns who had possession of Dihlī, the capital, and held the country from Bhīra to Bihār. Jūnpūr, before their time, had been in possession of Sl. Ḥusain *Sharqī* (Eastern)[2] whose dynasty Hindūstānīs call Pūrabī (Eastern). His ancestors will have been cup-bearers in the presence of Sl. Fīrūz Shāh and those (Tūghlūq) sulṭāns; they became supreme in Jūnpūr after his death.[3] At that time Dihlī was in the hands of Sl. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn ('Ālam Khān) of the Sayyid dynasty to whose ancestor Tīmūr Beg had given it when, after having captured it, he went away.[4] Sl. Buhlūl *Lūdī* and his son (Sikandar) got possession of the capital Jūnpūr and the capital Dihlī, and brought both under one government (881 AH.—1476 AD.).

Secondly, there was Sl. Muḥammad Muẓaffer in Gujrāt; he departed from the world a few days before the defeat of Sl. Ibrāhīm. He was skilled in the Law, a ruler (*pādshāh*) seeking after knowledge, and a constant copyist of the Holy Book. His dynasty people call Tānk.[5] His ancestors also will have been Fol. 271.

[1] The numerous instances of the word *pādshāh* in this part of the *Bābur-nāma* imply no such distinction as attaches to the title Emperor by which it is frequently translated (Index *s.n. pādshāh*).

[2] d. 1500 AD. (905 AH.).

[3] d. 1388 AD. (790 AH.).

[4] The ancestor mentioned appears to be Naṣrat Shāh, a grandson of Fīrūz Shāh *Tūghlūq* (S. L.-Poole p. 300 and Beale, 298).

[5] His family belonged to the Rājpūt sept of Tānk, and had become Muḥammadan in the person of Sadharān the first ruler of Gujrāt (Crooke's *Tribes and Castes*; *Mirāt-i-sikandarī*, Bayley p. 67 and n.).

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wine-servers to Sl. Fīrūz Shāh and those (Tūghlūq) sulṭāns ; they became possessed of Gujrāt after his death.

Thirdly, there were the Bāhmanīs of the Dakkan (Deccan, *i.e.* South), but at the present time no independent authority is left them ; their great begs have laid hands on the whole country, and must be asked for whatever is needed.[1]

Fourthly, there was Sl. Maḥmūd in the country of Malwā, which people call also Mandāū.[2] His dynasty they call Khilīj (*Turk*). Rānā Sangā had defeated Sl. Maḥmūd and taken possession of most of his country. This dynasty also has become feeble. Sl. Maḥmūd's ancestors also must have been cherished by Sl. Fīrūz Shāh ; they became possessed of the Malwā country after his death.[3]

Fifthly, there was Naṣrat Shāh[4] in the country of Bengal. His father (Ḥusain Shah), a sayyid styled 'Alāu'u'd-dīn, had ruled in Bengal and Naṣrat Shāh attained to rule by inheritance. A surprising custom in Bengal is that hereditary succession is rare. The royal office is permanent and there are permanent offices of amīrs, wazīrs and manṣab-dārs (officials). It is the office that Bengalis regard with respect. Attached to each office is a body of obedient, subordinate retainers and servants. If the royal heart demand that a person should be dismissed
Fol. 271*b*. and another be appointed to sit in his place, the whole body of subordinates attached to that office become the (new) office-holder's. There is indeed this peculiarity of the royal office itself that any person who kills the ruler (*pādshāh*) and seats himself on the throne, becomes ruler himself; amīrs, wazīrs, soldiers and peasants submit to him at once, obey him, and recognize him for the rightful ruler his predecessor in office had been.[5] Bengalis say, "We are faithful to the throne ; we loyally

[1] S. L.-Poole p. 316–7.

[2] Mandāū (Mandū) was the capital of Malwā.

[3] Stanley Lane-Poole shews (p. 311) a dynasty of three Ghūrīs interposed between the death of Fīrūz Shāh in 790 AH. and the accession in 839 AH. of the first Khiljī ruler of Gujrāt Maḥmūd Shāh.

[4] He reigned from 1518 to 1532 AD. (925 to 939 AH. S.L.-P. p. 308) and had to wife a daughter of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (*Riyazu's-salāṭīn*). His dynasty was known as the Ḥusain-shāhī, after his father.

[5] "Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one prevailed down to a very late period in Malabar. There was a jubilee every 12 years in the Samorin's country, and any-one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samorin's guards and slew

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obey whoever occupies it." As for instance, before the reign of Naṣrat Shāh's father 'Alāu'u'd-dīn, an Abyssinian (*Ḥabshī*, named Muẓaffar Shāh) had killed his sovereign (Maḥmūd Shāh *Ilyās*), mounted the throne and ruled for some time. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn killed that Abyssinian, seated himself on the throne and became ruler. When he died, his son (Naṣrat) became ruler by inheritance. Another Bengali custom is to regard it as a disgraceful fault in a new ruler if he expend and consume the treasure of his predecessors. On coming to rule he must gather treasure of his own. To amass treasure Bengalis regard as a glorious distinction. Another custom in Bengal is that from ancient times *parganas* have been assigned to meet the charges of the treasury, stables, and all royal expenditure and to defray these charges no impost is laid on other lands.

These five, mentioned above, were the great Musalmān rulers, honoured in Hindūstān, many-legioned, and broad-landed. Of the Pagans the greater both in territory and army, is the Rāja of Bījānagar.[1] Fol. 272.

The second is Rānā Sangā who in these latter days had grown great by his own valour and sword. His original country was Chitūr; in the downfall from power of the Mandāū sulṭāns, he became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Rantanbūr, Sārangpūr, Bhīlsān and Chandīrī. Chandīrī I stormed in 934 AH. (1528 A.D.)[2] and, by God's pleasure, took it in a few hours; in it was Rānā Sangā's great and trusted man Midnī

him, reigned in his stead. 'A jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of 12 years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for 10 or 12 days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so, at the end of the feast, any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a throne by a desperate action in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his empire.' See Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies* vol. i. p. 309. The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success" (Erskine p. 311).

The custom Bābur writes of—it is one dealt with at length in Frazer's *Golden Bough*—would appear from Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal* (JASB 1873 p. 286) to have been practised by the Habshī rulers of Bengal of whom he quotes Faria y Souza as saying, "They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days, they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years space they had 13 kings successively."

[1] No doubt this represents Vijāyanagar in the Deccan.

[2] This date places the composition of the *Description of Hindustan* in agreement with Shaikh Zain's statement that it was in writing in 935 AH.

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Rāo; we made general massacre of the Pagans in it and, as will be narrated, converted what for many years had been a mansion of hostility, into a mansion of Islām.

There are very many rāīs and rājas on all sides and quarters of Hindūstān, some obedient to Islām, some, because of their remoteness or because their places are fastnesses, not subject to Musalmān rule.

(*c. Of Hindūstān.*)

Hindūstān is of the first climate, the second climate, and the third climate; of the fourth climate it has none. It is a wonderful country. Compared with our countries it is a different world; its mountains, rivers, jungles and deserts, its towns, its cultivated lands, its animals and plants, its peoples and their tongues, its rains, and its winds, are all different. In some respects the hot-country (*garm-sīl*) that depends on Kābul, is like Hindūstān, but in others, it is different. Once the water of Sind is crossed, everything is in the Hindūstān way (*ṭāriq*)
Fol. 272*b*. land, water, tree, rock, people and horde, opinion and custom.

(*d. Of the northern mountains.*)

After crossing the Sind-river (eastwards), there are countries, in the northern mountains mentioned above, appertaining to Kashmīr and once included in it, although most of them, as for example, Paklī and Shahmang (?), do not now obey it. Beyond Kashmīr there are countless peoples and hordes, *parganas* and cultivated lands, in the mountains. As far as Bengal, as far indeed as the shore of the great ocean, the peoples are without break. About this procession of men no-one has been able to give authentic information in reply to our enquiries and investigations. So far people have been saying that they call these hill-men *Kas*.[1] It has struck me that as a Hindūstānī pronounces *shīn* as *sīn* (*i.e. sh* as *s*), and as Kashmīr is the one respectable town in these mountains, no other indeed being heard of, Hindūstānīs might pronounce it Kasmīr.[2] These

[1] Are they the Khas of Nepal and Sikkim? (G. of I.).

[2] Here Erskine notes that the Persian (trs.) adds, "*mīr* signifying a hill, and *kas* being the name of the natives of the hill-country." This may not support the name *kas* as correct but may be merely an explanation of Bābur's meaning. It is not in I.O. 217 f. 189 or in Muḥ. *Shīrāzī*'s lithographed *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* p. 190.

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people trade in musk-bags, *b:ḥrī-qūṭās*,[1] saffron, lead and copper.

Hindīs call these mountains Sawālak-parbat. In the Hindī tongue *sawāī-lak* means one lak and a quarter, that is, 125,000, and *parbat* means a hill, which makes 125,000 hills.[2] The snow on these mountains never lessens; it is seen white from many districts of Hind, as, for example, Lāhor, Sihrind and Saṃbal. The range, which in Kābul is known as Hindū-kush, comes from Kābul eastwards into Hindūstān, with slight inclination to the south. The Hindūstānāt[3] are to the south of it. Tībet lies to the north of it and of that unknown horde called Kas. Fol. 273.

(*e. Of rivers.*)

Many rivers rise in these mountains and flow through Hindūstān. Six rise north of Sihrind, namely Sind, Bahat (Jīlam), Chān-āb [*sic*], Rāwī, Bīāh, and Sutluj[4]; all meet near Multān, flow westwards under the name of Sind, pass through the Tatta country and fall into the 'Umān(-sea).

Besides these six there are others, such as Jūn (Jumna), Gang (Ganges), Rahap (Raptī?), Gūmtī, Gagar (Ghaggar), Sirū, Gandak, and many more; all unite with the Gang-daryā, flow east under its name, pass through the Bengal country, and are poured into the great ocean. They all rise in the Sawālak-parbat.

Many rivers rise in the Hindūstān hills, as, for instance, Chambal, Banās, Bītwī, and Sūn (Son). There is no snow whatever on these mountains. Their waters also join the Gang-daryā.

(*f. Of the Arāvallī.*)

Another Hindūstān range runs north and south. It begins in the Dihlī country at a small rocky hill on which is Fīrūz Shāh's residence, called Jahān-namā,[5] and, going on from there, appears near Dihlī in detached, very low, scattered here and there, rocky

[1] Either yak or the tassels of the yak. See Appendix M.

[2] My husband tells me that Bābur's authority for this interpretation of Sawālak may be the *Ẓafar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. ii, 149).

[3] *i.e.* the countries of Hindūstān.

[4] so pointed, carefully, in the Ḥai. MS. Mr. Erskine notes of these rivers that they are the Indus, Hydaspes, Ascesines, Hydraotes, Hesudrus and Hyphasis.

[5] *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, Jarrett 279.

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Fol. 273*b*. little hills.[1] Beyond Mīwāt, it enters the Bīāna country. The hills of Sīkrī, Bārī and Dūlpūr are also part of this same including (*tūtā*) range. The hills of Gūālīār—they write it Gālīūr—although they do not connect with it, are off-sets of this range; so are the hills of Rantanbūr, Chitūr, Chandīrī, and Mandāū. They are cut off from it in some places by 7 to 8 *kurohs* (14 to 16 m.). These hills are very low, rough, rocky and jungly. No snow whatever falls on them. They are the makers, in Hindūstān, of several rivers.

(*g. Irrigation.*)

The greater part of the Hindūstān country is situated on level land. Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, it nowhere has running waters.[2] Rivers and, in some places, standing-waters are its "running-waters" (*āqār-sūlār*). Even where, as for some towns, it is practicable to convey water by digging channels (*ārīq*), this is not done. For not doing it there may be several reasons, one being that water is not at all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rain falls. To young trees water is made to flow by means of buckets or a wheel. They are given water constantly during two or three years; after which they need no more. Some vegetables are watered constantly.

In Lāhor, Dībālpūr and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached
Fol. 274. pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close (*qāsh*) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere.

[1] *pārcha pārcha, kīchīkrāk kīchīkrāk, āndā mūndā, tāshlīq tāqghīna.* The Gazetteer of India (1907 i, 1) puts into scientific words, what Bābur here describes, the ruin of a great former range.

[2] Here *āqār-sūlār* might safely be replaced by "irrigation channels" (Index *s.n.*).

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In Āgra, Chandwār, Bīāna and those parts, again, people water with a bucket; this is a laborious and filthy way. At the well-edge they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket. Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track, in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers.[1]

(*h. Other particulars about Hindūstān.*)

The towns and country of Hindūstān are greatly wanting in charm. Its towns and lands are all of one sort; there are no walls to the orchards (*bāghāt*), and most places are on the dead level plain. Under the monsoon-rains the banks of some of its rivers and torrents are worn into deep channels, difficult and troublesome to pass through anywhere. In many parts of the plains thorny jungle grows, behind the good defence of which the people of the *pargana* become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes. Fol. 274*b*.

Except for the rivers and here and there standing-waters, there is little "running-water". So much so is this that towns and countries subsist on the water of wells or on such as collects in tanks during the rains.

In Hindūstān hamlets and villages, towns indeed, are depopulated and set up in a moment! If the people of a large town, one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or a day and a half.[2] On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on

[1] The verb here is *tāshmāq*; it also expresses to carry like ants (f. 220), presumably from each person's carrying a pitcher or a stone at a time, and repeatedly.

[2] "This" notes Erskine (p. 315) "is the *wulsa* or *walsa*, so well described by Colonel Wilks in his Historical Sketches vol. i. p. 309, note 'On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found,) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy, and if this should be

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a place in which to settle, they need not dig water-courses or construct dams because their crops are all rain-grown,[1] and as the population of Hindūstān is unlimited, it swarms in. They make a tank or dig a well; they need not build houses or set up walls—*khas*-grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made, and straightway there is a village or a town!

(*i. Fauna of Hindūstān:—Mammals.*)

The elephant, which Hindūstānīs call *hāt(h)ī*, is one of the wild animals peculiar to Hindūstān. It inhabits the (western?) borders of the Kālpī country, and becomes more numerous in its wild state the further east one goes (in Kālpī?). From this tract it is that captured elephants are brought; in Karrah and
Fol. 275. Mānikpūr elephant-catching is the work of 30 or 40 villages.[2] People answer (*jawāb bīrūrlār*) for them direct to the exchequer.[3] The elephant is an immense animal and very sagacious. If people speak to it, it understands; if they command anything from it, it does it. Its value is according to its size; it is sold by measure (*qārīlāb*); the larger it is, the higher its price. People

protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.' See the note itself. The Historical Sketches should be read by every-one who desires to have an accurate idea of the South of India. It is to be regretted that we do not possess the history of any other part of India, written with the same knowledge or research."

"The word *wulsa* or *walsa* is Dravidian. Telugu has *valasa*, 'emigration, flight, or removing from home for fear of a hostile army.' Kanarese has *valasĕ*, *ŏlasĕ*, and *ŏlisĕ*, 'flight, a removing from home for fear of a hostile army.' Tamil has *valasei*, 'flying for fear, removing hastily.' The word is an interesting one. I feel pretty sure it is not Aryan, but Dravidian; and yet it stands alone in Dravidian, with nothing that I can find in the way of a root or affinities to explain its etymology. Possibly it may be a borrowed word in Dravidian. Malayalam has no corresponding word. Can it have been borrowed from Kolarian or other primitive Indian speech?" (Letter to H. Beveridge from Mr. F. E. Pargiter, 8th August, 1914.)

Wulsa seems to be a derivative from Sanscrit *ūlvash*, and to answer to Persian *wairānī* and Turkī *būzūghlūghī*.

[1] *lalmī*, which in Afghānī (Pushtū) signifies grown without irrigation.

[2] "The improvement of Hindūstān since Bābur's time must be prodigious. The wild elephant is now confined to the forests under Hemāla, and to the Ghats of Malabar. A wild elephant near Karrah, Mānikpūr, or Kālpī, is a thing, at the present day (1826 AD.), totally unknown. May not their familiar existence in these countries down to Bābur's days, be considered rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindūstān in remote times?" (Erskine).

[3] *dīwān*. I.O. 217 f. 190*b*, *dar dīwān fīl jawāb mīgūīnd*; Mems. p. 316. They account to the government for the elephants they take; *Mém*s. ii, 188, *Les habitants payent l'impôt avec le produit de leur chasse*. Though de Courteille's reading probably states the fact, Erskine's includes de C.'s and more, inasmuch as it covers all captures and these might reach to a surplusage over the imposts.

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rumour that it is heard of in some islands as 10 *qārī*[1] high, but in this tract it[2] is not seen above 4 or 5. It eats and drinks entirely with its trunk; if it lose the trunk, it cannot live. It has two great teeth (tusks) in its upper jaw, one on each side of its trunk; by setting these against walls and trees, it brings them down; with these it fights and does whatever hard tasks fall to it. People call these ivory (*'āj*, var. *ghāj*); they are highly valued by Hindūstānīs. The elephant has no hair.[3] It is much relied on by Hindūstānīs, accompanying every troop of their armies. It has some useful qualities:—it crosses great rivers with ease, carrying a mass of baggage, and three or four have gone dragging without trouble the cart of the mortar (*qazān*) it takes four or five hundred men to haul.[4] But its stomach is large; one elephant eats the corn (*būghūz*) of two strings (*qiṭār*) of camels.[5]

The rhinoceros is another. This also is a large animal, equal Fol. 275*b* in bulk to perhaps three buffaloes. The opinion current in those countries (Tramontana) that it can lift an elephant on its horn, seems mistaken. It has a single horn on its nose, more than nine inches (*qārīsh*) long; one of two *qārīsh* is not seen.[6] Out of one large horn were made a drinking-vessel[7] and a dice-box, leaving over [the thickness of] 3 or 4 hands.[8] The rhinoceros'

[1] Pers. trs. *gaz*=24 inches. *Il est bon de rappeler que le mot turk qārī, que la version persane rend par gaz, désigne proprement l'espace compris entre le haut de l'épaule jusqu'au bout des doigts* (de Courteille, ii, 189 note). The *qārī* like one of its equivalents, the ell (Zenker), is a variable measure; it seems to approach more nearly to a yard than to a *gaz* of 24 inches. See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (R. & B. pp. 18, 141 and notes) for the heights of elephants, and for discussion of some measures.

[2] *khūd*, itself.

[3] *i.e.* pelt; as Erskine notes, its skin is scattered with small hairs. Details such as this one stir the question, for whom was Bābur writing? Not for Hindūstān where what he writes is patent; hardly for Kābul; perhaps for Transoxania.

[4] Shaikh Zain's wording shows this reference to be to a special piece of artillery, perhaps that of f. 302.

[5] A string of camels contains from five to seven, or, in poetry, even more (Vullers, ii, 728, *sermone poetico series decem camelorum*). The item of food compared is corn only (*būghūz*) and takes no account therefore of the elephant's green food.

[6] The Ency. Br. states that the horn seldom exceeds a foot in length; there is one in the B.M. measuring 18 inches.

[7] *āb-khwura kishtī*, water-drinker's boat, in which name *kishtī* may be used with reference to shape as boat is in *sauce-boat*. Erskine notes that rhinoceros-horn is supposed to sweat on approach of poison.

[8] *aīlīk*, Pers. trs. *angusht*, finger, each seemingly representing about one inch, a hand's thickness, a finger's breadth.

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hide is very thick; an arrow shot from a stiff bow, drawn with full strength right up to the arm-pit, if it pierce at all, might penetrate 4 inches (*aīlīk*, hands). From the sides (*qāsh*) of its fore and hind legs,[1] folds hang which from a distance look like housings thrown over it. It resembles the horse more than it does any other animal.[2] As the horse has a small stomach (appetite?), so has the rhinoceros; as in the horse a piece of bone (pastern?) grows in place of small bones (T. *āshūq*, Fr. *osselets* (Zenker), knuckles), so one grows in the rhinoceros; as in the horse's hand (*aīlīk*, Pers. *dast*) there is *kūmūk* (or *gūmūk*, a *tibia*, or marrow), so there is in the rhinoceros.[3] It is more ferocious than the elephant and cannot be made obedient and submissive. There are masses of it in the Parashāwar and Hashnagar jungles, so too between the Sind-river and the jungles of the Bhīra country. Masses there are also on the banks of
Fol. 276. the Sārū-river in Hindūstān. Some were killed in the Parashāwar and Hashnagar jungles in our moves on Hindūstān. It strikes powerfully with its horn; men and horses enough have been horned in those hunts.[4] In one of them the horse of a *chuhra* (brave) named Maqsūd was tossed a spear's-length, for which reason the man was nick-named the rhino's aim (*maqṣūd-i-karg*).

The wild-buffalo[5] is another. It is much larger than the (domestic) buffalo and its horns do not turn back in the same way.[6] It is a mightily destructive and ferocious animal.

The *nīla-gāū* (blue-bull)[7] is another. It may stand as high as a horse but is somewhat lighter in build. The male is bluish-gray, hence, seemingly, people call it *nīla-gāū*. It has two rather small horns. On its throat is a tuft of hair, nine inches long; (in this) it resembles the yak.[8] Its hoof is cleft (*aīrī*)

[1] lit. hand (*qūl*) and leg (*būt*).

[2] The anatomical details by which Bābur supports this statement are difficult to translate, but his grouping of the two animals is in agreement with the modern classification of them as two of the three *Ungulata vera*, the third being the tapir (Fauna of British India:—Mammals, Blanford 467 and, illustration, 468).

[3] De Courteille (ii, 190) reads *kūmūk*, osseuse; Erskine reads *gūmūk*, marrow.

[4] Index *s.n.* rhinoceros.

[5] *Bos bubalus*.

[6] "so as to grow into the flesh" (Erskine, p. 317).

[7] *sic* in text. It may be noted that the name *nīl-gāī*, common in general European writings, is that of the cow; *nīl-gāū*, that of the bull (Blanford).

[8] *b* : *ḥ* : *rī qūṭās*; *see* Appendix M.

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like the hoof of cattle. The doe is of the colour of the *būghū-marāl*[1]; she, for her part, has no horns and is plumper than the male.

The hog-deer (*kotah-pāīcha*) is another.[2] It may be of the size of the white deer (*āq kiyīk*). It has short legs, hence its name, little-legged. Its horns are like a *būghū's* but smaller; like the *būghū* it casts them every year. Being rather a poor runner, it does not leave the jungle.

Another is a deer (*kiyīk*) after the fashion of the male deer (*aīrkākī hūna*) of the *jīrān*.[3] Its back is black, its belly white, its horns longer than the *hūna's*, but more crooked. A Hindūstānī Fol. 276*b*. calls it *kalahara*,[4] a word which may have been originally *kālā -haran*, black-buck, and which has been softened in pronunciation to *kalahara*. The doe is light-coloured. By means of this *kalahara* people catch deer; they fasten a noose (*halqa*) on its horns, hang a stone as large as a ball[5] on one of its feet, so as to keep it from getting far away after it has brought about the capture of a deer, and set it opposite wild deer when these are seen. As these (*kalahara*) deer are singularly combative, advance to fight is made at once. The two deer strike with their horns and push one another backwards and forwards, during which the wild one's horns become entangled in the net that is fast to the tame one's. If the wild one would run away, the tame one does not go; it is impeded also by the stone on its foot. People take many deer in this way; after capture they tame them and use them in their turn to take others;[6] they also set them to fight at home; the deer fight very well.

There is a smaller deer (*kiyīk*) on the Hindūstān hill-skirts, as large may-be as the one year's lamb of the *arqārghalcha* (*Ovis poli*).

[1] The doe is brown (Blanford, p. 518). The word *būghū* (stag) is used alone just below and seems likely to represent the bull of the Asiatic wapiti (f. 4 n. on *būghū-marāl*.)

[2] *Axis porcinus* (Jerdon, *Cervus porcinus*).

[3] *Saiga tartarica* (Shaw). Turkī *hūna* is used, like English deer, for male, female, and both. Here it seems defined by *aīrkākī* to mean stag or buck.

[4] *Antelope cervicapra*, black-buck, so called from the dark hue of its back (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Black-buck).

[5] *tūyūq*, underlined in the Elph. MS. by *kura*, cannon-ball; Erskine, foot-ball, de Courteille, *pierre plus grosse que la cheville* (*tūyāq*).

[6] This mode of catching antelopes is described in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, and is noted by Erskine as common in his day.

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The *gīnī*-cow [1] is another, a very small one, perhaps as large as the *qūchqār* (ram) of those countries (Tramontana). Its flesh is very tender and savoury.

The monkey (*maimūn*) is another—a Hindūstānī calls it *bandar*. Of this too there are many kinds, one being what people
Fol. 277. take to those countries. The jugglers (*lūlī*) teach them tricks. This kind is in the mountains of Nūr-dara, in the skirt-hills of Safīd-koh neighbouring on Khaibar, and from there downwards all through Hindūstān. It is not found higher up. Its hair is yellow, its face white, its tail not very long.—Another kind, not found in Bajaur, Sawād and those parts, is much larger than the one taken to those countries (Tramontana). Its tail is very long, its hair whitish, its face quite black. It is in the mountains and jungles of Hindūstān.[2]—Yet another kind is distinguished (*būlā dūr*), quite black in hair, face and limbs.[3]

The *nawal* (*nūl*) [4] is another. It may be somewhat smaller than the *kīsh*. It climbs trees. Some call it the *mūsh-i-khūrma* (palm-rat). It is thought lucky.

A mouse (T. *sīchqān*) people call *galāhrī* (squirrel) is another. It is just always in trees, running up and down with amazing alertness and speed.[5]

[1] H. *gainā*. It is 3 feet high (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Gynee). Cf. A. A. Blochmann, p. 149. The ram with which it is compared may be that of *Ovis ammon* (Vigné's *Kashmīr etc.* ii, 278).

[2] Here the Pers. trs. adds :—They call this kind of monkey *langūr* (baboon, I.O. 217 f. 192).

[3] Here the Pers. trs. adds what Erskine mistakenly attributes to Bābur :—People bring it from several islands.—They bring yet another kind from several islands, yellowish-grey in colour like a *pūstīn tīn* (leather coat of ? ; Erskine, skin of the fig, *tīn*). Its head is broader and its body much larger than those of other monkeys. It is very fierce and destructive. It is singular *quod penis ejus semper sit erectus, et nunquam non ad coitum idoneus* [Erskine].

[4] This name is explained on the margin of the Elph. MS. as "*rāsū*, which is the weasel of Tartary" (Erskine). *Rāsū* is an Indian name for the squirrel *Sciurus indicus*. The *kīsh*, with which Bābur's *nūl* is compared, is explained by de C. as *belette*, weasel, and by Steingass as a fur-bearing animal; the fur-bearing weasel is (*Mustelidae*) *putorius ermina*, the ermine-weasel (Blanford, p. 165), which thus seems to be Bābur's *kīsh*. The alternative name Bābur gives for his *nūl*, *i.e.* *mūsh-i-khūrma*, is, in India, that of *Sciurus palmarum*, the palm-squirrel (G. of I. i, 227); this then, it seems that Bābur's *nūl* is. (Erskine took *nūl* here to be the mongoose (*Herpestes mūngūs*) (p. 318); and Blanford, perhaps partly on Erskine's warrant, gives *mūsh-i-khūrma* as a name of the lesser *mungūs* of Bengal. I gather that the name *nawal* is not exclusively confined even now to the *mungūs*.)

[5] If this be a tree-mouse and not a squirrel, it may be *Vandeleuria oleracea* (G. of I. i, 228).

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j. Fauna of Hindūstān :—Birds.)[1]

The peacock (Ar. *ṭāūs*) is one. It is a beautifully coloured and splendid animal. Its form (*andām*) is not equal to its colouring and beauty. Its body may be as large as the crane's (*tūrna*) but it is not so tall. On the head of both cock and hen are 20 to 30 feathers rising some 2 or 3 inches high. The hen has neither colour nor beauty. The head of the cock has an iridescent collar (*ṭauq sūsanī*); its neck is of a beautiful blue; Fol. 277*b*. below the neck, its back is painted in yellow, parrot-green, blue and violet colours. The flowers[2] on its back are much the smaller; below the back as far as the tail-tips are [larger] flowers painted in the same colours. The tail of some peacocks grows to the length of a man's extended arms.[3] It has a small tail under its flowered feathers, like the tail of other birds; this ordinary tail and its primaries[4] are red. It is in Bajaur and Sawād and below them; it is not in Kunur [Kūnūr] and the Lamghānāt or any place above them. Its flight is feebler than the pheasant's (*qīrghāwal*); it cannot do more than make one or two short flights.[5] On account of its feeble flight, it frequents the hills or jungles, which is curious, since jackals abound in the jungles it frequents. What damage might these jackals not do to birds that trail from jungle to jungle, tails as long as a man's stretch (*qūlāch*)! Hindūstānīs call the peacock *mor*. Its flesh is lawful food, according to the doctrine of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa; it is like that of the partridge and not unsavoury, but is eaten with instinctive aversion, in the way camel-flesh is.

The parrot (H. *ṭūṭī*) is another. This also is in Bajaur and countries lower down. It comes into Nīngnahār and the

[1] The notes to this section are restricted to what serves to identify the birds Bābur mentions, though temptation is great to add something to this from the mass of interesting circumstance scattered in the many writings of observers and lovers of birds. I have thought it useful to indicate to what language a bird's name belongs.

[2] Persian, *gul*; English, eyes.

[3] *qūlāch* (Zenker, p. 720); Pers. trs. (217 f. 192*b*) *yak qad-i-adm*; de Courteille, *brasse* (fathom). These three are expressions of the measure from finger-tip to finger-tip of a man's extended arms, which should be his height, a fathom (6 feet).

[4] *qānāt*, of which here "primaries" appears to be the correct rendering, since Jerdon says (ii, 506) of the bird that its "wings are striated black and white, primaries and tail deep chestnut".

[5] The *qīrghāwal*, which is of the pheasant species, when pursued, will take several flights immediately after each other, though none long; peacocks, it seems, soon get tired and take to running (Erskine).

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Lamghānāt in the heats when mulberries ripen; it is not there at other times. It is of many, many kinds. One sort is that which people carry into those (Tramontane) countries. They
Fol. 278. make it speak words.—Another sort is smaller; this also they make speak words. They call it the jungle-parrot. It is numerous in Bajaūr, Sawād and that neighbourhood, so much so that 5 or 6000 fly in one flock (*khail*). Between it and the one first-named the difference is in bulk; in colouring they are just one and the same.—Another sort is still smaller than the jungle-parrot. Its head is quite red, the top of its wings (*i.e.* the primaries) is red also; the tip of its tail for two hands'-thickness is lustrous.[1] The head of some parrots of this kind is iridescent (*sūsanī*). It does not become a talker. People call it the Kashmīr parrot.—Another sort is rather smaller than the jungle-parrot; its beak is black; round its neck is a wide black collar; its primaries are red. It is an excellent learner of words.—We used to think that whatever a parrot or a *shārak* (*mīna*) might say of words people had taught it, it could not speak of any matter out of its own head. At this juncture[2] one of my immediate servants Abū'l-qāsim *Jalāīr*, reported a singular thing to me. A parrot of this sort whose cage must have been covered up said, "Uncover my face; I am stifling." And another time when palkī bearers sat down to take breath, this parrot presumably on hearing wayfarers pass by, said, "Men are going past, are you not going on?" Let credit rest with the narrator, but never-the-less, so long as a person has not heard with his own ears, he may not believe!—Another kind is of a beautiful
Fol. 278*b*. full red; it has other colours also, but, as nothing is distinctly remembered about them, no description is made. It is a very beautiful bird, both in colour and form. People are understood to make this also speak words.[4] Its defect is a most unpleasant sharp voice, like the drawing of broken china on a copper plate.

[1] Ar. *barrāq*, as on f. 278*b* last line where the Elph. MS. has *barrāq*, marked with the *tashdīd*.

[2] This was, presumably, just when Bābur was writing the passage.

[3] This sentence is in Arabic.

[4] A Persian note, partially expunged from the text of the Elph. MS. is to the effect that 4 or 5 other kinds of parrot are heard of which the revered author has not see.

[5] Erskine suggests that this may be the *loory* (*Loriculus vernalis*, Indian lori

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The (P.) *shārak*[1] is another. It is numerous in the Lamghānāt and abounds lower down, all over Hindūstān. Like the parrot, it is of many kinds.—The kind that is numerous in the Lamghānāt has a black head; its primaries (*qānāt*) are spotted, its body rather larger and thicker[2] than that of the (T.) *chūghūr-chūq*.[3] People teach it to speak words.—Another kind they call *p:ndāwalī*[4]; they bring it from Bengal; it is black all over and of much greater bulk than the *shārak* (here, house-*mīna*). Its bill and foot are yellow and on each ear are yellow wattles which hang down and have a bad appearance.[5] It learns to speak well and clearly.—Another kind of *shārak* is slenderer than the last and is red round the eyes. It does not learn to speak. People call it the wood-*shārak*.[6] Again, at the time when (934 AH.) I had made a bridge over Gang (Ganges), crossed it, and put my adversaries to flight, a kind of *shārak* was seen, in the neighbourhood of Laknau and Aūd (Oude), for the first time, which had a white breast, piebald head, and black back. This kind does not learn to speak.[7]

[1] The birds Bābur classes under the name *shārak* seem to include what Oates and Blanford (whom I follow as they give the results of earlier workers) class under *Sturnus*, *Eulabes* and *Calornis*, starling, grackle and mīna, and tree-stare (*Fauna of British India*, Oates, vols. i and ii, Blanford, vols. iii and iv).

[2] Turkī, *qabā*; Ilminsky, p. 361, *tang* (*tund*?).

[3] E. D. Ross's *Polyglot List of Birds*, p. 314, *Chighīr-chīq*, Northern swallow; Elph. MS. f. 230*b* interlined *jil* (Steingass lark). The description of the bird allows it to be *Sturnus humii*, the Himālayan starling (Oates, i, 520).

[4] Elph. and Hai. MSS. (Sans. and Bengālī) *p:ndūī*; two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. (I.O. 217 and 218) *p:ndāwalī*; Ilminsky (p. 361) *mīnā*; Erskine (*Mems.* p. 319) *pindāwelī*, but without his customary translation of an Indian name. The three forms shewn above can all mean "having protuberance or lump" (*pinḍā*) and refer to the bird's wattle. But the word of the presumably well-informed scribes of I.O. 217 and 218 can refer to the bird's sagacity in speech and be *panḍā-walī*, possessed of wisdom. With the same spelling, the word can translate into the epithet *religiosa*, given to the wattled *mīnā* by Linnæus. This epithet Mr. Leonard Wray informs me has been explained to him as due to the frequenting of temples by the birds; and that in Malāya they are found living in cotes near Chinese temples.—An alternative name (one also connecting with *religiosa*) allowed by the form of the word is *bīnḍā-walī*. H. *bīnḍā* is a mark on the forehead, made as a preparative to devotion by Hindūs, or in Sans. and Bengālī, is the spot of paint made on an elephant's trunk; the meaning would thus be "having a mark". Cf. Jerdon and Oates *s.n. Eulabes religiosa*.

[5] *Eulabes intermedia*, the Indian grackle or hill-mīna. Here the Pers. trs. adds that people call it *mīna*.

[6] *Calornis chalybeius*, the glossy starling or tree-stare, which never descends to the ground.

[7] *Sturnopastor contra*, the pied mīna.

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The *lūja*[1] is another. This bird they call (Ar.) *bū-qalamūn* (chameleon) because, between head and tail, it has five or six changing colours, resplendent (*barrāq*) like a pigeon's throat.
Fol. 279. It is about as large as the *kabg-i-darī*[2] and seems to be the *kabg-i-darī* of Hindūstān. As the *kabg-i-darī* moves (*yūrūr*) on the heads (*kulah*) of mountains, so does this. It is in the Nijr-aū mountains of the countries of Kābul, and in the mountains lower down but it is not found higher up. People tell this wonderful thing about it:—When the birds, at the onset of winter, descend to the hill-skirts, if they come over a vineyard, they can fly no further and are taken. God knows the truth! The flesh of this bird is very savoury.

The partridge (*durrāj*)[3] is another. This is not peculiar to Hindūstān but is also in the *Garm-sīr* countries[4]; as however some kinds are only in Hindūstān, particulars of them are given here. The *durrāj* (*Francolinus vulgaris*) may be of the same bulk as the *kīklīk*[5]; the cock's back is the colour of the hen-pheasant (*qīrghāwal-ning māda-sī*); its throat and breast are black, with quite white spots.[6] A red line comes down on both sides of both eyes.[7] It is named from its cry[8] which is something like *Shir dāram shakrak*.[9] It pronounces *shir* short; *dāram shakrak* it says distinctly. Astarābād partridges are said to cry *Bāt mīnī tūtīlār* (Quick! they have caught me). The partridge of Arabia and those parts is understood to cry, *Bi'l*

[1] Part of the following passage about the *lūja* (var. *lūkha*, *lūcha*) is *verbatim* with part of that on f. 135; both were written about 934–5 AH. as is shewn by Shaikh Zain (Index *s.n.*) and by inference from references in the text (Index *s.n.* B.N. date of composition). *See* Appendix N.

[2] Lit. mountain-partridge. There is ground for understanding that one of the birds known in the region as *monals* is meant. *See* Appendix N.

[3] Sans. *chakora*; Ar. *durrāj*; P. *kabg*; T. *kīklīk*.

[4] Here, probably, southern Afghānistān.

[5] *Caccabis chukūr* (Scully, Shaw's Vocabulary) or *C. pallescens* (Hume, quoted under No. 126 E. D. Ross' *Polyglot List*).

[6] "In some parts of the country (*i.e.* India before 1841 AD.), tippets used to be made of the beautiful black, white-spotted feathers of the lower plumage (of the *durrāj*), and were in much request, but they are rarely procurable now" (*Bengal Sporting Magazine* for 1841, quoted by Jerdon, ii, 561).

[7] A broad collar of red passes round the whole neck (Jerdon, ii, 558).

[8] Ar. *durrāj* means one who repeats what he hears, a tell-tale.

[9] Various translations have been made of this passage, "I have milk and sugar" (Erskine), "*J'ai du lait, un peu de sucre*" (de Courteille), but with short *sh:r*, it might be read in more than one way ignoring milk and sugar. See Jerdon, ii, 558 and Hobson Jobson *s.n.* Black-partridge.

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shakar tadawm al niʿam (with sugar pleasure endures)! The hen-bird has the colour of the young pheasant. These birds are found below Nijr-aū.—Another kind is called *kanjāl.* Its bulk may be that of the one already described. Its voice is very like that of the *kīklīk* but much shriller. There is little Fol. 279*b*. difference in colour between the cock and hen. It is found in Parashāwar, Hashnagar and countries lower down, but not higher up.

The *p(h)ūl-paikār*[1] is another. Its size may be that of the *kabg-i-darī*; its shape is that of the house-cock, its colour that of the hen. From forehead (*tūmāgh*) to throat it is of a beautiful colour, quite red. It is in the Hindūstān mountains.

The wild-fowl (*saḥrāī-tāūgh*)[2] is another. It flies like a pheasant, and is not of all colours as house-fowl are. It is in the mountains of Bajaur and lower down, but not higher up.

The *chīlsī* (or *jīlsī*)[3] is another. In bulk it equals the *p(h)ūl-paikār* but the latter has the finer colouring. It is in the mountains of Bajaur.

The *shām*[4] is another. It is about as large as a house-fowl; its colour is unique (*ghair mukarrar*).[5] It also is in the mountains of Bajaur.

The quail (P. *būdana*) is another. It is not peculiar to Hindūstān but four or five kinds are so.—One is that which goes to our countries (Tramontana), larger and more spreading than the (Hindūstān) quail.[6]—Another kind[7] is smaller than the one first named. Its primaries and tail are reddish. It flies in flocks like the *chīr* (*Phasianus Wallichii*).—Another kind is smaller than that which goes to our countries and is darker on throat

[1] Flower-faced, *Trapogon melanocephala*, the horned (*sing*) -monal. It is described by Jahāngīr (*Memoirs*, R. and B., ii, 220) under the names [H. and P.] *phūl-paikār* and Kashmīrī, *sonlū*.

[2] *Gallus sonneratii*, the grey jungle-fowl.

[3] Perhaps *Bambusicola fytchii*, the western bambu-partridge. For *chīl* see E. D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 127.

[4] Jahāngīr (*l.c.*) describes, under the Kashmīrī name *pūṭ*, what may be this bird. It seems to be *Gallus ferrugineus*, the red jungle-fowl (Blanford, iv, 75).

[5] Jahāngīr helps to identify the bird by mentioning its elongated tail-feathers,—seasonal only.

[6] The migrant quail will be *Coturnix communis*, the grey quail, 8 inches long; what it is compared with seems likely to be the bush-quail, which is non-migrant and shorter.

[7] Perhaps *Perdicula argunda*, the rock bush-quail, which flies in small coveys.

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Fol. 280. and breast.[1]—Another kind goes in small numbers to Kābul; it is very small, perhaps a little larger than the yellow wag-tail (*qārcha*)[2]; they call it *qūrātū* in Kābul.

The Indian bustard (P. *kharchāl*)[3] is another. It is about as large as the (T.) *tūghdāq* (*Otis tarda*, the great bustard), and seems to be the *tūghdāq* of Hindūstān.[4] Its flesh is delicious; of some birds the leg is good, of others, the wing; of the bustard all the meat is delicious and excellent.

The florican (P. *charz*)[5] is another. It is rather less than the *tūghdīrī* (*houbara*)[6]; the cock's back is like the *tūghdīrī's*, and its breast is black. The hen is of one colour.

The Hindūstān sand-grouse (T. *bāghrī-qarā*)[7] is another. It is smaller and slenderer than the *bāghrī-qarā* [*Pterocles arenarius*] of those countries (Tramontana). Also its cry is sharper.

Of the birds that frequent water and the banks of rivers, one is the *dīng*,[8] an animal of great bulk, each wing measuring a *qūlāch* (fathom). It has no plumage (*tūqī*) on head or neck; a thing like a bag hangs from its neck; its back is black; its breast is white. It goes sometimes to Kābul; one year people brought one they had caught. It became very tame; if meat

[1] Perhaps *Coturnix coromandelica*, the black-breasted or rain quail, 7 inches long.

[2] Perhaps *Motacilla citreola*, a yellow wag-tail which summers in Central Asia (Oates, ii, 298). If so, its Kābul name may refer to its flashing colour. Cf. E. D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 301; de Courteille's *Dictionary* which gives *qārcha*, wag-tail, and Zenker's which fixes the colour.

[3] *Eupodotis edwardsii*; Turkī, *tūghdār* or *tūghdīrī*.

[4] Erskine noting (Mems. p. 321), that the bustard is common in the Dakkan where it is bigger than a turkey, says it is called *tūghdār* and suggests that this is a corruption of *tūghdāq*. The uses of both words are shewn by Bābur, here, and in the next following, account of the *charz*. Cf. G. of I. i, 260 and E. D. Ross *l.c.* Nos. 36, 40.

[5] *Sypheotis bengalensis* and *S. aurita*, which are both smaller than *Otis houbara* (*tūghdīrī*). In Hindustan *S. aurita* is known as *līkh* which name is the nearest approach I have found to Bābur's [*tūja*] *lūkha*.

[6] Jerdon mentions (ii, 615) that this bird is common in Afghānistān and there called *dugdaor* (*tūghdār*, *tūghdīrī*).

[7] *Cf.* Appendix B, since I wrote which, further information has made it fairly safe to say that the Hindūstān *bāghrī-qarā* is *Pterocles exustus*, the common sand-grouse and that the one of f. 49*b* is *Pterocles arenarius*, the larger or black-bellied sand-grouse. *P. exustus* is said by Yule (H. J. *s.n.* Rock-pigeon) to have been miscalled rock-pigeon by Anglo-Indians, perhaps because its flight resembles the pigeon's. This accounts for Erskine's rendering (p. 321) *bāghrī-qarā* here by rock-pigeon.

[8] *Leptoptilus dubius*, Hind. *hargīlā*. Hindūstānīs call it *pīr-i-dīng* (Erskine) and *peda dhauk* (Blanford), both names referring, perhaps, to its pouch. It is the adjutant of Anglo-India. Cf. f. 235.

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were thrown to it, it never failed to catch it in its bill. Once it swallowed a six-nailed shoe, another time a whole fowl, wings and feathers, all right down. Fol. 280b.

The *sāras* (*Grus antigone*) is another. Turks in Hindūstān call it *tīwa-tūrnā* (camel-crane). It may be smaller than the *dīng* but its neck is rather longer. Its head is quite red.[1] People keep this bird at their houses; it becomes very tame.

The *mānek*[2] is another. In stature it approaches the *sāras*, but its bulk is less. It resembles the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*, the white stork) but is much larger; its bill is larger and is black. Its head is iridescent, its neck white, its wings partly-coloured; the tips and border-feathers and under parts of the wings are white, their middle black.

Another stork (*lag-lag*) has a white neck and all other parts black. It goes to those countries (Tramontana). It is rather smaller than the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*). A Hindūstānī calls it *yak-rang* (one colour?).

Another stork in colour and shape is exactly like the storks that go to those countries. Its bill is blacker and its bulk much less than the *lag-lag*'s (*Ciconia alba*).[3]

Another bird resembles the grey heron (*aūqār*) and the *lag-lag*; but its bill is longer than the heron's and its body smaller than the white stork's (*lag-lag*).

Another is the large *buzak*[4] (black ibis). In bulk it may equal the buzzard (Turkī, *sār*). The back of its wings is white. It has a loud cry.

The white *buzak*[5] is another. Its head and bill are black.

[1] only when young (Blanford, ii, 188).

[2] Elph. MS. *mank:sā* or *mankīā*; Ḥai. MS. *m:nk*. Haughton's *Bengali Dictionary* gives two forms of the name *mānek-jur* and *mānak-yoī*. It is *Dissura episcopus*, the white-necked stork (Blanford iv, 370, who gives *manik-jor* amongst its Indian names). Jerdon classes it (ii, 737) as *Ciconia leucocephala*. It is the beef-steak bird of Anglo-India.

[3] *Ciconia nigra* (Blanford, iv, 369).

[4] Under the Hindūstānī form, *būza*, of Persian *buzak* the birds Bābur mentions as *buzak* can be identified. The large one is *Inocotis papillosus*, *būza*, *kāla būza*, black curlew, king-curlew. The bird it equals in size is a buzzard, Turkī *sār* (not Persian *sār*, starling). The king-curlew has a large white patch on the inner lesser and marginal coverts of its wings (Blanford, iv, 303). This agrees with Bābur's statement about the wings of the large *buzak*. Its length is 27 inches, while the starling's is 9½ inches.

[5] *Ibis melanocephala*, the white ibis, Pers. *safed buzak*, Bengali *sabut būza*. It is 30 inches long.

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Fol. 281. It is much larger than the one that goes to those countries,[1] but smaller than the Hindūstān *buzak*.[2]

The *gharm-pāī* [3] (spotted-billed duck) is another. It is larger than the *sūna būrchīn* [4] (mallard). The drake and duck are of one colour. It is in Hashnagar at all seasons, sometimes it goes into the Lamghānāt. Its flesh is very savoury.

The *shāh-murgh* (*Sarcidiornis melanonotus*, comb duck or *nukta*) is another. It may be a little smaller than a goose. It has a swelling on its bill; its back is black; its flesh is excellent eating.

The *zummaj* is another. It is about as large as the *būrgūt* (*Aquila chrysaetus*, the golden eagle).

The (T.) *ālā-qārgha* of Hindūstān is another (*Corvus cornix*, the pied crow). This is slenderer and smaller than the *ālā-qārgha* of those countries (Tramontana). Its neck is partly white.

Another Hindūstān bird resembles the crow (T. *qārcha*, *C. splendens*) and the magpie (Ar. *'aqqa*). In the Lamghānāt people call it the jungle-bird (P. *murgh-i-jangal*).[5] Its head and breast are black; its wings and tail reddish; its eye quite red. Having a feeble flight, it does not come out of the jungle, whence its name.

The great bat (P. *shapara*)[6] is another. People call it (Hindī) *chumgādur*. It is about as large as the owl (T. *yāpālāq*, *Otus brachyotus*), and has a head like a puppy's. When it is thinking of lodging for the night on a tree, it takes hold of a branch, turns head-downwards, and so remains. It has much singularity.

The magpie (Ar. *'aqqa*) is another. People call it (H.?) *matā* (*Dendrocitta rufa*, the Indian tree-pie). It may be somewhat

[1] Perhaps, *Plegadis falcinellus*, the glossy ibis, which in most parts of India is a winter visitor. Its length is 25 inches.

[2] Erskine suggests that this is *Platalea leucorodia*, the *chamach-būza*, spoon-bill. It is 33 inches long.

[3] *Anas poecilorhyncha*. The Ḥai. MS. writes *gharm-pāī*, and this is the Indian name given by Blanford (iv, 437).

[4] *Anas boschas*. Dr. Ross notes (No. 147), from the *Sanglākh*, that *sūna* is the drake, *būrchīn*, the duck and that it is common in China to call a certain variety of bird by the combined sex-names. Something like this is shewn by the uses of *būghā* and *marāl q.v.* Index.

[5] *Centropus rufipennis*, the common coucal (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Crow-pheasant); H. *makokhā*, *Cuculus castaneus* (Buchanan, quoted by Forbes).

[6] *Pteropus edwardsii*, the flying-fox. The inclusion of the bat here amongst birds, may be a clerical accident, since on f. 136 a flying-fox is not written of as a bird.

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less than the *'aqqa* (*Pica rustica*), which moreover is pied black and white, while the *matā* is pied brown and black.[1]

Another is a small bird, perhaps of the size of the (T.) *sāndūlāch*.[2] Fol. 281*b*. It is of a beautiful red with a little black on its wings.

The *karcha*[3] is another; it is after the fashion of a swallow (T. *qārlūghāch*), but much larger and quite black.

The *kūīl*[4] (*Eudynamys orientalis*, the koel) is another. It may be as large as the crow (P. *zāg*) but is much slenderer. It has a kind of song and is understood to be the bulbul of Hindūstān. Its honour with Hindūstānīs is as great as is the bulbul's. It always stays in closely-wooded gardens.

Another bird is after the fashion of the (Ar.) *shiqarrāk* (*Cissa chinensis*, the green-magpie). It clings to trees, is perhaps as large as the green-magpie, and is parrot-green (*Gecinus striolatus*, the little green-woodpecker?).

(*k. Fauna of Hindūstān:—Aquatic animals.*)

One is the water-tiger (P. *shīr-ābī*, *Crocodilus palustris*).[5] This is in the standing-waters. It is like a lizard (T. *gīlās*).[6] People say it carries off men and even buffaloes.

[1] Bābur here uses what is both the Kābul and Andijān name for the magpie, Ar. *'aqqa* (Oates, i, 31 and Scully's Voc.), instead of T. *sāghizghān* or P. *dam-sīcha* (tail-wagger).

[2] The Pers. trs. writes *sāndūlāch mamūlā*, *mamūlā* being Arabic for wag-tail. De Courteille's Dictionary describes the *sāndūlāch* as small and having a long tail, the cock-bird green, the hen, yellow. The wag-tail suiting this in colouring is *Motacilla borealis* (Oates, ii, 294; syn. *Budytes viridis*, the green wag-tail); this, as a migrant, serves to compare with the Indian "little bird", which seems likely to be a red-start.

[3] This word may represent Scully's *kirich* and be the Turkī name for a swift, perhaps *Cypselus affinis*.

[4] This name is taken from its cry during the breeding season (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Koel).

[5] Bābur's distinction between the three crocodiles he mentions seems to be that of names he heard, *shīr-ābī*, *siyāh-sār*, and *ghariāl*.

[6] In this passage my husband finds the explanation of two somewhat vague statements of later date, one made by Abū'l-faẓl (A. A. Blochmann, p. 65) that Akbar called the *kīlās* (cherry) the *shāh-ālū* (king-plum), the other by Jahāngīr that this change was made because *kīlās* means lizard (*Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, R. & B. i, 116). What Akbar did is shewn by Bābur; it was to reject the *Persian* name *kīlās*, cherry, because it closely resembled *Turkī gīlās*, lizard. There is a lizard *Stellio Lehmanni* of Transoxiana with which Bābur may well have compared the crocodile's appearance (Schuyler's *Turkistān*, i, 383). Akbar in Hindūstān may have had *Varanus salvator* (6 ft. long) in mind, if indeed he had not the great lizard, *al lagarto*, the alligator itself in his thought. The name *kīlās* evidently was banished only from the Court circle, since it is still current in Kashmīr (Blochmann *l.c.* p. 616); and Speede (p. 201) gives *keeras*, cherry, as used in India.

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The (P.) *siyāh-sār* (black-head) is another. This also is like a lizard. It is in all rivers of Hindūstān. One that was taken and brought in was about 4–5 *qārī* (*cir.* 13 feet) long and as thick perhaps as a sheep. It is said to grow still larger. Its snout is over half a yard long. It has rows of small teeth in its upper and lower jaws. It comes out of the water and sinks into the mud (*bātā*).

The (Sans.) *g[h]aṛīāl* (*Gavialus gangeticus*) is another.[1] It is said to grow large; many in the army saw it in the Sarū (Gogra) river. It is said to take people; while we were on that river's banks (934–935 A.H.), it took one or two slave-women (*dādūk*), and it took three or four camp-followers between Ghāzīpūr and Banāras. In that neighbourhood I saw one but from a distance only and not quite clearly.

The water-hog (P. *khūk-ābī*, *Platanista gangetica*, the porpoise) is another. This also is in all Hindūstān rivers. It comes up suddenly out of the water; its head appears and disappears; it
Fol. 282. dives again and stays below, shewing its tail. Its snout is as long as the *siyāh-sār's* and it has the same rows of small teeth. Its head and the rest of its body are fish-like. When at play in the water, it looks like a water-carrier's bag (*mashak*). Water-hogs, playing in the Sarū, leap right out of the water; like fish, they never leave it.

Again there is the *kalah* (or *galah*)-fish [*bāligh*].[2] Two bones

[1] This name as now used, is that of the purely fish-eating crocodile. [In the Turkī text Bābur's account of the *ghaṛīāl* follows that of the porpoise; but it is grouped here with those of the two other crocodiles.]

[2] As the Hai. MS. and also I.O. 216 f. 137 (Pers. trs.) write *kalah* (*galah*)-fish, this may be a large cray-fish. One called by a name approximating to *galah*-fish is found in Malāyan waters, *viz.* the *galah*-prawn (*hūdang*) (cf. Bengālī *gūla-chingrī*, *gūla*-prawn, Haughton). *Galah* and *gūla* may express lament made when the fish is caught (Haughton pp. 931, 933, 952); or if *kalah* be read, this may express scolding. Two good MSS. of the *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* (Pers. trs.) write *kaka*; and their word cannot but have weight. Erskine reproduces *kaka* but offers no explanation of it, a failure betokening difficulty in his obtaining one. My husband suggests that *kaka* may represent a stuttering sound, doing so on the analogy of Vullers' explanation of the word,—*Vir ridiculus et facetus qui simul balbutiat*; and also he inclines to take the fish to be a crab (*kakra*). Possibly *kaka* is a popular or vulgar name for a cray-fish or a crab. Whether the sound is lament, scolding, or stuttering the fisherman knows! Shaikh Zain enlarges Bābur's notice of this fish; he says the bones are prolonged (*bar āwarda*) from the ears, that these it agitates at time of capture, making a noise like the word *kaka* by which it is known, that it is two *wajab* (18 in.) long, its flesh surprisingly tasty, and that it is very active, leaping a *gaz* (*cir.* a yard) out of the water when the fisherman's net is set to take it. For information about the Malāyan fish, I am indebted to Mr. Cecil Wray.

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each about 3 inches (*aīlīk*) long, come out in a line with its ears; these it shakes when taken, producing an extraordinary noise, whence, seemingly, people have called it *kalah* [or *galah*].

The flesh of Hindūstān fishes is very savoury; they have no odour (*aīd*) or tiresomeness.[1] They are surprisingly active. On one occasion when people coming, had flung a net across a stream, leaving its two edges half a yard above the water, most fish passed by leaping a yard above it. In many rivers are little fish which fling themselves a yard or more out of the water if there be harsh noise or sound of feet. Fol. 282*b*.

The frogs of Hindūstān, though otherwise like those others (Tramontane), run 6 or 7 yards on the face of the water.[2]

(*l. Vegetable products of Hindūstān: Fruits.*)

The mango (P. *anbah*) is one of the fruits peculiar to Hindūstān. Hindūstānīs pronounce the *b* in its name as though no vowel followed it (*i.e.* Sans. *anb*);[3] this being awkward to utter, some people call the fruit [P.] *naghzak*[4] as Khwāja Khusrau does:—

Naghzak-i mā [var. *khwash*] *naghz-kun-i būstān,*
Naghztarīn mewa [var. *na'mat*]*-i-Hindūstān.*[5]

Mangoes when good, are very good, but, many as are eaten, few are first-rate. They are usually plucked unripe and ripened in the house. Unripe, they make excellent condiments (*qātīq*), are good also preserved in syrup.[6] Taking it altogether, the mango is the best fruit of Hindūstān. Some so praise it as to give it preference over all fruits except the musk-melon (T. *qāwūn*), but

[1] T. *qiyūnlīghī*, presumably referring to spines or difficult bones; T. *qīn*, however, means a scabbard [Shaw].

[2] One of the common frogs is a small one which, when alarmed, jumps along the surface of the water (G. of I. i, 273).

[3] *Anb* and *anbah* (pronounced *amb* and *ambah*) are now less commonly used names than *ām*. It is an interesting comment on Bābur's words that Abū'l-fazl spells *anb*, letter by letter, and says that the *b* is quiescent (*Āyīn* 28; for the origin of the word mango, *vide* Yule's H.J. *s.n.*).

[4] A corresponding diminutive would be fairling.

[5] The variants, entered in parenthesis, are found in the Bib. Ind. ed. of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* p. 75 and in a (bazar) copy of the *Ḳurānu's-sā'dain* in my husband's possession. As Amīr Khusrau was a poet of Hindūstān, either *khwash* (*khwesh*) [our own] or *mā* [our] would suit his meaning. The couplet is, literally:—

Our fairling, [*i.e.* mango] beauty-maker of the garden,
Fairest fruit of Hindūstān.

[6] Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail Ludī* in 929 AH. sent Bābur a gift of mangoes preserved in honey (*in loco* p. 440).

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such praise outmatches it. It resembles the *kārdī* peach.[1] It ripens in the rains. It is eaten in two ways : one is to squeeze it to a pulp, make a hole in it, and suck out the juice,—the other, to peel and eat it like the *kārdī* peach. Its tree grows very large[2] and has a leaf somewhat resembling the peach-tree's. The trunk is ill-looking and ill-shaped, but in Bengāl and Gujrāt is heard of as growing handsome (*khūb*).[3]

The plantain (Sans. *kelā*, *Musa sapientum*) is another.[4] An
Fol. 283. 'Arab calls it *mauz*.[5] Its tree is not very tall, indeed is not to be called a tree, since it is something between a grass and a tree. Its leaf is a little like that of the *amān-qarā*[6] but grows about 2 yards (*qārī*) long and nearly one broad. Out of the middle of its leaves rises, heart-like, a bud which resembles a sheep's heart. As each leaf (petal) of this bud expands, there grows at its base a row of 6 or 7 flowers which become the plantains. These flowers become visible with the lengthening of the heart-like shoot and the opening of the petals of the bud. The tree is understood to flower once only.[7] The fruit has two pleasant qualities, one that it peels easily, the other that it has neither stone nor fibre.[8] It is rather longer and thinner than the egg-plant (P. *bādanjān ; Solanum melongena*). It is not very sweet ; the Bengāl plantain (*i.e. chīnī-champa*) is, however, said to be very

[1] I have learned nothing more definite about the word *kārdī* than that it is the name of a superior kind of peach (*Ghiyāṣu'l-lughat*).

[2] The preceding sentence is out of place in the Turkī text ; it may therefore be a marginal note, perhaps not made by Bābur.

[3] This sentence suggests that Bābur, writing in Āgra or Fatḥpūr did not there see fine mango-trees.

[4] See Yule's H.J. on the plantain, the banana of the West.

[5] This word is a descendant of Sanscrit *mocha*, and parent of *musa* the botanical name of the fruit (Yule).

[6] Shaikh Effendī (Kunos), Zenker and de Courteille say of this only that it is the name of a tree. Shaw gives a name that approaches it, *ārman*, a grass, a weed ; Scully explains this as *Artemisia vulgaris*, wormwood, but Roxburgh gives no *Artemisia* having a leaf resembling the plantain's. Scully has *arāmadān*, unexplained, which, like *amān-qarā*, may refer to comfort in shade. Bābur's comparison will be with something known in Transoxiana. Maize has general resemblance with the plantain. So too have the names of the plants, since *mocha* and *mauz* stand for the plantain and (Hindī) *mukā'ī* for maize. These incidental resemblances bear, however lightly, on the question considered in the Ency. Br. (art. maize) whether maize was early in Asia or not ; some writers hold that it was ; if Bābur's *amān-qarā* were maize, maize will have been familiar in Transoxiana in his day.

[7] Abū'l-faẓl mentions that the plantain-tree bears no second crop unless cut down to the stump.

[8] Bābur was fortunate not to have met with a seed-bearing plantain.

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sweet. The plantain is a very good-looking tree, its broad, broad, leaves of beautiful green having an excellent appearance.

The *anblī* (H. *imlī*, *Tamarindus indica*, the tamarind) is another. By this name (*anblī*) people call the *khurmā-i-hind* (Indian date-tree).[1] It has finely-cut leaves (leaflets), precisely like those of the (T.) *būtā*, except that they are not so finely-cut.[2] It is a very good-looking tree, giving dense shade. It grows wild in masses too.

The (Beng.) *mahuwā* (*Bassia latifolia*) is another.[3] People call it also (P.) *gul-chikān* (or *chigān*, distilling-flower). This also is a very large tree. Most of the wood in the houses of Hindū- Fol. 283*b*. stānīs is from it. Spirit (*'araq*) is distilled from its flowers,[4] not only so, but they are dried and eaten like raisins, and from them thus dried, spirit is also extracted. The dried flowers taste just like *kishmish*;[5] they have an ill-flavour. The flowers are not bad in their natural state[6]; they are eatable. The *mahuwā* grows wild also. Its fruit is tasteless, has rather a large seed with a thin husk, and from this seed, again,[7] oil is extracted.

The mimusops (Sans. *khirnī*, *Mimusops kauki*) is another. Its tree, though not very large, is not small. The fruit is yellow and

[1] The ripe "dates" are called P. *tamar-i Hind*, whence our tamarind, and *Tamarindus Indica*.

[2] *Sophora alopecuroides*, a leguminous plant (Scully).

[3] Abū'l-faẓl gives *galaundā* as the name of the "fruit" [*mewa*],—Forbes, as that of the fallen flower. Cf. Brandis p. 426 and Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Mohwa.

[4] Bābur seems to say that spirit is extracted from both the fresh and the dried flowers. The fresh ones are favourite food with deer and jackals; they have a sweet spirituous taste. Erskine notes that the spirit made from them was well-known in Bombay by the name of Moura, or of Parsi-brandy, and that the farm of it was a considerable article of revenue (p. 325 n.). Roxburgh describes it as strong and intoxicating (p. 411).

[5] This is the name of a green, stoneless grape which when dried, results in a raisin resembling the sultanas of Europe (*Jahāngīr's Memoirs* and Yule's H.J. *s.n.*; Griffiths' *Journal of Travel* pp. 359, 388).

[6] *Aūl*, lit. the *aūl* of the flower. The Persian translation renders *aūl* by *bū* which may allow both words to be understood in their (root) sense of *being*, *i.e.* natural state. De Courteille translates by *quand la fleur est fraîche* (ii, 210); Erskine took *bū* to mean smell (*Memoirs* p. 325), but the *aūl* it translates, does not seem to have this meaning. For reading *aūl* as "the natural state", there is circumstantial support in the flower's being eaten raw (Roxburgh). The annotator of the Elphinstone MS. [whose defacement of that Codex has been often mentioned], has added points and *tashdīd* to the *aūl-ī* (*i.e.* its *aūl*), so as to produce *awwalī* (first, f. 235). Against this there are the obvious objections that the Persian translation does not reproduce, and that its *bū* does not render *awwalī*; also that *aūl-ī* is a noun with its enclitic genitive *yā* (*ī*).

[7] This word seems to be meant to draw attention to the various merits of the *mahuwā* tree.

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thinner than the red jujube (T. *chīkdā*, *Elæagnus angustifolia*). It has just the grape's flavour, but a rather bad after-taste; it is not bad, however, and is eatable. The husk of its stone is thin.

The (Sans.) *jāman* (*Eugenia jambolana*)[1] is another. Its leaf, except for being thicker and greener, is quite like the willow's (T. *tāl*). The tree does not want for beauty. Its fruit is like a black grape, is sourish, and not very good.

The (H.) *kamrak* (Beng. *kamrunga*, *Averrhoa carambola*) is another. Its fruit is five-sided, about as large as the *'ain-ālū*[2] and some 3 inches long. It ripens to yellow; gathered unripe, it is very bitter; gathered ripe, its bitterness has become sub-acid, not bad, not wanting in pleasantness.[3]

The jack-fruit (H. *kadhil*, B. *kanthal*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*) is another.[4] This is a fruit of singular form and flavour; it looks
Fol. 284. like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis (*gīpa*);[5] and it is sickeningly-sweet. Inside it are filbert-like stones[6], which, on the whole, resemble dates, but are round, not long, and have softer substance; these are eaten. The jack-fruit is very adhesive; for this reason people are said to oil mouth and hands before eating of it. It is heard of also as growing, not only on the branches of its tree, but on trunk and root too.[7] One would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises.[8]

The monkey-jack (H. *badhal*, B. *burhul*, *Artocarpus lacoocha*) is another. The fruit may be of the size of a quince (var. apple).

[1] Erskine notes that this is not to be confounded with E. *jāmbū*, the rose-apple (*Memoirs* p. 325 n.). Cf. Yule's H.J. *s.n. Jambu.*

[2] var. *ghat-ālū*, *ghab-ālū*, *ghain-ālū*, *shafi-ālū*. Scully enters *'ain-ālū* (true-plum?) unexplained. The *kamrak* fruit is 3 in. long (Brandis) and of the size of a lemon (Firminger); dimensions which make Bābur's 4 *aīlīk* (hand's-thickness) a slight excess only, and which thus allow *aīlīk*, with its Persion translation, *angusht*, to be approximately an inch.

[3] Speede, giving the fruit its Sanscrit name *kamarunga*, says it is acid, rather pleasant, something like an insipid apple; also that its pretty pink blossoms grow on the trunk and main branches (i, 211).

[4] Cf. Yule's H.J. *s.n.* jack-fruit. In a Calcutta nurseryman's catalogue of 1914 AD. three kinds of jack-tree are offered for sale, viz. "Crispy or Khaja, Soft or Neo, Rose-scented" (Seth, Feronia Nursery).

[5] The *gīpa* is a sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled as a pudding. The resemblance of the jack, as it hangs on the tree, to the haggis, is wonderfully complete (Erskine).

[6] These when roasted have the taste of chestnuts.

[7] Firminger (p. 186) describes an ingenious method of training.

[8] For a note of Humāyūn's on the jack-fruit *see* Appendix O.

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Its smell is not bad.[1] Unripe it is a singularly tasteless and empty[2] thing; when ripe, it is not so bad. It ripens soft, can be pulled to pieces and eaten anywhere, tastes very much like a rotten quince, and has an excellent little austere flavour.

The lote-fruit (Sans. *ber*, *Zizyphus jujuba*) is another. Its Persian name is understood to be *kanār*.[3] It is of several kinds: of one the fruit is larger than the plum (*ālūcha*)[4]; another is shaped like the Ḥusainī grape. Most of them are not very good; we saw one in Bāndīr (Gūāliār) that was really good. The lote-tree sheds its leaves under the Signs *Ṣaur* and *Jauzā* (Bull and Twins), burgeons under *Saraṭān* and *Asad* (Crab and Lion) which are the true rainy-season,—then becoming fresh and green, and it ripens its fruit under *Dalū* and *Ḥaut* (Bucket *i.e.* Aquarius, and Fish).

The (Sans.) *karaūndā* (*Carissa carandas*, the corinda) is another. It grows in bushes after the fashion of the (T.) *chīka* of our country,[5] but the *chīka* grows on mountains, the *karaūndā* on the plains. In flavour it is like the rhubarb itself,[6] but is sweeter and less juicy. Fol. 284*b*.

The (Sans.) *pānīyālā* (*Flacourtia cataphracta*)[7] is another. It is larger than the plum (*ālūcha*) and like the red-apple unripe.[8] It is a little austere and is good. The tree is taller than the pomegranate's; its leaf is like that of the almond-tree but smaller.

[1] *aīd-ī-yamān aīmās*. It is somewhat curious that Bābur makes no comment on the odour of the jack itself.

[2] *būsh*, English bosh (Shaw). The Persian translation inserts no more about this fruit.

[3] Steingass applies this name to the plantain.

[4] Erskine notes that "this is the bullace-plum, small, not more than twice as large as the sloe and not so high-flavoured; it is generally yellow, sometimes red." Like Bābur, Brandis enumerates several varieties and mentions the seasonal changes of the tree (p. 170).

[5] This will be Kābul, probably, because Transoxiana is written of by Bābur usually, if not invariably, as "that country", and because he mentions the *chīkda* (*i.e. chīka*?), under its Persian name *sinjid*, in his *Description of Kābul* (f. 129*b*).

[6] P. *mar manjān*, which I take to refer to the *rīwājlār* of Kābul. (Cf. f. 129*b*, where, however, (note 5) are *corrigenda* of Masson's *rawash* for *rīwāj*, and his third to second volume.) Kehr's Codex contains an extra passage about the *karaūn dā*, *viz.* that from it is made a tasty fritter-like dish, resembling a rhubarb-fritter (Ilminsky, p. 369).

[7] People call it (P.) *pālasa* also (Elph. MS. f. 236, marginal note).

[8] Perhaps the red-apple of Kābul, where two sorts are common, both rosy, one very much so, but much inferior to the other (Griffith's *Journal of Travel* p. 388).

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The (H.) *gūlar* (*Ficus glomerata*, the clustered fig)[1] is another. The fruit grows out of the tree-trunk, resembles the fig (P. *anjīr*), but is singularly tasteless.

The (Sans.) *āmlā* (*Phyllanthus emblica*, the myrobalan-tree) is another. This also is a five-sided fruit.[2] It looks like the unblown cotton-pod. It is an astringent and ill-flavoured thing, but confiture made of it is not bad. It is a wholesome fruit. Its tree is of excellent form and has very minute leaves.

The (H.) *chirūnjī* (*Buchanania latifolia*)[3] is another. This tree had been understood to grow in the hills, but I knew later about it, because there were three or four clumps of it in our gardens. It is much like the *mahuwā*. Its kernel is not bad, a thing between the walnut and the almond, not bad! rather smaller than the pistachio and round; people put it in custards (P. *pālūda*) and sweetmeats (Ar. *ḥalwa*).

The date-palm (P. *khurmā*, *Phœnix dactylifera*) is another. This is not peculiar to Hindūstān, but is here described because it is not in those countries (Tramontana). It grows in Lamghān also.[4] Its branches (*i.e.* leaves) grow from just one place at its top; its leaves (*i.e.* leaflets) grow on both sides of the branches (midribs) from neck (*būīn*) to tip; its trunk is rough and ill-
Fol. 285. coloured; its fruit is like a bunch of grapes, but much larger. People say that the date-palm amongst vegetables resembles an animal in two respects: one is that, as, if an animal's head be cut off, its life is taken, so it is with the date-palm, if its head is cut off, it dries off; the other is that, as the offspring of animals is not produced without the male, so too with the date-palm, it gives no good fruit unless a branch of the male-tree be brought into touch with the female-tree. The truth of this last matter is not known (to me). The above-mentioned head of the date-palm is called its cheese. The tree so grows that where its leaves come out is cheese-white, the leaves becoming green as they lengthen. This white part, the so-called cheese, is tolerable eating, not bad, much like the walnut. People make a wound in

[1] Its downy fruit grows in bundles from the trunk and large branches (Roxburgh).
[2] The reference by "also" (*ham*) will be to the *kamrak* (f. 283*b*), but both Roxburgh and Brandis say the *amla* is six striated.
[3] The Sanscrit and Bengālī name for the chirūnjī-tree is *pīyala* (Roxburgh p. 363).
[4] Cf. f. 250*b*.

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the cheese, and into this wound insert a leaf(let), in such a way that all liquid flowing from the wound runs down it.[1] The tip of the leaflet is set over the mouth of a pot suspended to the tree in such a way that it collects whatever liquor is yielded by the wound. This liquor is rather pleasant if drunk at once; if drunk after two or three days, people say it is quite exhilarating (*kaifīyat*). Once when I had gone to visit Bārī,[2] and made an excursion to the villages on the bank of the Chaṃbal-river, we met in with people collecting this date-liquor in the valley-bottom. A good deal was drunk; no hilarity was felt; much must be drunk, seemingly, to produce a little cheer.

The coco-nut palm (P. *nārgīl*, *Cocos nucifera*) is another. An 'Arab gives it Arabic form[3] and says *nārjīl*; Hindūstān people say *nālīr*, seemingly by popular error.[4] Its fruit is the Hindī-nut from which black spoons (*qarā qāshūq*) are made and the larger ones of which serve for guitar-bodies. The coco-palm has general resemblance to the date-palm, but has more, and more glistening leaves. Like the walnut, the coco-nut has a green outer husk; but its husk is of fibre on fibre. All ropes for ships and boats and also cord for sewing boat-seams are heard of as made from these husks. The nut, when stripped of its husk, near one end shews a triangle of hollows, two of which are solid, the third a nothing (*būsh*), easily pierced. Before the kernel forms, there is fluid inside; people pierce the soft hollow and drink this; it tastes like date-palm cheese in solution, and is not bad.

The (Sans.) *tār* (*Borassus flabelliformis*, the Palmyra-palm) is another. Its branches (*i.e.* leaves) also are quite at its top. Just as Fol. with the date-palm, people hang a pot on it, take its juice and drink it. They call this liquor *tārī*;[5] it is said to be more exhilarating than date liquor. For about a yard along its branches

[1] The leaflet is rigid enough to serve as a runlet, but soon wears out; for this reason, the usual practice is to use one of split bamboo.

[2] This is a famous hunting-ground between Biāna and Dhūlpūr, Rājpūtāna, visited in 933 AH. (f. 330*b*). Bābur's great-great-grandson Shāh-jahān built a hunting-lodge there (G. of I.).

[3] Ḥai. MS. *mu'arrab*, but the Elph. MS. *maghrib*, [occidentalizing]. The Ḥai. MS. when writing of the orange (*infra*) also has *maghrib*. A distinction of locality may be drawn by *maghrib*.

[4] Bābur's "Hindūstān people" (*aīl*) are those neither Turks nor Afghāns.

[5] This name, with its usual form *tāḍī* (toddy), is used for the fermented sap of the date, coco, and *mhār* palms also (cf. Yule's H.J. *s.n.* toddy).

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(*i.e.* leaf-stems) [1] there are no leaves; above this, at the tip of the branch (stem), 30 or 40 open out like the spread palm of the hand, all from one place. These leaves approach a yard in length. People often write Hindī characters on them after the fashion of account rolls (*daftar yūsūnlūq*).

The orange (Ar. *nāranj, Citrus aurantium*) and orange-like fruits are others of Hindūstān.[2] Oranges grow well in the Lamghānāt, Bajaur and Sawād. The Lamghānāt one is smallish, has a navel,[3] is very agreeable, fragile and juicy. It is not at all like the orange of Khurāsān and those parts, being so fragile that many spoil before reaching Kābul from the Lamghānāt which may be 13–14 *yīghāch* (65–70 miles), while the Astarābād orange, by reason of its thick skin and scant juice, carries with
286*b*. less damage from there to Samarkand, some 270–280 *yīghāch*.[4] The Bajaur orange is about as large as a quince, very juicy and more acid than other oranges. Khwāja Kalān once said to me, "We counted the oranges gathered from a single tree of this sort in Bajaur and it mounted up to 7,000." It had been always in my mind that the word *nāranj* was an Arabic form;[5] it would seem to be really so, since every-one in Bajaur and Sawād says (P.) *nārang*.[6]

[1] Bābur writes of the long leaf-stalk as a branch (*shākh*); he also seems to have taken each spike of the fan-leaf to represent a separate leaf. [For two omissions from my trs. *see* Appendix O.]

[2] Most of the fruits Bābur describes as orange-like are named in the following classified list, taken from Watts' *Economic Products of India*:—"**Citrus aurantium,** *narangi, sangtara, amrit-phal*; **C. decumana,** *pumelo*, shaddock, forbidden-fruit, *sada-phal*; **C. medica** proper, *turunj, limu*; **C. medica limonum,** *jambhira, karna-nebu*." Under *C. aurantium* Brandis enters both the sweet and the Seville oranges (*nārangī*); this Bābur appears to do also.

[3] *kīndīklīk*, explained in the Elph. Codex by *nāfwār* (f. 238). This detail is omitted by the Persian translation. Firminger's description (p. 221) of Aurangābād oranges suggests that they also are navel-oranges. At the present time one of the best oranges had in England is the navel one of California.

[4] Useful addition is made to earlier notes on the variability of the *yīghāch*, a variability depending on time taken to cover the ground, by the following passage from Henderson and Hume's *Lahor to Yarkand* (p. 120), which shews that even in the last century the *farsang* (the P. word used in the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* for T. *yīghāch*) was computed by time. "All the way from Kargallik (Qārghalīq) to Yarkand, there were tall wooden mile-posts along the roads, at intervals of about 5 miles, or rather one hour's journey, apart. On a board at the top of each post, or *farsang* as it is called, the distances were very legibly written in Turki."

[5] *ma'rib*, Elph. MS. *magharrib*; (cf. f. 285*b* note).

[6] *i.e. nārang* (Sans. *nārangā*) has been changed to *nāranj* in the 'Arab mouth. What is probably one of Humāyūn's notes preserved by the Elph. Codex (f. 238), appears to say—it is mutilated—that *nārang* has been corrupted into *nāranj*.

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The lime (B. *līmū*, *C. acida*) is another. It is very plentiful, about the size of a hen's egg, and of the same shape. If a person poisoned drink the water in which its fibres have been boiled, danger is averted.[1]

The citron (P. *turunj*,[2] *C. medica*) is another of the fruits resembling the orange. Bajaurīs and Sawādīs call it *bālang* and hence give the name *bālang-marabbā* to its marmalade (*marabbā*) confiture. In Hindūstān people call the *turunj bajaurī*.[3] There are two kinds of *turunj*: one is sweet, flavourless and nauseating, of no use for eating but with peel that may be good for marmalade; it has the same sickening sweetness as the Lamghānāt *turunj*; the other, that of Hindūstān and Bajaur, is acid, quite deliciously acid, and makes excellent sherbet, well-flavoured, and wholesome drinking. Its size may be that of the Khusrawī melon; it has a thick skin, wrinkled and uneven, with one end thinner and beaked. It is of a deeper yellow than the orange (*nāranj*). Its tree has no trunk, is rather low, grows in bushes, and has a larger leaf than the orange. Fol. 287.

The *sangtāra*[4] is another fruit resembling the orange (*nāranj*).

[1] The Elph. Codex has a note—mutilated in early binding—which is attested by its scribe as copied from Humāyūn's hand-writing, and is to the effect that once on his way from the Hot-bath, he saw people who had taken poison and restored them by giving lime-juice.

Erskine here notes that the same antidotal quality is ascribed to the citron by Virgil:—

> Media fert tristes succos. tardumque saporem
> Felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum,
> Pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,
> Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,
> Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.
>
> Georgics II. v. 126.

Vide Heyne's note i, 438.

[2] P. *turunj*, wrinkled, puckered; Sans. *vījāpūra* and H. *bijaurā* (*Āyīn* 28), seed-filled.

[3] Bābur may have confused this with H. *bijaurā*; so too appears to have done the writer (Humāyūn?) of a [now mutilated] note in the Elph. Codex (f. 238), which seems to say that the fruit or its name went from Bajaur to Hindūstān. Is the country of Bajaur so-named from its indigenous orange (*vījāpūra*, whence *bijaurā*)? The name occurs also north of Kangra.

[4] Of this name variants are numerous, *santra*, *santhara*, *samtara*, etc. Watts classes it as a *C. aurantium*; Erskine makes it the common sweet orange; Firminger, quoting Ross (p. 221) writes that, as grown in the Nagpur gardens it is one of the finest Indian oranges, with rind thin, smooth and close. The Emperor Muḥammad Shāh is said to have altered its name to *rang-tāra* because of its fine colour (*rang*) (Forbes). Speede (ii, 109) gives both names. As to the meaning and origin of the name *santara* or *santra*, so suggestive of Cintra, the Portuguese home of a similar orange, it may be said that it looks like a hill-name used in N.E. India, for there is a village in the

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It is like the citron (*turunj*) in colour and form, but has both ends of its skin level ;[1] also it is not rough and is somewhat the smaller fruit. Its tree is large, as large as the apricot (*aūrūq*), with a leaf like the orange's. It is a deliciously acid fruit, making a very pleasant and wholesome sherbet. Like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, but not weakening like the orange (*nāranj*).

The large lime which they call (H.) *gal-gal*[2] in Hindūstān is another fruit resembling the orange. It has the shape of a goose's egg, but unlike that egg, does not taper to the ends. Its skin is smooth like the *sangtāra's* ; it is remarkably juicy.

The (H.) *jānbīrī* lime[3] is another orange-like fruit. It is orange-shaped and, though yellow, not orange-yellow. It smells like the citron (*turunj*) ; it too is deliciously acid.

The (Sans.) *sadā-fal* (*phal*)[4] is another orange-like fruit. This is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the orange (*nāranj*).

The *amrd-fal* (sic. Ḥai. MS.—Sans. *amrit-phal*)[5] is another orange-like fruit.

The lemon (H. *karnā*, *C. limonum*) is another fruit resembling the orange (*nāranj*); it may be as large as the *gal-gal* and is also acid.

The (Sans.) *amal-bīd*[6] is another fruit resembling the orange.

Bhutan Hills, (Western Duars) known from its orange groves as Santra-bārī, Abode of the orange. To this (mentioned already as my husband's suggestion in Mr. Crooke's ed. of Yule's H.J.) support is given by the item "Suntura, famous Nipal variety", entered in Seth's Nursery-list of 1914 (Feronia Nurseries, Calcutta). Light on the question of origin could be thrown, no doubt, by those acquainted with the dialects of the hill-tract concerned.

[1] This refers, presumably, to the absence of the beak characteristic of all citrons.

[2] melter, from the Sans. root *gal*, which provides the names of several lemons by reason of their solvent quality, specified by Bābur (*infra*) of the *amal-bīd*. Erskine notes that in his day the *gal-gal* was known as *kilmek* (*galmak* ?).

[3] Sans. *jambīrā*, H. *jambīr*, classed by Abū'l-faẓl as one of the somewhat sour fruits and by Watts as *Citrus medica limonum*.

[4] Watts, *C. decumana*, the shaddock or pumelo ; Firminger (p. 223) has *C. decumana pyriformis* suiting Bābur's "pear-shaped". What Bābur compared it with will be the Transoxanian pear and quince (*P. amrūd* and *bihī*) and not the Indian guava and Bengal quince (*P. amrūd* and *H. bael*).

[5] The Turkī text writes *amrd*. Watts classes the *amrit-phal* as a *C. aurantium*. This supports Erskine's suggestion that it is the mandarin-orange. Humāyūn describes it in a note which is written pell-mell in the text of the Elph. Codex and contains also descriptions of the *kāmila* and *santara* oranges ; it can be seen translated in Appendix O.

[6] So spelled in the Turkī text and also in two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. I.O. 217 and 218, but by Abū'l-faẓl *amal-bīt*. Both P. *bīd* and P. *bīt* mean willow and cane (ratan), so that *amal-bīd* (*bīt*) can mean acid-willow and acid-cane. But as

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After three years (in Hindūstān), it was first seen to-day.[1] They say a needle melts away if put inside it,[2] either from its acidity or some other property. It is as acid, perhaps, as the citron and lemon (*turunj* and *līmū*).[3] Fol. 287*b*.

(*m. Vegetable products of Hindūstān :—Flowers.*)

In Hindūstān there is great variety of flowers. One is the (D.) *jāsūn* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*), which some Hindūstānīs call (Hindī) *gaẓhal*.[4] *It is not a grass (*giyāh*) ; its tree (is in stems like the bush of the red-rose ; it) is rather taller than the bush of the red-rose.[5] * The flower of the *jāsūn* is fuller in colour than that of the pomegranate, and may be of the size of the red-rose, but, the red-rose, when its bud has grown, opens simply, whereas, when the *jāsūn*-bud opens, a stem on which other petals grow, is seen like a heart amongst its expanded petals. Though the two are parts of the one flower, yet the outcome of the lengthening and thinning of that stem-like heart of the first-opened petals gives the semblance of two flowers.[6] It is not a common matter. The beautifully coloured flowers look very well on the tree, but

Bābur is writing of a fruit like an orange, the cane that bears an acid fruit, *Calamus rotang*, can be left aside in favour of *Citrus medica acidissima*. Of this fruit the solvent property Bābur mentions, as well as the commonly-known service in cleansing metal, link it, by these uses, with the willow and suggest a ground for understanding, as Erskine did, that *amal-bīd* meant acid-willow ; for willow-wood is used to rub rust off metal.

[1] This statement shows that Bābur was writing the *Description of Hindūstān* in 935 AH. (1528–9 AD.), which is the date given for it by Shaikh Zain.

[2] This story of the needle is believed in India of all the citron kind, which are hence called *sūī-gal* (needle-melter) in the Dakhin (Erskine). Cf. Forbes, p. 489 *s.n. sūī-gal*.

[3] Erskine here quotes information from Abū'l-faẓl (*Āyīn* 28) about Akbar's encouragement of the cultivation of fruits.

[4] Hindustani (Urdu) *gaṛhal*. Many varieties of Hibiscus (syn. Althea) grow in India ; some thrive in Surrey gardens ; the *jāsūn* by name and colour can be taken as what is known in Malayan, Tamil, etc., as the shoe-flower, from its use in darkening leather (Yule's H.J.).

[5] I surmise that what I have placed between asterisks here belongs to the next-following plant, the oleander. For though the branches of the *jāsūn* grow vertically, the bush is a dense mass upon one stout trunk, or stout short stem. The words placed in parenthesis above are not with the Haidarabad but are with the Elphinstone Codex. There would seem to have been a scribe's skip from one "rose" to the other. As has been shewn repeatedly, this part of the Bābur-nāma has been much annotated ; in the Elph. Codex, where only most of the notes are preserved, some are entered by the scribe pell-mell into Bābur's text. The present instance may be a case of a marginal note, added to the text in a wrong place.

[6] The peduncle supporting the plume of medial petals is clearly seen only when the flower opens first. The plumed Hibiscus is found in florists' catalogues described as "double".

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they do not last long; they fade in just one day. The *jāsūn* blossoms very well through the four months of the rains; it seems indeed to flower all through the year; with this profusion, however, it gives no perfume.

The (H.) *kanīr* (*Nerium odorum*, the oleander)[1] is another. It grows both red and white. Like the peach-flower, it is five petalled. It is like the peach-bloom (in colour?), but opens 14 or 15 flowers from one place, so that seen from a distance, they look like one great flower. The oleander-bush is taller than the rose-bush. The red oleander has a sort of scent, faint and agreeable. (Like the *jāsūn*,) it also blooms well and profusely in the
Fol. 288. rains, and it also is had through most of the year.

The (H.) (*kīūrā*) (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, the screw-pine) is another.[2] It has a very agreeable perfume.[3] Musk has the defect of being dry; this may be called moist musk—a very agreeable perfume. The tree's singular appearance notwithstanding, it has flowers perhaps 1½ to 2 *qārīsh* (13½ to 18 inches) long. It has long leaves having the character of the reed (P.) *gharau*[4] and having spines. Of these leaves, while pressed together bud-like, the outer ones are the greener and more spiny; the inner ones are soft and white. In amongst these inner leaves grow things like what belongs to the middle of a flower, and from these things comes the excellent perfume. When the tree first comes up not yet shewing any trunk, it is like the bush (*būta*) of the male-reed,[5] but with wider and more spiny leaves. What serves it for a trunk is very shapeless, its roots remaining shewn.

[1] This Anglo-Indians call also rose-bay. A Persian name appears to be *zahr-ǧiyāh*, poison-grass, which makes it the more probable that the doubtful passage in the previous description of the *jāsūn* belongs to the rod-like oleander, known as the poison-grass. The oleander is common in river-beds over much country known to Bābur, outside India.

[2] Roxburgh gives a full and interesting account of this tree.

[3] Here the Elph. Codex, only, has the (seeming) note, "An 'Arab calls it *kāzī*" (or *kāwī*). This fills out Steingass' part-explanation of *kāwī*, "the blossom of the fragrant palm-tree, *armāṭ*" (p. 1010), and of *armāṭ*, "a kind of date-tree with a fragrant blossom" (p. 39), by making *armāṭ* and *ḳāwī* seem to be the *Pandanus* and its flower.

[4] *Calamus scriptorius* (Vullers ii, 607. H.B.). Abū'l-faẓl compares the leaves to *jawārī*, the great millet (Forbes); Blochmann (A. A. p. 83) translates *jawārī* by *maize* (*juwārā*, Forbes).

[5] T. *aīrkāk-qūmūsh*, a name Scully enters unexplained. Under *qūmūsh* (reed) he enters *Arundo madagascarensis*; Bābur's comparison will be with some Transoxanian *Arundo* or *Calamus*, presumably.

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The (P.) *yāsman* (jasmine) is another; the white they call (B.) *champa.*[1] It is larger and more strongly scented than our *yāsman*-flower.

(*n. Seasons of the year.*)

Again:—whereas there are four seasons in those countries,[2] there are three in Hindūstān, namely, four months are summer; four are the rains; four are winter. The beginning of their months is from the welcome of the crescent-moons.[3] Every three years they add a month to the year; if one had been added to the rainy season, the next is added, three years later, to the winter months, the next, in the same way, to the hot months. This is their mode of intercalation.[4] (*Chait, Baisākh, Jeṭh* and *Asāṛh*) are the hot months, corresponding with the Fish, (Ram, Bull and Twins; *Sāwan, Bhādoṅ, Kū,ār* and *Kātik*) are the rainy months, corresponding with the Crab, (Lion, Virgin and Balance; *Aghan, Pūs, Māgh* and *Phālgun*) are the cold months, corresponding with the Scorpion, (Archer, Capricorn, and Bucket or Aquarius). Fol. 288*b*.

The people of Hind, having thus divided the year into three seasons of four months each, divide each of those seasons by taking from each, the two months of the force of the heat, rain,[5] and cold. Of the hot months the last two, *i.e. Jeṭh* and *Asāṛh* are the force of the heat; of the rainy months, the first two, *i.e. Sāwan* and *Bhādoṅ* are the force of the rains; of the cold season, the middle two, *i.e. Pūs* and *Māgh* are the force of the cold. By this classification there are six seasons in Hindūstān.

[1] *Champa* seems to have been Bābur's word (Elph. and Ḥai. MSS.), but is the (B.) name for *Michelia champaka*; the Pers. translation corrects it by (B.) *chambelī*, (*yāsman*, jasmine).

[2] Here, "outside India" will be meant, where Hindū rules do not prevail.

[3] *Hind aīlārī-nīng ibtidā-sī hilāl aīlār-nīng istiqbāl-dīn dūr.* The use here of *istiqbāl*, welcome, attracts attention; does it allude to the universal welcome of lighter nights? or is it reminiscent of Muḥammadan welcome to the Moon's crescent in Shawwāl?

[4] For an exact statement of the intercalary months *vide* Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 91. In my next sentence (*supra*) the parenthesis-marks indicate blanks left on the page of the Ḥai. MS. as though waiting for information. These and other similar blanks make for the opinion that the Ḥai. Codex is a direct copy of Bābur's draft manuscript.

[5] The sextuple division (*ṛitu*) of the year is referred to on f. 284, where the Signs Crab and Lion are called the season of the true Rains.

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(*o. Days of the week.*)

To the days also they have given names:—[1] (*Sanīchar* is Saturday; *Rabī-bār* is Sunday; *Som-wār* is Monday; *Mangal-wār* is Tuesday: *Budh-bār* is Wednesday; *Brihaspat-bār is* Thursday; *Shukr-bār* is Friday).

(*p. Divisions of time.*)

As in our countries what is known by the (Turkī) term *kīcha-gūndūz* (a day-and-night, nycthemeron) is divided into 24 parts, each called an hour (Ar. *sā'at*), and the hour is divided into 60 parts, each called a minute (Ar. *daqīqa*), so that a day-and-night

Fol. 289.

(*Author's note on the daqīqa.*) The *daqīqa* is about as long as six repetitions of the *Fātiḥa* with the *Bismillāh*, so that a day-and-night is as long as 8640 repetitions of the *Fātiḥa* with the *Bismillāh*.

consists of 1440 minutes,—so the people of Hind divide the night-and-day into 60 parts, each called a (S.) *g'harī*.[2] They also divide the night into four and the day into four, calling each part a (S.) *pahr* (watch) which in Persian is a *pās*. A watch and watchman (*pās u pāsbān*) had been heard about (by us) in those countries (Transoxania), but without these particulars. Agreeing with the division into watches, a body of *g'harīālīs*[3] is chosen and appointed in all considerable towns of Hindūstān. They cast a broad brass (plate-) thing,[4] perhaps as large as a tray (*ṭabaq*) and about two hands'-thickness; this they call a *g'harīāl* and hang up in a high place (*bīr buland yīr-dā*). Also they have a vessel perforated at the bottom like an hour-cup[5] and filling

[1] Bābur appears not to have entered either the Hindī or the Persian names of the week:—the Ḥai. MS. has a blank space; the Elph. MS. had the Persian names only, and Hindī ones have been written in above these; Kehr has the Persian ones only; Ilminsky has added the Hindī ones. (The spelling of the Hindī names, in my translation, is copied from Forbes' Dictionary.)

[2] The Ḥai. MS. writes *garī* and *garīāl*. The word now stands for the hour of 60 minutes.

[3] *i.e.* gong-men. The name is applied also to an alligator *Lacertus gangeticus* (Forbes).

[4] There is some confusion in the text here, the Ḥai. MS. reading *birinj-dīn tīshī* (?) *nīma qūīūbtūrlār*—the Elph. MS. (f. 240*b*) *biring-dīn bīr yāssī nīma qūīūbtūrlār*. The Persian translation, being based on the text of the Elphinstone Codex reads *az biring yak chīz pahnī rekhta and*. The word *tīshī* of the Ḥai. MS. may represent *tasht* plate or *yāssī*, broad; against the latter however there is the sentence that follows and gives the size.

[5] Here again the wording of the Ḥai. MS. is not clear; the sense however is obvious. Concerning the clepsydra *vide* A. A. Jarrett, ii, 15 and notes; Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*; Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Ghurry.

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in one *g'harī* (*i.e.* 24 minutes). The *g'harīālīs* put this into water and wait till it fills. For example, they will put the perforated cup into water at day-birth; when it fills the first time, they strike the gong once with their mallets; when a second time, twice, and so on till the end of the watch. They announce the end of a watch by several rapid blows of their mallets. After these they pause; then strike once more, if the first day-watch has ended, twice if the second, three times if the third, and four times if the fourth. After the fourth day-watch, when the night-watches begin, these are gone through in the same way. It used to be the rule to beat the sign of a watch only when the watch ended; so that sleepers chancing to wake in the night and hear the sound of a third or fourth *g'harī*, would not know whether it was of the second or third night-watch. I therefore ordered that at night or on a cloudy day the sign of the watch should be struck after that of the *g'harī*, for example, that after striking the third *g'harī* of the first night-watch, the *g'harīālīs* were to pause and then strike the sign of the watch, in order to make it known that this third *g'harī* was of the first night-watch,—and that after striking four *g'harīs* of the third night-watch, they should pause and then strike the sign of the third watch, in order to make it known that this fourth *g'harī* was of the third night-watch. It did very well; anyone happening to wake in the night and hear the gong, would know what *g'harī* of what watch of night it was. Fol. 289*b*.

Again, they divide the *g'harī* into 60 parts, each part being called a *pal*;[1] by this each night-and-day will consist of 3,500 *pals*. Fol. 290.

(*Author's note on the pal.*) They say the length of a *pal* is the shutting and opening of the eyelids 60 times, which in a night-and-day would be 216,000 shuttings and openings of the eyes. Experiment shews that a *pal* is about equal to 8 repetitions of the *Qul-huwa-allāh*[2] and *Bismillāh*; this would be 28,000 repetitions in a night-and-day.

(*q. Measures.*)

The people of Hind have also well-arranged measures:—[3] 8 *ratīs* = 1 *māsha*; 4 *māsha* = 1 *tānk* = 32 *ratīs*; 5 *māsha* = 1 *miṣqāl* = 40 *ratīs*; 12 *māsha* = 1 *tūla* = 96 *ratīs*; 14 *tūla* = 1 *ser*.

[1] The table is:—60 *bipals* = 1 *pal*; 60 *pals* = 1 *g'harī* (24 m.); 60 *g'harī* or 8 *pahr* = one *dīn-rāt* (nycthemeron).

[2] Qorān, cap. CXII, which is a declaration of God's unity.

[3] The (S.) *ratī* = 8 rice-grains (Eng. 8 barley-corns); the (S.) *māsha* is a kidney-bean; the (P.) *tānk* is about 2 oz.; the (Ar.) *miṣqāl* is equal to 40 *ratīs*; the (S.) *tūlā* is about 145 oz.; the (S.) *ser* is of various values (Wilson's *Glossary* and Yule's H.J.).

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This is everywhere fixed :—40 *ser* = 1 *mānbān* ; 12 *mānbān* = 1 *mānī* ; 100 *mānī* they call a *mīnāsa*.[1]

Pearls and jewels they weigh by the *tānk*.

(*r. Modes of reckoning.*)

The people of Hind have also an excellent mode of reckoning : 100,000 they call a *lak* ; 100 *laks*, a *krūr* ; 100 *krūrs*, an *arb* ; 100 *arbs*, 1 *karb* ; 100 *karbs*, 1 *nīl* ; 100 *nīls*, 1 *padam* ; 100 *padams*, 1 *sāng*. The fixing of such high reckonings as these is proof of the great amount of wealth in Hindūstān.

(*s. Hindū inhabitants of Hindūstān.*)

Most of the inhabitants of Hindūstān are pagans ; they call a pagan a Hindū. Most Hindūs believe in the transmigration of souls. All artisans, wage-earners, and officials are Hindūs. In our countries dwellers in the wilds (*i.e.* nomads) get tribal names ;
Fol. 290*b*. here the settled people of the cultivated lands and villages get tribal names.[2] Again :—every artisan there is follows the trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather.

(*t. Defects of Hindūstān.*)

Hindūstān is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks ; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none ; of genius and capacity none ; of manners none ; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality ; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the *bāzārs*, no Hot-baths, no Colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks.

In place of candle and torch they have a great dirty gang they call lamp-men (*diwatī*), who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod to one corner of which a thing like the top of

[1] There being 40 Bengāl *sers* to the *man*, Bābur's word *mānbān* seems to be another name for the *man* or *maund*. I have not found *mānbān* or *mīnāsā*. At first sight *mānbān* might be taken, in the Hai. MS. for (T.) *bātmān*, a weight of 13 or 15 lbs., but this does not suit. Cf. f. 167 note to *bātmān* and f. 173*b* (where, however, in the note f. 157 requires correction to f. 167). For Bābur's table of measures the Pers. trs. has 40 *sers* = 1 *man* ; 12 *mans* = 1 *mānī* ; 100 *mānī* they call *mīnāsa* (217, f. 201*b*, l. 8).

[2] Presumably these are caste-names.

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a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as the thumb. In the right hand they hold a gourd, through a narrow slit made in which, oil is let trickle in a thin thread when the wick needs it. Great people keep a hundred or two of these lamp-men. This is the Hindūstān substitute for lamps and candlesticks! If their rulers and begs have work at night needing candles, these dirty lamp-men bring these lamps, go close up and Fol. 291. there stand.

Except their large rivers and their standing-waters which flow in ravines or hollows (there are no waters). There are no running-waters in their gardens or residences (*'imāratlār*).[1] These residences have no charm, air (*hawā*), regularity or symmetry.

Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lungūtā*,[2] a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant decency-clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lung*), one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head.

(*u. Advantages of Hindūstān.*)

Pleasant things of Hindūstān are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver. Its air in the Rains is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15 or 20 times a day; torrents pour down all at once and rivers flow where no water had been. While it rains and through the Rains, the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charm. The fault is that the air becomes very soft and damp. A bow of those (Transoxanian) countries after going through the Rains in Hindūstān, may not be drawn even; it is ruined; not only the bow, everything is Fol. 291*b*. affected, armour, book, cloth, and utensils all; a house even does

[1] The words in parenthesis appear to be omitted from the text; to add them brings Bābur's remark into agreement with others on what he several times makes note of, *viz.* the absence not only of irrigation-channels but of those which convey "running-waters" to houses and gardens. Such he writes of in Farghāna; such are a well-known charm *e.g.* in Madeira, where the swift current of clear water flowing through the streets, turns into private precincts by side-runlets.

[2] The Ḥai. MS. writes *lungūtā-dīk*, like a lungūtā, which better agrees with Bābur's usual phrasing. *Lung* is Persian for a cloth passed between the loins, is an equivalent of S. *dhoti*. Bābur's use of it (*infra*) for the woman's (P.) *chaddar* or (S.) *sārī* does not suit the Dictionary definition of its meaning.

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not last long. Not only in the Rains but also in the cold and the hot seasons, the airs are excellent; at these times, however, the north-west wind constantly gets up laden with dust and earth. It gets up in great strength every year in the heats, under the Bull and Twins when the Rains are near; so strong and carrying so much dust and earth that there is no seeing one another. People call this wind Darkener of the Sky (H. *āndhī*). The weather is hot under the Bull and Twins, but not intolerably so, not so hot as in Balkh and Qandahār and not for half so long.

Another good thing in Hindūstān is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste (*jam'ī*) for every sort of work and for every thing, which has done that work or that thing from father to son till now. Mullā Sharaf, writing in the *Ẓafar-nāma* about the building of Tīmūr Beg's Stone Mosque, lays stress on the fact that on it 200 stone-cutters worked, from Āẕarbāījān, Fars, Hindūstān and other countries. But 680 men worked daily on my buildings in Āgra and of Āgra stone-cutters only; while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings in Āgra, Sīkrī, Bīāna, Dūlpūr, Gūālīār and Kūīl. In
Fol. 292. the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindūstān.

(*v. Revenues of Hindūstān.*)

The revenue of the countries now held by me (935 AH.–1528 AD.) from Bhīra to Bihār is 52 *krūrs*,[1] as will be known in detail from the following summary.[2] Eight or nine *krūrs* of this

[1] When Erskine published the Memoirs in 1826 AD. he estimated this sum at 1½ millions Sterling, but when he published his *History of India* in 1854, he had made further research into the problem of Indian money values, and judged then that Bābur's revenue was £4,212,000.

[2] Erskine here notes that the promised details had not been preserved, but in 1854 AD. he had found them in a "paraphrase of part of Bābur", manifestly in Shaikh Zain's work. He entered and discussed them and some matters of money-values in Appendices D. and E. of his *History of India*, vol. I. Ilminsky found them in Kehr's Codex (C. ii, 230). The scribe of the Elph. MS. has entered the revenues of three *sarkārs* only, with his usual quotation marks indicating something extraneous or doubtful. The Ḥai. MS. has them in contents precisely as I have entered them above, but with a scattered mode of setting down. They are in Persian, presumably as they were rendered to Bābur by some Indian official. This official statement will have been with Bābur's own papers; it will have been copied by Shaikh Zain into his own paraphrase. It differs slightly in Erskine's and again, in de Courteille's versions. I regret that I am incompetent to throw any light upon the

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ld, receive allowance and maintena:

REVENUES OF HINDŪSTĀN FROM WHAT H
VICTORIOUS STANI

Sarkārs.		
Trans-sutluj:—Bhīra, Lāhūr, Sīālkūt, Dībālpūr,		
Sihrind		
Hiṣār-fīrūza		
The capital Dihlī and Mīān-dū-āb		
Mīwāt, not included in Sikandar's time		
Bīāna		
Āgra		
Mīān-wilāyat (Midlands)		
Gūālīār		
Kālpī and Sehonda (Seondhā)		
Qanauj		
Sambhal		
Laknūr and Baksar		
Khairābād		
Aūd (Oude) and Bahraj (Baraich)		
Jūnpūr		
Karra and Mānikpūr		
Bihār		
Sarwār		1
Sāran		1
Champāran		1
Kandla		
Tirhut from Rāja Rup-narāīn's tribute, silver black (i.e. copper)		
Rantanbhūr from Būlī, Chātsū, and Malarna		
Nagūr		—
Rāja Bikrāmajīt in Rantanbhūr		—
Kalanjarī		—
Rāja Bīr-sang-deo (or, Sang only)		—
Rāja Bikam-deo		—
Rāja Bikam-chand		—
	34	78

[1] So far as particulars and details about the land an
of the country of Hindūstān have become definitely kno
have been narrated and described; whatever matters w
record may come to view hereafter, I shall write down.

...tion of its values and t... some unce...

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ARRATIVE RESUMED.

e in Āgra.)[1]

lay the 29th[2] of Rajab the examinatio
treasure were begun. To Humāyū
the Treasury, and, over and above thi
estowed on him just as it was, withou
ng down its contents. To some beg
7, or 6 to others.[3] Suitable money-gift
ne Treasury on the whole army, to ever
ghān, Hazāra, 'Arab, Bīlūch *etc.* to eac
on. Every trader and student, indeed ever
with the army, took ample portion and shar
.d largess. To those not with the army wen
in gift and largess, as for instance, 17 laks t
Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, while to 'Askarī
d to the whole various train of relations an
went masses of red and white (gold and silver),
vels and slaves.[5] Many gifts went to the beg
nat side (Tramontana). Valuable gifts (*saughāt*
he various relations in Samarkand, Khurāsān,
'Irāq. To holy men belonging to Samarkand
went offerings vowed to God (*nuẕūr*); so too to

243*b*; W. i. B. I.O. 215 has not the events of this year (as to which
ote at the beginning of 932 AH. f. 251*b*) and 217 f. 203; Mems.
y's imprint p. 380; *Mém*s. ii, 232.
d be 30th if Saturday was the day of the week (Gladwin, Cunningham
arrative of f. 269). Saturday appears likely to be right; Bābur entered
sday 28th; Friday would be used for the Congregational Prayer and
inevitable before the distribution of the treasure. The last day of
ative 932 AH. is Thursday Rajab 28th; he would not be likely to mistake
day, the day of his first Congregational prayer in Āgra, and Saturday. It
pt in mind that the *Description of Hindūstān* is an interpolation here, and
s written in 935 AH., three years later than the incidents here recorded.
Rajab 29th may not be Bābur's own entry; or if it be, may have been
er the interpolation of the dividing mass of the *Description* and made

kine estimated these sums as "probably £56,700 to Humāyūn; and the
ones as £8,100, £6,480, £5,670 and £4,860 respectively; very large sum
dia, i. 449

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Mak'a and Madīna. We gave one *shāhrukhi* for every soul in the country of Kābul and the valley-side[1] of Varsak, man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age.[2]

(*b. Disaffection to Bābur.*)

On our first coming to Āgra, there was remarkable dislike and hostility between its people and mine, the peasantry and soldiers running away in fear of our men. Delhī and Āgra excepted, not a fortified town but strengthened its defences and neither was in obedience nor submitted. Qāsim Saṃbhalī was in Saṃbhal; Niẓām Khān was in Bīāna; in Mīwāt was Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī himself, impious mannikin! who was the sole leader of the trouble and mischief.[3] Muḥammad *Zaitun* was in Dūlpūr; Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī*[4] was in Gūālīār; Ḥusain Khān *Nuḥānī* was in Rāprī; Quṭb Khān was in Itāwa (Etāwa); 'Ālam Khān (*Kālpī*) was in Kālpī. Qanauj and the other side of Gang (Ganges) was all held by Afghāns in independent hostility,[5] such as Naṣīr Khān *Nuḥānī*, Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* and a crowd of other amīrs. These had been in rebellion for three or four years before Ibrāhīm's death and when I defeated him, were holding Qanauj and the whole country beyond it. At the present time they were lying two or three marches on our side of Qanauj and had made Bihār Khān the son of Daryā Khān *Nuḥānī* their *pādshāh*, under the style Sulṭān Muḥammad. Fol. Marghūb the slave was in Mahāwīn (*Muttra*?); he remained there, thus close, for some time but came no nearer.

[1] Ar. *ṣada*. Perhaps it was a station of a hundred men. Varsak is in Badakhshān, on the water flowing to Ṭāliqān from the Khwāja Muḥammad range. Erskine read (p. 335) *ṣada Varsak* as *ṣadūr rashk*, incentive to emulation; de C. (ii, 233) translates *ṣada* conjecturally by *circonscription*. Shaikh Zain has Varsak and to the recipients of the gifts adds the "Khwāstīs, people noted for their piety" (A.N. trs. H.B. i, 248 n.). The gift to Varsak may well have been made in gratitude for hospitality received by Bābur in the time of adversity after his loss of Samarkand and before his return to Kābul in 920 AH.

[2] *circa* 10d. or 11d. Bābur left himself stripped so bare by his far-flung largess that he was nick-named Qalandar (Firishta).

[3] Badāyūnī says of him (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 340) that he was *kāfir kalīma-gū*, a pagan making the Muḥammadan Confession of Faith, and that he had heard of him, in Akbar's time from Bairām Khān-i-khānan, as kingly in appearance and poetic in temperament. He was killed fighting for Rānā Sangā at Kānwaha.

[4] This is his family name.

[5] *i.e.* not acting with Ḥasan *Mīwātī*.

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(*c. Discontent in Bābur's army.*)

It was the hot-season when we came to Āgra. All the inhabitants (*khalāīq*) had run away in terror. Neither grain for ourselves nor corn for our horses was to be had. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us had taken to thieving and highway-robbery; there was no moving on the roads. There had been no chance since the treasure was distributed to send men in strength into the parganas and elsewhere. Moreover the year was a very hot one; violent pestilential winds struck people down in heaps together; masses began to die off.

On these accounts the greater part of the begs and best braves became unwilling to stay in Hindūstān, indeed set their faces for leaving it. It is no reproach to old and experienced begs if they speak of such matters; even if they do so, this man (Bābur) has enough sense and reason to get at what is honest or what is mutinous in their representations, to distinguish between loss and gain. But as this man had seen his task whole, for himself, when he resolved on it, what taste was there in their reiterating that things should be done differently? What recommends the expression of distasteful opinions by men of little standing (*kichīk karīm*)? Here is a curious thing:—This last time of our riding out from Kābul, a few men of little standing had just been made begs; what I looked for from them was that if I went through fire and water and came out again, they would have gone in with me unhesitatingly, and with me have come out, that wherever I went, there at my side would they be,—not that they would speak against my fixed purpose, not that they would turn back from any task or great affair on which, all counselling, all consenting, we had resolved, so long as that counsel was not abandoned. Badly as these new begs behaved, Secretary Aḥmadī and Treasurer Walī behaved still worse. Khwāja Kalān had done well in the march out from Kābul, in Ibrāhīm's defeat and until Āgra was occupied; he had spoken bold words and shewn ambitious views. But a few days after the capture of Āgra, all his views changed,—the one zealous for departure at any price was Khwāja Kalān.[1]

[1] Gul-badan says that the Khwāja several times asked leave on the ground that his constitution was not fitted for the climate of Hindūstān; that His Majesty was not at all, at all, willing for him to go, but gave way at length to his importunity.

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(*d. Bābur calls a council.*)

When I knew of this unsteadiness amongst (my) people, I summoned all the begs and took counsel. Said I, "There is no supremacy and grip on the world without means and resources; without lands and retainers sovereignty and command (*pādshāhlīq u amīrlīq*) are impossible. By the labours of several years, by encountering hardship, by long travel, by flinging myself and the army into battle, and by deadly slaughter, we, through God's Fol. 295*b*. grace, beat these masses of enemies in order that we might take their broad lands. And now what force compels us, what necessity has arisen that we should, without cause, abandon countries taken at such risk of life? Was it for us to remain in Kābul, the sport of harsh poverty? Henceforth, let no well-wisher of mine speak of such things! But let not those turn back from going who, weak in strong persistence, have set their faces to depart!" By these words, which recalled just and reasonable views to their minds, I made them, willy-nilly, quit their fears.

(*e. Khwāja Kalān decides to leave Hindūstān.*)

As Khwāja Kalān had no heart to stay in Hindūstān, matters were settled in this way:—As he had many retainers, he was to convoy the gifts, and, as there were few men in Kābul and Ghaznī, was to keep these places guarded and victualled. I bestowed on him Ghaznī, Girdīz and the Sulṭān Mas'ūdī Hazāra, gave also the Hindūstān *pargana* of G'hūram,[1] worth 3 or 4 *laks*. It was settled for Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān also to go to Kābul; the gifts were put into his immediate charge, under the custody of Mullā Ḥasan the banker (*ṣarrāf*) and Tūka[2] *Hindū*.

Loathing Hindūstān, Khwāja Kalān, when on his way, had the following couplet inscribed on the wall of his residence Fol. 29*t*. (*'imāratī*) in Dihlī:—

If safe and sound I cross the Sind,
Blacken my face ere I wish for Hind!

It was ill-mannered in him to compose and write up this partly-jesting verse while I still stayed in Hind. If his departure

[1] in Patiāla, about 25 miles s.w. of Ambāla.

[2] Shaikh Zain, Gul-badan and Erskine write Nau-kār. It was now that Khwāja Kalān conveyed money for the repair of the great dam at Ghaznī (f. 139).

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caused me one vexation, such a jest doubled it.[1] I composed the following off-hand verse, wrote it down and sent it to him :—

Give a hundred thanks, Bābur, that the generous Pardoner
Has given thee Sind and Hind and many a kingdom.
If thou (*i.e.* the Khwāja) have not the strength for their heats,
If thou say, "Let me see the cold side (*yūz*)," Ghaznī is there.[2]

(*f. Accretions to Bābur's force.*)

At this juncture, Mullā Apāq was sent into Kūl with royal letters of favour for the soldiers and quiver-wearers (*tarkash-band*) of that neighbourhood. Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran)[3] came

(*Author's note on Mullā Apāq.*) Formerly he had been in a very low position indeed, but two or three years before this time, had gathered his elder and younger brethren into a compact body and had brought them in (to me), together with the Aūrūq-zāī and other Afghāns of the banks of the Sind.

trustfully and loyally to do obeisance, bringing with him from 2 to 3,000 soldiers and quiver-wearers from Between-two-waters (*Mīān-dū-āb*).

Yūnas-i-'alī when on his way from Dihlī to Āgra[4] had lost his way a little and got separated from Humāyūn ; he then met in with 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī's* sons and train,[5] had a small affair with them, took them prisoners and brought them in. Taking advantage of this, one of the sons thus captured was sent to his father in company with Daulat-qadam *Turk's* son Mīrzā *Mughūl* who conveyed royal letters of favour to 'Alī Khān. At this time of break-up, 'Alī Khān had gone to Mīwāt ; he came to

[1] The friends did not meet again ; that their friendship weathered this storm is shewn by Bābur's letter of f. 359. The *Abūshqa* says the couplet was inscribed on a marble tablet near the *Ḥauẓ-i-khāṣ* at the time the Khwāja was in Dihlī after bidding Bābur farewell in Āgra.

[2] This quatrain is in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān* (*q.v.* index). The *Abūshqa* quotes the following as Khwāja Kalān's reply, but without mentioning where the original was found. Cf. de Courteille, Dict. *s.n. taskarī*. An English version is given in my husband's article *Some verses by the Emperor Bābur* (A.Q.R. January, 1911).

You shew your gaiety and your wit,
In each word there lie acres of charm.
Were not all things of Hind upside-down,
How could you in the heat be so pleasant on cold?

is an old remark of travellers that everything in India is the opposite of what one es elsewhere. Tīmūr is said to have remarked it and to have told his soldiers not be afraid of the elephants of India, "For," said he, "their trunks are empty eeves, and they carry their tails in front ; in Hindustan everything is reversed." H. Beveridge *ibid.*). Cf. App. Q.

[3] Badāyūnī i, 337 speaks of him as unrivalled in music.

[4] f. 267*b*.

[5] *aūrūq*, which here no doubt represents the women of the family.

me when Mīrzā *Mughūl* returned, was promoted, and given valid (?) *parganas*[1] worth 25 laks.

(*g. Action against the rebels of the East.*)

Sl. Ibrāhīm had appointed several amīrs under Muṣṭafa *Farmūlī* and Fīrūz Khān *Sārang-khānī*, to act against the rebel amīrs of the East (*Pūrab*). Muṣṭafa had fought them and thoroughly drubbed them, giving them more than one good beating. He dying before Ibrāhīm's defeat, his younger brother Shaikh Bāyazīd—Ibrāhīm being occupied with a momentous matter[2]—had led and watched over his elder brother's men. He now came to serve me, together with Fīrūz Khān, Maḥmūd Khān *Nuḥānī* and Qāẓī Jīā. I shewed them greater kindness and favour than was their claim; giving to Fīrūz Khān 1 *krūr*, 46 *laks* and 5000 *tankas* from Jūnpūr, to Shaikh Bāyazīd 1 *krūr*, 48 *laks* and 50,000 *tankas* from Aūd (Oude), to Maḥmūd Khān 90 *laks* and 35,000 *tankas* from Ghāzīpūr, and to Qāẓī Jīā 20 *laks*.[3]

(*h. Gifts made to various officers.*)

It was a few days after the 'Īd of Shawwāl[4] that a large party was held in the pillared-porch of the domed building standing in the middle of Sl. Ibrāhīm's private apartments. At this party there were bestowed on Humāyūn a *chār-qab*,[5] a sword-belt,[6] a *tīpūchāq* horse with saddle mounted in gold; on Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā *chār-qabs*, sword-belts and dagger-belts; and to the begs and braves, to each according to his rank, were given sword-belts, dagger-belts, and dresses of honour, in all to the number specified below :— Fol. 297.

[1] *'ain parganalār*.

[2] Bābur's advance, presumably.

[3] The full amounts here given are not in all MSS., some scribes contenting themselves with the largest item of each gift (*Memoirs* p. 337).

[4] The 'Id of Shawwāl, it will be remembered, is celebrated at the conclusion of the Ramẓān fast, on seeing the first new moon of Shawwāl. In A.H. 932 it must have fallen about July 11th 1526 (Erskine).

[5] A square shawl, or napkin, of cloth of gold, bestowed as a mark of rank and distinction (*Memoirs* p. 338 n.); *une tunique enrichie de broderies* (*Mémoires*, ii, 240 n.).

[6] *kamar-shamshīr*. This Steingass explains as sword-belt, Erskine by "sword with a belt". The summary following shews that many weapons were given and not belts alone. There is a good deal of variation in the MSS. The Ḥai. MS. has not a complete list. The most all the lists show is that gifts were many.

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2 items (*rā's*) of *tīpūchāq* horses with saddles.
16 items (*qabẓa*) of poinards, set with jewels, etc.
8 items (*qabẓa*) of purpet over-garments.
2 items (*ṭob*) of jewelled sword-belts.
— items (*qabẓa*) of broad daggers (*jamd'har*) set with jewels.
25 items of jewelled hangers (*khanjar*).
— items of gold-hilted Hindī knives (*kārd*).
51 pieces of purpet.

On the day of this party it rained amazingly, rain falling thirteen times. As outside places had been assigned to a good many people, they were drowned out (*gharaq*).

(*i. Of various forts and postings.*)

Samāna (in Patīāla) had been given to Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh and it had been arranged for him to make swift descent on Saṃbal (Saṃbhal), but Saṃbal was now bestowed on Humāyūn, in addition to his guerdon of Ḥiṣār-fīrūza, and in his service was Hindū Beg. To suit this, therefore, Hindū Beg was sent to make the incursion in Muḥammadī's place, and with him Kitta Beg, Bābā *Qashqa's* (brother) Malik Qāsim and his elder and younger brethren, Mullā Apāq and Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran) with the quiver-wearers from Between-two-waters (*Mīān-dū-*
Fol. 297*b*. *āb*). Three or four times a person had come from Qāsim *Saṃbalī*, saying, "The renegade Bīban is besieging Saṃbal and has brought it to extremity; come quickly." Bīban, with the array and the preparation (*hayāt*) with which he had deserted us,[1] had gone skirting the hills and gathering up Afghān and Hindūstānī deserters, until, finding Saṃbal at this juncture ill-garrisoned, he laid siege to it. Hindū Beg and Kitta Beg and the rest of those appointed to make the incursion, got to the Ahār-passage [2] and from there sent ahead Bābā *Qashqa's* Malik Qāsim with his elder and younger brethren, while they themselves were getting over the water. Malik Qāsim crossed, advanced swiftly with from 100 to 150 men—his own and his brethren's—and reached Saṃbal by the Mid-day Prayer. Bīban for his part came out of his camp in array. Malik Qāsim and his troop moved rapidly forward, got the fort in their rear, and came to grips. Bīban could make no stand; he fled. Malik Qāsim cut off the heads of part of his force, took many horses,

[1] f. 263*b*.
[2] over the Ganges, a little above Anūp-shahr in the Buland-shahr district.

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a few elephants and a mass of booty. Next day when the other begs arrived, Qāsim *Saṃbalī* came out and saw them, but not liking to surrender the fort, made them false pretences. One day Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran) and Hindū Beg having talked the matter over with them, got Qāsim *Saṃbalī* out to the presence of the begs, and took men of ours into the fort. They brought Qāsim's wife and dependents safely out, and sent Qāsim (to Court).[1]

Qalandar the foot-man was sent to Niẓām Khān in Bīāna with royal letters of promise and threat; with these was sent also the following little off-hand (Persian) verse :—[2] Fol. 298.

Strive not with the Turk, o Mīr of Bīāna!
His skill and his courage are obvious.
If thou come not soon, nor give ear to counsel,—
What need to detail (*bayān*) what is obvious?

Bīāna being one of the famous forts of Hindūstān, the senseless mannikin, relying on its strength, demanded what not even its strength could enforce. Not giving him a good answer, we ordered siege apparatus to be looked to.

Bābā Qulī Beg was sent with royal letters of promise and threat to Muḥammad *Zaitūn* (in Dūlpūr); Muḥammad *Zaitūn* also made false excuses.

While we were still in Kābul, Rānā Sangā had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan: "If the honoured Pādshāh will come to near Dihlī from that side, I from this will move on Āgra." But I beat Ibrāhīm, I took Dihlī and Āgra, and up to now that Pagan has given no sign soever of moving. After a while he went and laid siege to Kandār[3] a fort in which was Makan's son, Ḥasan by name. This Ḥasan-of-Makan had sent a person to me several times, but had not shewn himself. We had not been able to detach reinforcement for him because, as the forts round-about—Atāwa (Etāwa), Dūlpūr, and Bīāna—had not yet surrendered, and the Eastern Afghāns were seated with their army in obstinate rebellion two or three marches on the Āgra side of Qanūj, my mind was not quite free from the whirl and strain of things Fol. 298*b*.

[1] A seeming omission in the text is made good in my translation by Shaikh Zain's help, who says Qāsim was sent to Court.

[2] This quatrain is in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*. It appears to pun on Bīāna and *bī(y)ān*.

[3] Kandār is in Rājpūtāna; Abū'l-faẓl writes Kuhan-dār, old habitation.

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close at hand. Makan's Ḥasan therefore, becoming helpless, had surrendered Kandār two or three months ago.

Ḥusain Khān (*Nuḥānī*) became afraid in Rāprī, and he abandoning it, it was given to Muḥammad 'Ali *Jang-jang*.

To Quṭb Khān in Etāwa royal letters of promise and threat had been sent several times, but as he neither came and saw me, nor abandoned Etāwa and got away, it was given to Mahdī Khwāja and he was sent against it with a strong reinforcement of begs and household troops under the command of Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master of the Horse. Qanūj was given to Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī*; he was also (as mentioned) appointed against Etāwa; so too were Fīrūz Khān, Maḥmūd Khān, Shaikh Bāyazīd and Qāẓī Jīā, highly favoured commanders to whom Eastern *parganas* had been given.

Fol. 299. Muḥammad *Zaitūn*, who was seated in Dūlpūr, deceived us and did not come. We gave Dūlpūr to Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and reinforced him by appointing 'Ādil Sulṭān, Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī, Jān Beg, 'Abdu'l-lāh, Pīr-qulī, and Shāh Ḥasan *Yāragī* (or *Bāragī*), who were to attack Dūlpūr, take it, make it over to Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and advance on Bīāna.

(*j. Plan of operations adopted.*)

These armies appointed, we summoned the Turk amīrs [1] and the Hindūstān amīrs, and tossed the following matters in amongst them :—The various rebel amīrs of the East, that is to say, those under Nāṣir Khān *Nuḥānī* and Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, have crossed Gang (Ganges) with 40 to 50,000 men, taken Qanūj, and now lie some three miles on our side of the river. The Pagan Rānā Sangā has captured Kandār and is in a hostile and mischievous attitude. The end of the Rains is near. It seems expedient to move either against the rebels or the Pagan, since the task of the forts near-by is easy; when the great foes are got rid of, what road will remain open for the rest? Rānā Sangā is thought not to be the equal of the rebels.

[1] This is the first time Bābur's begs are called amīrs in his book; it may be by a scribe's slip.

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To this all replied unanimously, "Rānā Sangā is the most distant, and it is not known that he will come nearer; the enemy who is closest at hand must first be got rid of. We are for riding against the rebels." Humāyūn then represented, Fol. 299*b*. "What need is there for the Pādshāh to ride out? This service I will do." This came as a pleasure to every-one; the Turk and Hind amīrs gladly accepted his views; he was appointed for the East. A Kābulī of Aḥmad-i-qāsim's was sent galloping off to tell the armies that had been despatched against Dūlpūr to join Humāyūn at Chandwār;[1] also those sent against Etāwa under Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. M. were ordered to join him.

(*August 21st*) Humāyūn set out on Thursday the 13th of Ẓū'l-qa'da, dismounted at a little village called Jilīsīr (Jalesar) some 3 *kurohs* from Āgra, there stayed one night, then moved forward march by march.

(*k. Khwāja Kalān's departure.*)

(*August 28th*) On Thursday the 20th of this same month, Khwāja Kalān started for Kābul.

(*l. Of gardens and pleasaunces.*)

One of the great defects of Hindūstān being its lack of running-waters,[2] it kept coming to my mind that waters should be made to flow by means of wheels erected wherever I might settle down, also that grounds should be laid out in an orderly and symmetrical way. With this object in view, we crossed the Jūn-water to look at garden-grounds a few days after entering Āgra. Those grounds were so bad and unattractive that we traversed them with a hundred disgusts and repulsions. So ugly and displeasing were they, that the idea of making a Fol. 300. Chār-bāgh in them passed from my mind, but needs must! as there was no other land near Āgra, that same ground was taken in hand a few days later.

The beginning was made with the large well from which water comes for the Hot-bath, and also with the piece of ground where

[1] Chandwār is on the Jumna, between Āgra and Etāwah.

[2] Here *āqār-sūlār* will stand for the waters which flow—sometimes in marble channels—to nourish plants and charm the eye, such for example as beautify the Tāj-maḥal pleasaunce.

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the tamarind-trees and the octagonal tank now are. After that came the large tank with its enclosure; after that the tank and *tālār*[1] in front of the outer (?) residence[2]; after that the private-house (*khilwat-khāna*) with its garden and various dwellings; after that the Hot-bath. Then in that charmless and disorderly Hind, plots of garden[3] were seen laid out with order and symmetry, with suitable borders and parterres in every corner, and in every border rose and narcissus in perfect arrangement.

(*m. Construction of a chambered-well.*)

Three things oppressed us in Hindūstān, its heat, its violent winds, its dust. Against all three the Bath is a protection, for in it, what is known of dust and wind? and in the heats it is so chilly that one is almost cold. The bath-room in which the heated tank is, is altogether of stone, the whole, except for the *īzāra* (dado?) of white stone, being, pavement and roofing, of red Bīāna stone.

Khalīfa also and Shaikh Zain, Yūnas-i-'alī and whoever got
Fol. 300*b*. land on that other bank of the river laid out regular and orderly gardens with tanks, made running-waters also by setting up wheels like those in Dīpālpūr and Lāhor. The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out, called the side of the Jūn where (our) residences were, Kābul.

In an empty space inside the fort, which was between Ibrāhīm's residence and the ramparts, I ordered a large chambered-well (*wāīn*) to be made, measuring 10 by 10,[4] a large

[1] Index *s.n.* The *tālār* is raised on pillars and open in front; it serves often for an Audience-hall (Erskine).

[2] *tāsh 'imārat*, which may refer to the extra-mural location of the house, or contrast it with the inner *khilwat-khāna*, the women's quarters, of the next sentence. The point is noted as one concerning the use of the word *tāsh* (Index *s.n.*). I have found no instance in which it is certain that Bābur uses *tāsh*, a stone or rock, as an adjective. On f. 301 he writes *tāshdīn 'imārat*, house-of-stone, which the Persian text renders by *'imārat-i-sangīn*. Wherever *tāsh* can be translated as meaning outer, this accords with Bābur's usual diction.

[3] *bāghcha* (Index *s.n.*). That Bābur was the admitted pioneer of orderly gardens in India is shewn by the 30th *Āyīn*, On Perfumes:—"After the foot-prints of Firdaus-makānī (Bābur) had added to the glory of Hindūstān, embellishment by avenues and landscape-gardening was seen, while heart-expanding buildings and the sound of falling-waters widened the eyes of beholders."

[4] Perhaps *gaz*, each somewhat less than 36 inches.

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well with a flight of steps, which in Hindūstān is called a *wāīn*.[1] This well was begun before the Chār-bāgh[2]; they were busy digging it in the true Rains (*'aīn bīshkāl*, Sāwan and Bhadon); it fell in several times and buried the hired workmen; it was finished after the Holy Battle with Rānā Sangā, as is stated in the inscription on the stone that bears the chronogram of its completion. It is a complete *wāīn*, having a three-storeyed house in it. The lowest storey consists of three rooms, each of which opens on the descending steps, at intervals of three steps from one another. When the water is at its lowest, it is one step below the bottom chamber; when it rises in the Rains, it sometimes goes into the top storey. In the middle storey an inner chamber has been excavated which connects with the domed building in which the bullock turns the well-wheel. The Fol. 301. top storey is a single room, reached from two sides by 5 or 6 steps which lead down to it from the enclosure overlooked from the well-head. Facing the right-hand way down, is the stone inscribed with the date of completion. At the side of this well is another the bottom of which may be at half the depth of the first, and into which water comes from that first one when the bullock turns the wheel in the domed building afore-mentioned. This second well also is fitted with a wheel, by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the high-garden. A stone building (*tāshdīn 'imārat*) stands at the mouth of the well and there is an outer (?) mosque[3] outside (*tāshqārī*) the enclosure in which the well is. The mosque is not well done; it is in the Hindūstānī fashion.

(*n. Humāyūn's campaign.*)

At the time Humāyūn got to horse, the rebel amīrs under Nāṣir Khān *Nuḥānī* and Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* were assembled at Jājmāū.[4] Arrived within 20 to 30 miles of them, he sent out

[1] The more familiar Indian name is *baoli*. Such wells attracted Peter Mundy's attention; Yule gives an account of their names and plan (Mundy's *Travels in Asia*, Hakluyt Society, ed. R. C. Temple, and Yule's *Hobson Jobson s.n.* Bowly). Bābur's account of his great *wāīn* is not easy to translate; his interpreters vary from one another; probably no one of them has felt assured of translating correctly.

[2] *i.e.* the one across the river.

[3] *tāsh masjid*; this, unless some adjectival affix (*e.g. dīn*) has been omitted by the scribe, I incline to read as meaning extra, supplementary, or outer, not as "mosque-of-stone".

[4] or Jājmāwa, the old name for the sub-district of Kānhpūr (Cawnpur).

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Mūmin Ātāka for news; it became a raid for loot; Mūmin Ātāka was not able to bring even the least useful information. The rebels heard about him however, made no stay but fled and got away. After Mūmin Ātāka, Qusm-nāī (?) was sent for news, with Bābā Chuhra [1] and Būjka; they brought it of the breaking-up and flight of the rebels. Humāyūn advancing, took Jājmāū
Fol. 301*b*. and passed on. Near Dilmāū [2] Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* came and saw him, and was sent to me with Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā.

(*o. News of the Aūzbegs.*)

This year 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān (*Aūzbeg*) led an army out of Bukhārā against Marv. In the citadel of Marv were perhaps 10 to 15 peasants whom he overcame and killed; then having taken the revenues of Marv in 40 or 50 days,[3] he went on to Sarakhs. In Sarakhs were some 30 to 40 Red-heads (*Qīzīl-bāsh*) who did not surrender, but shut the Gate; the peasantry however scattered them and opened the Gate to the Aūzbeg who entering, killed the Red-heads. Sarakhs taken, he went against Ṭūs and Mashhad. The inhabitants of Mashhad being helpless, let him in. Ṭūs he besieged for 8 months, took possession of on terms, did not keep those terms, but killed every man of name and made their women captive.

(*p. Affairs of Gujrāt.*)

In this year Bahādur Khān,—he who now rules in Gujrāt in the place of his father Sl. Muẓaffar *Gujrātī*—having gone to Sl. Ibrāhīm after quarrel with his father, had been received without honour. He had sent dutiful letters to me while I was near Pānī-pat; I had replied by royal letters of favour and kindness summoning him to me. He had thought of coming, but changing his mind, drew off from Ibrāhīm's army towards Gujrāt. Meantime his father Sl. Muẓaffar had died (Friday Jumāda II. 2nd AH.—March 16th 1526 AD.); his elder brother Sikandar Shāh who was Sl. Muẓaffar's eldest son, had become

[1] *i.e.* of the Corps of Braves.

[2] Dilmāū is on the left bank of the Ganges, s.e. from Bareilly (Erskine).

[3] *Marv-nīng bundī-nī bāghlāb*, which Erskine renders by "Having settled the revenue of Merv", and de Courteille by, "*Après avoir occupé Merv.*" Were the year's revenues compressed into a 40 to 50 days collection?

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ruler in their father's place and, owing to his evil disposition, had been strangled by his slave 'Imādu'l-mulk, acting with others (Sha'ban 14th—May 25th). Bahādur Khān, while he was on his road for Gujrāt, was invited and escorted to sit in his father's place under the style Bahādur Shāh (Ramẓān 26th—July 6th). He for his part did well; he retaliated by death on 'Imādu'l-mulk for his treachery to his salt, and killed some others of his father's begs.[1] People point at him as a dread-naught (*bī bāk*) youth and a shedder of much blood. Fol. 302.

[1] *i.e.* those who had part in his brother's murder. Cf. Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and the *Mīrat-i-sikandarī* (trs. *History of Gujrat* E. C. Bayley).

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933 A.H.—OCT. 8TH 1526 TO SEP. 27TH 1527 A.D.[1]

(*a. Announcement of the birth of a son.*)

In Muḥarram Beg Wais brought the news of Fārūq's birth; though a foot-man had brought it already, he came this month for the gift to the messenger of good tidings.[2] The birth must have been on Friday eve, Shawwāl 23rd (932 AH.–August 2nd 1526 AD.); the name given was Fārūq.

(*b. Casting of a mortar.*)

(*October 22nd – Muḥarram 15th*) Ustād 'Alī-qulī had been ordered to cast a large mortar for use against Biāna and other forts which had not yet submitted. When all the furnaces and materials were ready, he sent a person to me and, on Monday the 15th of the month, we went to see the mortar cast. Round the mortar-mould he had had eight furnaces made in which
Fol. 302*b*. were the molten materials. From below each furnace a channel went direct to the mould. When he opened the furnace-holes on our arrival, the molten metal poured like water through all these channels into the mould. After awhile and before the mould was full, the flow stopped from one furnace after another. Ustād 'Alī-qulī must have made some miscalculation either as to the furnaces or the materials. In his great distress, he was for throwing himself into the mould of molten metal, but we comforted him, put a robe of honour on him, and so brought him out of his shame. The mould was left a day or two to cool; when it was opened, Ustād 'Alī-qulī with great delight sent to say, "The stone-chamber (*tāsh-awī*) is without defect; to cast the powder-compartment (*dārū-khāna*) is easy." He got

[1] Elph. MS. f. 252; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 199*b* and 217 f. 208*b*; Mems. p. 343.
[2] *sīūnchī* (Zenker). Fārūq was Māhīm's son; he died in 934 A.H. before his father had seen him.

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the stone-chamber out and told off a body of men to accoutre [1] it, while he busied himself with casting the powder-compartment.

(*c. Varia.*)

Mahdī Khwāja arrived bringing Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* from Humāyūn's presence, they having parted from him in Dilmāū. I looked with favour on Fatḥ Khān, gave him the *parganas* that had been his father 'Aẓam-humāyūn's, and other lands also, one *pargana* given being worth a *krūr* and 60 *laks*.[2]

In Hindūstān they give permanent titles [*muqarrarī khiṭābīār*] to highly-favoured amīrs, one such being 'Aẓam-humāyūn (August Might), one Khān-i-jahān (Khan-of-the-world), another Khān-i-khānān (Khān-of-khāns). Fatḥ Khān's father's title was 'Aẓam-humāyūn but I set this aside because on account of Humāyūn it was not seemly for any person to bear it, and I gave Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* the title of Khān-i-jahān. Fol. 303.

(*November 14th*) On Wednesday the 8th of Ṣafar [3] awnings were set up (in the Chār-bāgh) at the edge of the large tank beyond the tamarind-trees, and an entertainment was prepared there. We invited Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* to a wine-party, gave him wine, bestowed on him a turban and head-to-foot of my own wearing, uplifted his head with kindness and favour [4] and allowed him to go to his own districts. It was arranged for his son Maḥmūd to remain always in waiting.

(*d. Various military matters.*)

(*November 30th*) On Wednesday the 24th of Muḥarram [5] Muḥammad 'Alī (son of Mihtar) Ḥaidar the stirrup-holder was

[1] *ṣalaḥ*. It is clear from the "*tāsh-awī*" (Pers. trs. *khāna-i-sang*) of this mortar (*qāzān*) that stones were its missiles. Erskine notes that from Bābur's account cannon would seem sometimes to have been made in parts and clamped together, and that they were frequently formed of iron bars strongly compacted into a circular shape. The accoutrement (*ṣalaḥ*) presumably was the addition of fittings.

[2] About £40,000 sterling (Erskine).

[3] The MSS. write Ṣafar but it seems probable that Muḥarram should be substituted for this; one ground for not accepting Ṣafar being that it breaks the consecutive order of dates, another that Ṣafar allows what seems a long time for the journey from near Dilmāū to Āgra. All MSS. I have seen give the 8th as the day of the month but Erskine has 20th. In this part of Bābur's writings dates are sparse; it is a narrative and not a diary.

[4] This phrase, foreign to Bābur's diction, smacks of a Court-Persian milieu.

[5] Here the Elph. MS. has Ṣafar Muḥarram (f. 253), as has also I.O. 215 f. 200*b*, but it seems unsafe to take this as an *al Ṣafarānī* extension of Muḥarram because Muḥ.-Ṣafar 24th was not a Wednesday. As in the passage noted just above, it seems likely that Muḥarram is right.

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sent (to Humāyūn) with this injunction, "As—thanks be to God!—the rebels have fled, do you, as soon as this messenger arrives, appoint a few suitable begs to Jūnpūr, and come quickly to us yourself, for Rānā Sangā the Pagan is conveniently close; let us think first of him!"

After (Humāyūn's) army had gone to the East, we appointed, to make a plundering excursion into the Biāna neighbourhood, Tardī Beg (brother) of Qūj Beg with his elder brother Sher-afgan, Muḥammad Khalīl the master-gelder (*akhta-begī*) with his brethren and the gelders (*akhtachīlār*),[1] Rustam *Turkmān* with his brethren, and also, of the Hindūstānī people, Daud *Sarwānī*.
Fol. 303*b*. If they, by promise and persuasion, could make the Biāna garrison look towards us, they were to do so; if not, they were to weaken the enemy by raid and plunder.

In the fort of Tahangar[2] was 'Ālam Khān the elder brother of that same Niẓām Khān of Biāna. People of his had come again and again to set forth his obedience and well-wishing; he now took it on himself to say, "If the Pādshāh appoint an army, it will be my part by promise and persuasion to bring in the quiver-weavers of Biāna and to effect the capture of that fort." This being so, the following orders were given to the braves of Tardī Beg's expedition, "As 'Ālam Khān, a local man, has taken it on himself to serve and submit in this manner, act you with him and in the way he approves in this matter of Biāna." Swordsmen though some Hindūstānīs may be, most of them are ignorant and unskilled in military move and stand (*yūrūsh u tūrūsh*), in soldierly counsel and procedure. When our expedition joined 'Ālaṃ Khān, he paid no attention to what any-one else said, did not consider whether his action was good or bad, but went close up to Biāna, taking our men with him. Our expedition numbered from 250 to 300 Turks with somewhat over 2000 Hindūstānīs and local people, while Niẓām Khān of Biāna's Afghāns and *sipāhīs*[3] were an army of over 4000 horse and of
Fol. 304. foot-men themselves again, more than 10,000. Niẓām Khān

[1] Cf. f. 15*b* note to Qambar-i-'alī. The title *Akhta-begī* is to be found translated by "Master of the Horse", but this would not suit both uses of *akhta* in the above sentence. Cf. Shaw's Vocabulary.

[2] *i.e.* Tahangarh in Karauli, Rājpūtāna.

[3] Perhaps *sipāhī* represents Hindūstānī foot-soldiers.

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looked his opponents over, sallied suddenly out and, his massed horse charging down, put our expeditionary force to flight. His men unhorsed his elder brother 'Ālam Khān, took 5 or 6 others prisoner and contrived to capture part of the baggage. As we had already made encouraging promises to Niẓām Khān, we now, spite of this last impropriety, pardoned all earlier and this later fault, and sent him royal letters. As he heard of Rānā Sangā's rapid advance, he had no resource but to call on Sayyid Rafī'[1] for mediation, surrender the fort to our men, and come in with Sayyid Rafī', when he was exalted to the felicity of an interview.[2] I bestowed on him a pargana in Mīān-dū-āb worth 20 *laks*.[3] Dost, Lord-of-the-gate was sent for a time to Bīāna, but a few days later it was bestowed on Madhū Khwāja with a fixed allowance of 70 *laks*,[4] and he was given leave to go there.

Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī*, who was in Gūālīār, had been sending constantly to assure us of his obedience and good-wishes. After the pagan took Kandār and was close to Bīāna, Dharmankat, one of the Gūālīār rājas, and another pagan styled Khān-i-jahān, went into the Gūālīār neighbourhood and, coveting the fort, began to stir trouble and tumult. Tātār Khān, thus placed in difficulty, was for surrendering Gūālīār (to us). Most of our begs, household and best braves being away with (Humāyūn's) army or on various raids, we joined to Raḥīm-dād Fol. 304*b*. a few Bhīra men and Lāhorīs with Hastachī[5] *tūnqiṭār* and his brethren. We assigned *parganas* in Gūālīār itself to all those mentioned above. Mullā Apāq and Shaikh Ġurān (G'hurān) went also with them, they to return after Raḥīm-dād was established in Gūālīār. By the time they were near Gūālīār however, Tātār Khān's views had changed, and he did not invite them into the fort. Meantime Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ* (Helper), a darwīsh-like man, not only very learned but with a large following of students and disciples, sent from inside the fort to say to Raḥīm-dād, "Get yourselves into the fort somehow, for

[1] Rafī'u-d-dīn *Ṣafawī*, a native of Īj near the Persian Gulf, teacher of Abū'l-faẓl's father and buried near Āgra (*Āyīn-i-akbarī*).

[2] This phrase, again, departs from Bābur's simplicity of statement.

[3] About £5,000 (Erskine).

[4] About £17,500 (Erskine).

[5] Ḥai. MS. and 215 f. 201*b*, Hastī; Elph. MS. f. 254, and Ilminsky, p. 394, Aīmīshchī; *Memoirs*, p. 346, Imshiji, so too *Mémoires*, ii, 257.

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the views of this person (Tātār Khān) have changed, and he has evil in his mind." Hearing this, Raḥīm-dād sent to say to Tātār Khān, "There is danger from the Pagan to those outside; let me bring a few men into the fort and let the rest stay outside." Under insistence, Tātār Khān agreed to this, and Raḥīm-dād went in with rather few men. Said he, "Let our people stay near this Gate," posted them near the Hātī-pul (Elephant-gate) and through that Gate during that same night brought in the whole of his troop. Next day, Tātār Khān, reduced to helplessness, willy-nilly, made over the fort, and set out to come and wait on me in Āgra. A subsistence allowance of 20 *laks* was assigned to him on Bīānwān *pargana*.[1]

Fol. 305. Muḥammad *Zaitūn* also took the only course open to him by surrendering Dūlpūr and coming to wait on me. A *pargana* worth a few *laks* was bestowed on him. Dūlpūr was made a royal domain (*khālṣa*) with Abū'l-fatḥ *Turkmān*[2] as its military-collector (*shiqdār*).

In the Ḥiṣār-fīrūza neighbourhood Ḥamīd Khān *Sārang-khānī* with a body of his own Afghāns and of the Panī Afghāns he had collected—from 3 to 4,000 in all—was in a hostile and troublesome attitude. On Wednesday the 15th Ṣafar (Nov. 21st) we appointed against him Chīn-tīmūr Sl. (*Chaghatāī*) with the commanders Secretary Aḥmadī, Abū'l-fatḥ *Turkmān*, Malik Dād *Kararānī*[3] and Mujāhid Khān of Multān. These going, fell suddenly on him from a distance, beat his Afghāns well, killed a mass of them and sent in many heads.

(*e. Embassy from Persia.*)

In the last days of Ṣafar, Khwājagī Asad who had been sent to Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp[4] in 'Irāq, returned with a Turkmān named Sulaimān who amongst other gifts brought two Circassian girls (*qīzlār*).

[1] About £5000 (Erskine). Bīānwān lies in the *sūbah* of Āgra.
[2] Cf. f. 175 for Bābur's estimate of his service.
[3] Cf. f. 268*b* for Bābur's clemency to him.
[4] Firishta (Briggs ii, 53) mentions that Asad had gone to Ṭahmāsp from Kābul to congratulate him on his accession. Shāh Ismā'īl had died in 930 AH. (1524 AD.); the title Shāh-zāda is a misnomer therefore in 933 AH.—one possibly prompted by Ṭahmāsp's youth.

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(*f. Attempt to poison Bābur.*)

(*Dec. 21st*) On Friday the 16th of the first Rabī' a strange event occurred which was detailed in a letter written to Kābul. That letter is inserted here just as it was written, without addition or taking-away, and is as follows :—[1]

"The details of the momentous event of Friday the 16th of the first Rabī' in the date 933 [Dec. 21st 1526 AD.] are as follows :—The ill-omened old woman [2] Ibrāhīm's mother heard Fo that I ate things from the hands of Hindūstānīs—the thing being that three or four months earlier, as I had not seen Hindūstānī dishes, I had ordered Ibrāhīm's cooks to be brought and out of 50 or 60 had kept four. Of this she heard, sent to Atāwa (Etāwa) for Aḥmad the *chāshnīgīr*—in Hindūstān they call a taster (*bakāwal*) a *chāshnīgīr*—and, having got him,[3] gave a *tūla* of poison, wrapped in a square of paper,—as has been mentioned a *tūla* is rather more than 2 *miṣqāls* [4]—into the hand of a slave-woman who was to give it to him. That poison Aḥmad gave to the Hindūstānī cooks in our kitchen, promising them four *parganas* if they would get it somehow into the food. Following the first slave-woman that ill-omened old woman sent a second to see if the first did or did not give the poison she had received to Aḥmad. Well was it that Aḥmad put the poison not into the cooking-pot but on a dish ! He did not put it into the pot because I had strictly ordered the tasters to compel any Hindūstānīs who were present while food was cooking in the pots, to taste that food.[5] Our graceless tasters were neglectful when the food (*āsh*) was being dished up. Thin slices of bread were put on a porcelain dish ; on these less than half of the paper packet of poison was sprinkled, and over this buttered

[1] The letter is likely to have been written to Māhīm and to have been brought back to India by her in 935 AH. (f. 380*b*). Some MSS. of the Pers. trs. reproduce it in Turkī and follow this by a Persian version ; others omit the Turkī.

[2] Turkī, *būā*. Hindī *bawā* means sister or paternal-aunt but this would not suit from Bābur's mouth, the more clearly not that his epithet for the offender is *baḍ-bakht*. Gul-badan (H.N. f. 19) calls her "ill-omened demon".

[3] She may have been still in the place assigned to her near Āgra when Bābur occupied it (f. 269).

[4] f. 290. Erskine notes that the *tūla* is about equal in weight to the silver *rūpī*.

[5] It appears from the kitchen-arrangements detailed by Abū'l-faẓl, that before food was dished up, it was tasted from the pot by a cook and a subordinate taster, and next by the Head-taster.

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fritters were laid. It would have been bad if the poison had been strewn on the fritters or thrown into the pot. In his confusion, the man threw the larger half into the fire-place."

"On Friday, late after the Afternoon Prayer, when the cooked meats were set out, I ate a good deal of a dish of hare and also much fried carrot, took a few mouthfuls of the poisoned Hindūstānī food without noticing any unpleasant flavour, took also a mouthful or two of dried-meat (*qāq*). Then I felt sick. As some dried meat eaten on the previous day had had an unpleasant taste, I thought my nausea due to the dried-meat. Again and again my heart rose; after retching two or three times I was near vomiting on the table-cloth. At last I saw it would not do, got up, went retching every moment of the way to the water-closet (*āb-khāna*) and on reaching it vomited much. Never had I vomited after food, used not to do so indeed while drinking. I became suspicious; I had the cooks put in ward and ordered some of the vomit given to a dog and the dog to be watched. It was somewhat out-of-sorts near the first watch of the next day; its belly was swollen and however much people threw stones at it and turned it over, it did not get up. In that state it remained till mid-day; it then got up; it did not die. One or two of the braves who also had eaten of that dish, vomited a good deal next day; one was in a very bad state. In the end all escaped. (*Persian*) 'An evil arrived but happily passed on!' God gave me new-birth! I am coming from that other world; I am born today of my mother; I was sick; I live; through God, I know today the worth of life!" [1]

"I ordered Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad to watch the cook; when he was taken for torture (*qīn*), he related the above particulars one after another."

"Monday being Court-day, I ordered the grandees and notables, amīrs and wazīrs to be present and that those two men and two women should be brought and questioned. They there related the particulars of the affair. That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown

[1] The Turkī sentences which here follow the well-known Persian proverb, *Rasīda būd balāī walī ba khair guzasht*, are entered as verse in some MSS.; they may be a prose quotation.

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under an elephant, the other shot with a match-lock. The old woman (*būā*) I had kept under guard; she will meet her doom, the captive of her own act." [1]

"On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk, on Sunday *'araq* in which stamped-clay was dissolved.[2] On Monday I drank milk in which were dissolved stamped-clay and the best theriac,[3] a strong purge. As on the first day, Saturday, something very dark like parched bile was voided."

"Thanks be to God! no harm has been done. Till now I had not known so well how sweet a thing life can seem! As the line has it, 'He who has been near to death knows the worth of life.' Spite of myself, I am all upset whenever the dreadful occurrence comes back to my mind. It must have been God's favour gave me life anew; with what words can I thank him?" Fol. 307.

"Although the terror of the occurrence was too great for words, I have written all that happened, with detail and circumstance, because I said to myself, 'Don't let their hearts be kept in anxiety!' Thanks be to God! there may be other days yet to see! All has passed off well and for good; have no fear or anxiety in your minds."

"This was written on Tuesday the 20th of the first Rabī', I being then in the Chār-bāgh."

When we were free from the anxiety of these occurrences, the above letter was written and sent to Kābul.

(*g. Dealings with Ibrāhīm's family.*)

As this great crime had raised its head through that ill-omened old woman (*būā-i-bad-bakht*), she was given over to Yūnas-i-'alī and Khwājagī Asad who after taking her money and goods, slaves and slave-women (*dādūk*), made her over for careful watch to 'Abdu'r-raḥīm *shaghāwal*.[4] Her grandson, Ibrāhīm's son had been cared for with much respect and delicacy, but as the attempt on my life had been made, clearly, by that family, it

[1] She, after being put under contribution by two of Bābur's officers (f. 307*b*) was started off for Kābul, but, perhaps dreading her reception there, threw herself into the Indus in crossing and was drowned. (Cf. A.N. trs. H. Beveridge *Errata* and *addenda* p. xi for the authorities.)

[2] *gil makhtūm*, Lemnian earth, *terra sigillata*, each piece of which was impressed, when taken from the quarry, with a guarantee-stamp (Cf. Ency. Br. *s.n.* Lemnos).

[3] *tirīāq-i-fārūq*, an antidote.

[4] Index *s.n.*

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did not seem advisable to keep him in Āgra; he was joined therefore to Mullā Sarsān—who had come from Kāmrān on important business—and was started off with the Mullā to Kāmrān on Thursday Rabī' I. 29th (Jan. 3rd 1527 AD.).[1]

(*h. Humāyūn's campaign.*)

Fol. 307*b*. Humāyūn, acting against the Eastern rebels[2] took Jūna-pūr (*sic*), went swiftly against Naṣīr Khān (*Nūḥānī*) in Ghāzī-pūr and found that he had gone across the Gang-river, presumably on news* of Humāyūn's approach. From Ghāzī-pūr Humāyūn went against Kharīd[3] but the Afghāns of the place had crossed the Sārū-water (Gōgra) presumably on the news* of his coming. Kharīd was plundered and the army turned back.

Humāyūn, in accordance with my arrangements, left Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Sl. Junaid with a body of effective braves in Jūna-pūr, posted Qāẓī Jīā with them, and placed Shaikh Bāyazīd [*Farmūlī*] in Aude (Oude). These important matters settled, he crossed Gang from near Karrah-Mānikpūr and took the Kālpī road. When he came opposite Kālpī, in which waṣ Jalāl Khān *Jik-hat's* (son) 'Ālam Khān who had sent me dutiful letters but had not waited on me himself, he sent some-one to chase fear from 'Ālam Khān's heart and so brought him along (to Āgra).

Humāyūn arrived and waited on me in the Garden of Eight-paradises[4] on Sunday the 3rd of the 2nd Rabī' (Jan. 6th 1527 AD.). On the same day Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand arrived from Kābul.

(*i. Rānā Sangā's approach.*)[5]

Meantime Mahdī Khwāja's people began to come in, treading on one another's heels and saying, "The Rānā's advance is

[1] Kāmrān was in Qandahār (Index *s.n.*). Erskine observes here that Bābur's omission to give the name of Ibrāhīm's son, is noteworthy; the son may however have been a child and his name not known to or recalled by Bābur when writing some years later.

[2] f. 299*b*.

[3] The *Āyīn-i-akbarī* locates this in the *sarkār* of Jūn-pūr, a location suiting the context. The second Persian translation ('Abdu'r-raḥīm's) has here a scribe's skip from one "news" to another (both asterisked in my text); hence Erskine has an omission.

[4] This is the Chār-bāgh of f. 300, known later as the Rām (Arām)-bāgh (Garden-of-rest).

[5] Presumably he was coming up from Marwār.

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certain. Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī* is heard of also as likely to join him. They must be thought about above all else. It would favour our fortune, if a troop came ahead of the army to reinforce Bīāna." Fol. 308.

Deciding to get to horse, we sent on, to ride light to Bīāna, the commanders Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Yūnas-i-'alī, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Kitta Beg, Qismatī [1] and Būjka.

In the fight with Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī's* son Nāhar Khān had fallen into our hands; we had kept him as an hostage and, ostensibly on his account, his father had been making comings-and-goings with us, constantly asking for him. It now occurred to several people that if Ḥasan Khān were conciliated by sending him his son, he would thereby be the more favourably disposed and his waiting on me might be the better brought about. Accordingly Nāhar Khān was dressed in a robe of honour; promises were made to him for his father, and he was given leave to go. That hypocritical mannikin [Ḥasan Khān] must have waited just till his son had leave from me to go, for on hearing of this and while his son as yet had not joined him, he came out of Alūr (Alwar) and at once joined Rānā Ṣangā in Toda(bhīm, Āgra District). It must have been ill-judged to let his son go just then.

Meantime much rain was falling; parties were frequent; even Humāyūn was present at them and, abhorrent though it was to him, sinned [2] every few days.

(*j. Tramontane affairs.*)

One of the strange events in these days of respite [3] was this:— When Humāyūn was coming from Fort Victory (Qila'-i-ẓafar) to join the Hindūstān army, (Muḥ. 932 AH. – Oct. 1525 AD.) Fol. 308*b*. Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar (*Chaghatāī*) and his younger brother Bābā Shaikh deserted on the way, and went to Kītīn-qarā Sl. (*Aūzbeg*), into whose hands Balkh had fallen through the

[1] This name varies; the Ḥai. MS. in most cases writes Qismatī, but on f. 267*b*, Qismatāī; the Elph. MS. on f. 220 has Qiṣmnāī; De Courteille writes Qismī.

[2] *arṭkāb qīldī*, perhaps drank wine, perhaps ate opium-confections to the use of which he became addicted later on (Gulbadan's *Humāyūn-nāma* f. 30*b* and 73*b*).

[3] *furṣatlār*, *i.e.* between the occupation of Āgra and the campaign against Rānā Sangā.

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enfeeblement of its garrison.[1] This hollow mannikin and his younger brother having taken the labours of this side (Cis-Balkh?) on their own necks, come into the neighbourhood of Aībak, Khurram and Sār-bāgh.[2]

Shāh Sikandar—his footing in Ghūrī lost through the surrender of Balkh—is about to make over that fort to the Aūzbeg, when Mullā Bābā and Bābā Shaikh, coming with a few Aūzbegs, take possession of it. Mīr Hamah, as his fort is close by, has no help for it; he is for submitting to the Aūzbeg, but a few days later Mullā Bābā and Bābā Shaikh come with a few Aūzbegs to Mīr Hamah's fort, purposing to make the Mīr and his troop march out and to take them towards Balkh. Mīr Hamah makes Bābā Shaikh dismount inside the fort, and gives the rest felt huts (*aūtāq*) here and there. He slashes at Bābā Shaikh, puts him and some others in bonds, and sends a man galloping off to Tīngrī-bīrdī (*Qūchīn*, in Qūndūz). Tīngrī-bīrdī sends off Yār-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-latīf with a few effective braves, but before they reach Mīr Hamah's fort, Mullā Bābā has arrived there with his Aūzbegs; he had thought of a hand-to-hand fight (*aūrūsh-mūrūsh*), but he can do nothing. Mīr Hamah and his men joined Tīngrī-bīrdī's and came to Qūndūz. Bābā Shaikh's wound must have been severe; they cut his head off and Mīr Hamah brought
Fol. 309. it (to Āgra) in these same days of respite. I uplifted his head with favour and kindness, distinguishing him amongst his fellows and equals. When Bāqī *shaghāwal* went [to Balkh][3] I promised him a *ser* of gold for the head of each of the ill-conditioned old couple; one *ser* of gold was now given to Mīr Hamah for Bābā Shaikh's head, over and above the favours referred to above.[4]

(*k. Action of part of the Bīāna reinforcement.*)

Qismatī who had ridden light for Bīāna, brought back several heads he had cut off; when he and Būjka had gone with a few

[1] Apparently the siege Bābur broke up in 931 AH. had been renewed by the Aūzbegs (f. 255*b* and Trs. Note *s.a.* 931 AH. section *c*).

[2] These places are on the Khulm-river between Khulm and Kāhmard. The present tense of this and the following sentences is Babur's.

[3] f. 261.

[4] Erskine here notes that if the *ser* Bābur mentions be one of 14 *tūlas*, the value is about £27; if of 24 *tūlas*, about £45.

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braves to get news, they had beaten two of the Pagan's scouting-parties and had made 70 to 80 prisoners. Qismatī brought news that Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī* really had joined Rānā Sangā.

(*l. Trial-test of the large mortar of f. 302.*)

(*Feb. 10th*) On Sunday the 8th of the month (Jumāda I.), I went to see Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharge stones from that large mortar of his in casting which the stone-chamber was without defect and which he had completed afterwards by casting the powder-compartment. It was discharged at the Afternoon Prayer; the throw of the stone was 1600 paces. A gift was made to the Master of a sword-belt, robe of honour, and *tīpūchāq* (horse).

(*m. Bābur leaves Āgra against Rānā Sangā.*)

(*Feb. 11th*) On Monday the 9th of the first Jumāda, we got out of the suburbs of Āgra, on our journey (*safar*) for the Holy War, and dismounted in the open country, where we remained three or four days to collect our army and be its rallying-point.[1] As little confidence was placed in Hindūstānī people, the Hindūstān amīrs were inscribed for expeditions to this or to that side:—'Ālam Khān (*Tahangarī*) was sent hastily to Gūālīār to Fol. 309*b*. reinforce Raḥīm-dād; Makan, Qāsim Beg *Sanbalī* (*Saṃbhalī*), Ḥamīd with his elder and younger brethren and Muḥammad *Zaitūn* were inscribed to go swiftly to Sanbal.

(*n. Defeat of the advance-force.*)

Into this same camp came the news that owing to Rānā Sangā's swift advance with all his army,[2] our scouts were able neither to get into the fort (Bīāna) themselves nor to send news into it. The Bīāna garrison made a rather incautious sally too far out; the enemy fell on them in some force and put them to

[1] T. *chāpdūq*. Cf. the two Persian translations 215 f. 205*b* and 217 f. 215; also Ilminsky, p. 401.

[2] *būlghān chīrīkī*. The Rānā's forces are thus stated by Tod (*Rājastān; Annals of Marwār* Cap. ix):—"Eighty thousand horse, 7 Rajas of the highest rank, 9 Raos, and 104 chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field." Bābur's army, all told, was 12,000 when he crossed the Indus from Kābul; it will have had accretions from his own officers in the Panj-āb and some also from other quarters, and will have had losses at Pānīpat; his reliable kernel of fighting-strength cannot but have been numerically insignificant, compared with the Rājpūt host. Tod says that almost all the princes of Rājastān followed the Rānā at Kanwā.

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rout.[1] There Sangur Khān *Janjūha* became a martyr. Kitta Beg had galloped into the pell-mell without his cuirass; he got one pagan afoot (*yāyāglātīb*) and was overcoming him, when the pagan snatched a sword from one of Kitta Beg's own servants and slashed the Beg across the shoulder. Kitta Beg suffered great pain; he could not come into the Holy-battle with Rānā Sangā, was long in recovering and always remained blemished.

Whether because they were themselves afraid, or whether to frighten others is not known but Qismatī, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās* and all from Bīāna praised and lauded the fierceness and valour of the pagan army.

Qāsim Master-of-the-horse was sent from the starting-ground (*safar qīlghān yūrt*) with his spadesmen, to dig many wells where the army was next to dismount in the Madhākūr *pargana*.

(*Feb. 16th*) Marching out of Āgra on Saturday the 14th of the first Jumāda, dismount was made where the wells had been
Fol. 310. dug. We marched on next day. It crossed my mind that the well-watered ground for a large camp was at Sīkrī.[2] It being possible that the Pagan was encamped there and in possession of the water, we arrayed precisely, in right, left and centre. As Qismatī and Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* in their comings and goings had seen and got to know all sides of Bīāna, they were sent ahead to look for camping-ground on the bank of the Sīkrī-lake (*kūl*). When we reached the (Madhākūr) camp, persons were sent galloping off to tell Mahdī Khwāja and the Bīāna garrison to join me without delay. Humāyūn's servant Beg Mīrak *Mughūl* was sent out with a few braves to get news of the Pagan. They started that night, and next morning brought word that he was heard of as having arrived and dismounted at a place one *kuroh* (2 miles) on our side (*aīlkārāk*) of Basāwar.[3] On this same day Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā rejoined us with the troops that had ridden light to Bīāna.

[1] *dūrbātūr*. This is the first use of the word in the *Bābur-nāma*; the defacer of the Elph. Codex has altered it to *aūrātūr*.

[2] Shaikh Zain records [Abū'l-faẓl also, perhaps quoting from him] that Bābur, by varying diacritical points, changed the name Sīkrī to Shukrī in sign of gratitude for his victory over the Rānā. The place became the Fatḥpūr-sīkrī of Akbar.

[3] Erskine locates this as 10 to 12 miles n.w. of Bīāna.

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(*o. Discomfiture of a reconnoitring party.*)

The begs were appointed in turns for scouting-duty. When it was 'Abdu'l-'azīz's turn, he went out of Sīkrī, looking neither before nor behind, right out along the road to Kanwā which is 5 *kuroh* (10 m.) away. The Rānā must have been marching forward; he heard of our men's moving out in their reinless (*jalāū-sīz*) way, and made 4 or 5,000 of his own fall suddenly on them. With 'Abdu'l-'azīz and Mullā Apāq may have been 1000 to 1500 men; they took no stock of their opponents but just Fol. 310*b*. got to grips; they were hurried off at once, many of them being made prisoner.

On news of this, we despatched Khalīfa's Muḥibb-i-'alī with Khalīfa's retainers. Mullā Ḥusain and some others *aūbrūq-sūbrūq*[1*] were sent to support them,[2] and Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* also. Presumably it was before the arrival of this first, Muḥibb-i-'alī's, reinforcement that the Pagan had hurried off 'Abdu'l-'azīz and his men, taken his standard, martyred Mullā Ni'mat, Mullā Dāūd and the younger brother of Mullā Apāq, with several more. Directly the reinforcement arrived the pagans overcame Ṭāhir-tibrī, the maternal uncle of Khalīfa's Muḥibb-i-'alī, who had not got up with the hurrying reinforcement [?].[3] Meantime Muḥibb-i-'alī even had been thrown down,

[1] This phrase has not occurred in the B.N. before; presumably it expresses what has not yet been expressed; this Erskine's rendering, "each according to the speed of his horse," does also. The first Persian translation, which in this portion is by Muḥammad-qulī *Mughūl Hiṣārī*, translates by *az dambal yak dīgar* (I.O. 215, f. 205*b*); the second, 'Abdu'r-raḥīm's, merely reproduces the phrase; De Courteille (ii, 272) appears to render it by (amirs) *que je ne nomme pas*. If my reading of Ṭāhir-tibrī's failure be correct (*infra*), Erskine's translation suits the context.

[2] The passage cut off by my asterisks has this outside interest that it forms the introduction to the so-called "Fragments", that is, to certain Turkī matter not included in the standard *Bābur-nāma*, but preserved with the Kehr – Ilminsky – de Courteille text. As is well-known in Bāburiana, opinion has varied as to the genesis of this matter; there is now no doubt that it is a translation into Turkī from the (*Persian*) *Akbar-nāma*, prefaced by the above-asterisked passage of the *Bābur-nāma* and continuous (with slight omissions) from Bib. Ind. ed. i, 106 to 120 (trs. H. Beveridge i, 260 to 282). It covers the time from before the battle of Kanwā to the end of Abū'l-faẓl's description of Bābur's death, attainments and Court; it has been made to seem Bābur's own, down to his death-bed, by changing the third person of A.F.'s narrative into the autobiographical first person. (Cf. Ilminsky, p. 403 l. 4 and p. 494; *Mémoires* ii, 272 and 443 to 464; JRAS. 1908, p. 76.)

A minute point in the history of the B.N. manuscripts may be placed on record here; *viz.* that the variants from the true *Bābur-nāma* text which occur in the Kehr – Ilminsky one, occur also in the corrupt Turkī text of I.O. No. 214 (JRAS 1900, p. 455).

[3] *chāpār kūmak yītmās*, perhaps implying that the speed of his horses was not equal to that of Muḥibb-i-'alī's. Translators vary as to the meaning of the phrase.

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but Bāltū getting in from the rear, brought him out. The enemy pursued for over a *kuroh* (2 m.), stopped however at the sight of the black mass of Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang's* troops.

Foot upon foot news came that the foe had come near and nearer. We put on our armour and our horses' mail, took our arms and, ordering the carts to be dragged after us, rode out at the gallop. We advanced one *kuroh*. The foe must have turned aside.

(*p. Bābur fortifies his camp.*)

For the sake of water, we dismounted with a large lake (*kūl*) on one side of us. Our front was defended by carts chained together*, the space between each two, across which the chains stretched, being 7 or 8 *qārī* (*circa* yards). Muṣṭafa *Rūmī* had
Fol. 311. had the carts made in the Rūmī way, excellent carts, very strong and suitable.[1] As Ustād 'Alī-qulī was jealous of him, Muṣṭafa was posted to the right, in front of Humāyūn. Where the carts did not reach to, Khurāsānī and Hindūstānī spadesmen and miners were made to dig a ditch.

Owing to the Pagan's rapid advance, to the fighting-work in Bīāna and to the praise and laud of the pagans made by Shāh Manṣūr, Qismatī and the rest from Bīāna, people in the army shewed sign of want of heart. On the top of all this came the defeat of 'Abdu'l-'azīz. In order to hearten our men, and give a look of strength to the army, the camp was defended and shut in where there were no carts, by stretching ropes of raw hide on wooden tripods, set 7 or 8 *qārī* apart. Time had drawn out to 20 or 25 days before these appliances and materials were fully ready.[2]

(*q. A reinforcement from Kābul.*)

Just at this time there arrived from Kābul Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sl. (*Aūzbeg Shaibān*) who is the son of a daughter of Sl. Ḥusain M. (*Bāī-qarā*), and with him Aḥmad-i-yūsuf (*Aūghlāqchī*), Qawwām-i-aūrdū Shāh and also several single friends of mine,

[1] Erskine and de Courteille both give Muṣṭafa the commendation the Turkī and Persian texts give to the carts.

[2] According to Tod's *Rājastān*, negotiations went on during the interval, having for their object the fixing of a frontier between the Rānā and Bābur. They were conducted by a "traitor" Ṣalah'd-dīn *Tūār* the chief of Raisin, who moreover is said to have deserted to Bābur during the battle.*

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counting up in all to 500 men. Muḥammad Sharīf, the astrologer of ill-augury, came with them too, so did Bābā Dost the water-bearer (*sūchī*) who, having gone to Kābul for wine, had there loaded three strings of camels with acceptable Ghaznī wines. Fol. 311*b*.

At a time such as this, when, as has been mentioned, the army was anxious and afraid by reason of past occurrences and vicissitudes, wild words and opinions, this Muḥammad Sharīf, the ill-augurer, though he had not a helpful word to say to me, kept insisting to all he met, "Mars is in the west in these days;[1] who comes into the fight from this (east) side will be defeated." Timid people who questioned the ill-augurer, became the more shattered in heart. We gave no ear to his wild words, made no change in our operations, but got ready in earnest for the fight.

(*Feb. 24th*) On Sunday the 22nd (of Jumāda I.) Shaikh Jamāl was sent to collect all available quiver-wearers from between the two waters (Ganges and Jumna) and from Dihlī, so that with this force he might over-run and plunder the Mīwāt villages, leaving nothing undone which could awaken the enemy's anxiety for that side. Mullā Tark-i-'alī, then on his way from Kābul, was ordered to join Shaikh Jamāl and to neglect nothing of ruin and plunder in Mīwāt; orders to the same purport were given also to Maghfūr the Dīwān. They went; they over-ran and raided a few villages in lonely corners (*būjqāq*); they took some prisoners; but their passage through did not arouse much anxiety!

(*r. Bābur renounces wine.*)

On Monday the 23rd of the first Jumāda (Feb. 25th), when I went out riding, I reflected, as I rode, that the wish to cease from sin had been always in my mind, and that my forbidden acts had set lasting stain upon my heart. Said I, "Oh! my soul!" Fol. 312.

(*Persian*) "How long wilt thou draw savour from sin?
Repentance is not without savour, taste it!"[2]

[1] Cf. f. 89 for Bābur's disastrous obedience to astrological warning.

[2] For the reading of this second line, given by the good MSS. *viz. Tauba ham bī maza nīst, bachash*, Ilminsky (p. 405) has *Tauba ham bī maza, mast bakhis*, which de Courteille [II, 276] renders by, "*O ivrogne insensé! que ne goûtes-tu aussi à la pénitence?*" The Persian couplet seems likely to be a quotation and may yet be found elsewhere. It is not in the Rāmpūr Dīwān which contains the Turkī verses following it (E. D. Ross p. 21).

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(*Turkī*) Through years how many has sin defiled thee?
How much of peace has transgression given thee?
How much hast thou been thy passions' slave?
How much of thy life flung away?

With the Ghāzī's resolve since now thou hast marched,
Thou hast looked thine own death in the face!
Who resolves to hold stubbornly fast to the death,
Thou knowest what change he attains,

That far he removes him from all things forbidden,
That from all his offences he cleanses himself.
With my own gain before me, I vowed to obey,
In this my transgression,[1] the drinking of wine.[2]

The flagons and cups of silver and gold, the vessels of feasting,
I had them all brought;
I had them all broken up[3] then and there.
Thus eased I my heart by renouncement of wine.

The fragments of the gold and silver vessels were shared out to deserving persons and to darwīshes. The first to agree in renouncing wine was 'Asas;[4] he had already agreed also about leaving his beard untrimmed.[5] That night and next day some
Fol. 312*b*. 300 begs and persons of the household, soldiers and not soldiers, renounced wine. What wine we had with us was poured on the ground; what Bābā Dost had brought was ordered salted to make vinegar. At the place where the wine was poured upon the ground, a well was ordered to be dug, built up with stone and having an almshouse beside it. It was already finished in Muḥarram 935 (AH.—Sep. 1528 AD.) at the time I went to Sīkrī from Dūlpūr on my way back from visiting Gūāliār.

[1] *kīchmāklīk*, to pass over (to exceed?), to ford or go through a river, whence to transgress. The same metaphor of crossing a stream occurs, in connection with drinking, on f. 189*b*.

[2] This line shews that Bābur's renouncement was of wine only; he continued to eat confections (*ma'jūn*).

[3] Cf. f. 186*b*. Bābur would announce his renunciation in Dīwān; there too the forbidden vessels of precious metals would be broken. His few words leave it to his readers to picture the memorable scene.

[4] This night-guard ('*asas*) cannot be the one concerning whom Gul-badan records that he was the victim of a little joke made at his expense by Bābur (H. N. Index *s.n.*). He seems likely to be the Hājī Muḥ. '*asas* whom Abū'l-faẓl mentions in connection with Kāmrān in 953 AH. (1547 AD.). He may be the '*asas* who took charge of Bābur's tomb at Āgra (cf. Gul-badan's H. N. *s.n.* Muḥ. 'Alī '*asas ṭaghāī*, and *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 502).

[5] *ṣaqālī qīrqmāqta u qūīmāqta*. Erskine here notes that "a vow to leave the beard untrimmed was made sometimes by persons who set out against the infidels. They did not trim the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of similar nature may be found in Scripture", *e.g.* II Samuel, cap. 19 v. 24.

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(*s. Remission of a due.*)

I had vowed already that, if I gained the victory over Sangā the pagan, I would remit the *tamghā*[1] to all Musalmāns. Of this vow Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* and Shaikh Zain reminded me at the time I renounced wine. Said I, "You do well to remind me."

**The tamghā* was remitted to all Musalmāns of the dominions I held.[2] I sent for the clerks (*munshīlār*), and ordered them to write for their news-letters (*akhbar*) the *farmān* concerning the two important acts that had been done. Shaikh Zain wrote the *farmān* with his own elegance (*inshāsī bīla*) and his fine letter (*inshā*) was sent to all my dominions. It is as follows :—[3]

FARMĀN ANNOUNCING BĀBUR'S RENUNCIATION OF WINE.[4]

[5] *Let us praise the Long-suffering One who loveth the penitent and who loveth the cleansers of themselves; and let thanks be rendered to the Gracious One who absolveth His debtors, and forgiveth those who seek forgiveness. Blessings be upon Muḥammad the Crown of Creatures, on the Holy family, on the pure Companions,* and on the mirrors of the glorious congregation, to wit, the Masters of Wisdom who are treasure-houses of the pearls of purity and who bear the impress of the sparkling jewels of this purport :—that the nature of man is prone to evil, and that the abandonment of sinful appetites is only feasible by Divine aid Fol. 313.

[1] Index *s.n.* The *tamghā* was not really abolished until Jahāngīr's time—if then (H. Beveridge). See Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire.*

[2] There is this to notice here :—Bābur's narrative has made the remission of the *tamghā* contingent on his success, but the *farmān* which announced that remission is dated some three weeks before his victory over Rānā Sangā (Jumāda II, 13th—March 16th). Manifestly Bābur's remission was absolute and made at the date given by Shaikh Zain as that of the *farmān.* The *farmān* seems to have been despatched as soon as it was ready, but may have been inserted in Bābur's narrative at a later date, together with the preceding paragraph which I have asterisked.

[3] "There is a lacuna in the Turkī copy" (*i.e.* the Elphinstone Codex) "from this place to the beginning of the year 935. Till then I therefore follow only Mr. Metcalfe's and my own Persian copies" (Erskine).

[4] I am indebted to my husband for this revised version of the *farmān.* He is indebted to M. de Courteille for help generally, and specially for the references to the Qorān (*q.v. infra*).

[5] The passages in italics are Arabic in the original, and where traced to the Qorān, are in Sale's words.

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and the help that cometh from on high. "*Every soul is prone unto evil*,"[1] (and again) "*This is the bounty of God; He will give the same unto whom He pleaseth; and God is endued with great bounty.*"[2]

Our motive for these remarks and for repeating these statements is that, by reason of human frailty, of the customs of kings and of the great, all of us, from the Shāh to the sipāhī, in the heyday of our youth, have transgressed and done what we ought not to have done. After some days of sorrow and repentance, we abandoned evil practices one by one, and the gates of retrogression became closed. But the renunciation of wine, the greatest and most indispensable of renunciations, remained under a veil in the chamber of deeds *pledged to appear in due season*, and did not show its countenance until the glorious hour when we had put on the garb of the holy warrior and had encamped with the army of Islām over against the infidels in order to slay them. On this occasion I received a secret inspiration and heard an infallible voice say "*Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God, and that truth which hath been revealed?*"[3] Thereupon we set ourselves to extirpate the things of wickedness, and we earnestly knocked at the gates of repentance. The Guide of Help assisted us, according to the saying "*Whoever knocks and re-knocks, to him it will be opened*", and an order was given that with the Holy War there should
Fol. 313*b*. begin the still greater war which has to be waged against sensuality. In short, we declared with sincerity that *we would subjugate our passions*, and I engraved on the tablet of my heart "*I turn unto Thee with repentance, and I am the first of true believers*".[4] And I made public the resolution to abstain from wine, which had been hidden in the treasury of my breast. The victorious servants, in accordance with the illustrious order, dashed upon the earth of contempt and destruction the flagons and the cups, and the other utensils in gold and silver, which in their number and their brilliance were like the stars of the firmament. They dashed them in pieces, as, God willing! soon

[1] *Qorān*, *Sūrah* XII, v. 53.
[2] *Sūrah* LVII, v. 21.
[3] *Sūrah* LVII, v. 15.
[4] *Sūrah* VII, v. 140.

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will be dashed the gods of the idolaters,—and they distributed the fragments among the poor and needy. By the blessing of this acceptable repentance, many of the courtiers, by virtue of the saying that *men follow the religion of their kings*, embraced abstinence at the same assemblage, and entirely renounced the use of wine, and up till now crowds of our subjects hourly attain this auspicious happiness. I hope that in accordance with the saying "*He who incites to good deeds has the same reward as he who does them*" the benefit of this action will react on the royal fortune and increase it day by day by victories.

After carrying out this design an universal decree was issued that in the imperial dominions—May God protect them from every danger and calamity—no-one shall partake of strong drink, or engage in its manufacture, nor sell it, nor buy it or possess it, nor convey it or fetch it. "*Beware of touching it.*" "*Perchance this will give you prosperity.*" [1] Fol. 314.

In thanks for these great victories,[2] and as a thank-offering for God's acceptance of repentance and sorrow, the ocean of the royal munificence became commoved, and those waves of kindness, which are the cause of the civilization of the world and of the glory of the sons of Adam, were displayed,—and throughout all the territories the tax (*tamghā*) on Musalmāns was abolished,—though its yield was more than the dreams of avarice, and though it had been established and maintained by former rulers,—for it is a practice outside of the edicts of the Prince of Apostles (Muḥammad). So a decree was passed that in no city, town, road, ferry, pass, or port, should the tax be levied or exacted. No alteration whatsoever of this order is to be permitted. "*Whoever after hearing it makes any change therein, the sin of such change will be upon him.*" [3]

The proper course (*sabīl*) for all who shelter under the shade of the royal benevolence, whether they be Turk, Tājik, 'Arab, Hindī, or Fārsī (Persian), peasants or soldiers, of every nation or tribe

[1] *Sūrah* II, v. 185.

[2] These may be self-conquests as has been understood by Erskine (p. 356) and de Courteille (ii. 281) but as the Divine "acceptance" would seem to Bābur vouched for by his military success, "victories" may stand for his success at Kanwā.

[3] *Sūrah* II, 177 where, in Sale's translation, the change referred to is the special one of altering a legacy.

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of the sons of Adam, is to strengthen themselves by the tenets of religion, and to be full of hope and prayer for the dynasty which is linked with eternity, and to adhere to these ordinances, and not in any way to transgress them. It behoves all to act according to this *farmān*; they are to accept it as authentic when it comes attested by the Sign-Manual.

Written by order of the Exalted one,—May his excellence endure for ever! on the 24th of Jumāda I. 933 (February 26th 1527).

(*t. Alarm in Bābur's camp.*)

Fol. 314*b*. In these days, as has been mentioned, (our people) great and small, had been made very anxious and timid by past occurrences. No manly word or brave counsel was heard from any one soever. What bold speech was there from the wazīrs who are to speak out (*dīgūchī*), or from the amīrs who will devour the land (*wilāyat-yīghūchī*)?[1] None had advice to give, none a bold plan of his own to expound. Khalīfa (however) did well in this campaign, neglecting nothing of control and supervision, painstaking and diligence.

At length after I had made enquiry concerning people's want of heart and had seen their slackness for myself, a plan occurred to me; I summoned all the begs and braves and said to them, "Begs and braves!

(*Persian*) Who comes into the world will die;
What lasts and lives will be God.

(*Turkī*) He who hath entered the assembly of life,
Drinketh at last of the cup of death.

He who hath come to the inn of life,
Passeth at last from Earth's house of woe.

[1] The words *dīgūchī* and *yīgūchī* are translated in the second *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* by *sukhan-gū* and [*wīlāyat*]-*khwār*. This ignores in them the future element supplied by their component *gū* which would allow them to apply to conditions dependent on Bābur's success. The Hai. MS. and Ilminsky read *tīgūchī*, supporter- or helper-to-be, in place of the *yīgūchī*, eater-to-be I have inferred from the *khwār* of the Pers. translation; hence de Courteille writes "*amīrs auxquels incombait l'obligation de raffermir le gouvernement*". But Erskine, using the Pers. text alone, and thus having *khwār* before him, translates by, "amīrs who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms." The two Turkī words make a depreciatory "jingle", but the first one, *dīgūchī*, may imply serious reference to the duty, declared by Muḥammad to be incumbent upon a wazīr, of reminding his sovereign "when he forgetteth his duty". Both may be taken as alluding to dignities to be attained by success in the encounter from which wazīrs and amīrs were shrinking.

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"Better than life with a bad name, is death with a good one.
(*Persian*) Well is it with me, if I die with good name !
A good name must I have, since the body is death's.[1]

"God the Most High has allotted to us such happiness and has created for us such good-fortune that we die as martyrs, we kill as avengers of His cause. Therefore must each of you take oath upon His Holy Word that he will not think of turning his face from this foe, or withdraw from this deadly encounter so long as life is not rent from his body." All those present, beg and retainer, great and small, took the Holy Book joyfully into their hands and made vow and compact to this purport. The plan was perfect ; it worked admirably for those near and afar, for seërs and hearers, for friend and foe.

(*u. Bābur's perilous position.*)

In those same days trouble and disturbance arose on every side :—Ḥusain Khān *Nuḥānī* went and took Rāprī ; Quṭb Khān's 6*b*.
man took Chandwār[2] ; a mannikin called Rustam Khān who had collected quiver-wearers from Between-the-two-waters (Ganges and Jamna), took Kūl (Koel) and made Kīchīk 'Alī prisoner ; Khwāja Zāhid abandoned Sambal and went off ; Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī* came from Qanūj to me ; the Gūālīār pagans laid siege to that fort ; 'Ālam Khān when sent to reinforce it, did not go to Gūālīār but to his own district. Every day bad news came from every side. Desertion of many Hindūstānīs set in ; Haibat Khān *Karg-andāz*[3] deserted and went to Sambal ; Ḥasan Khān of Bārī deserted and joined the Pagan. We gave attention to none of them but went straight on with our own affair.

(*v. Bābur advances to fight.*)

The apparatus and appliances, the carts and wheeled tripods being ready, we arrayed in right, left and centre, and marched forward on New Year's Day,[4] Tuesday, the 9th of the second Fol.
Jumāda (March 13th), having the carts[5] and wheeled tripods

[1] Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma* [Erskine].
[2] Also Chand-wāl ; it is 25 m. east of Āgra and on the Jamna [*Ṭabaqāṭ-i-nāṣirī*, Raverty, p. 742 n. 9].
[3] Probably, Overthrower of the rhinoceros, but if *Gurg-andāz* be read, of the wolf.
[4] According to the Persian calendar this is the day the Sun enters Aries.
[5] The practical purpose of this order of march is shewn in the account of the battle of Pānīpat, and in the Letter of Victory, f. 319.

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moving in front of us, with Ustād 'Alī-qulī and all the matchlock-men ranged behind them in order that these men, being on foot, should not be left behind the array but should advance with it.

When the various divisions, right, left and centre, had gone each to its place, I galloped from one to another to give encouragement to begs, braves, and *sipāhīs*. After each man had had assigned to him his post and usual work with his company, we advanced, marshalled on the plan determined, for as much as one *kuroh* (2 m.)[1] and then dismounted.

The Pagan's men, for their part, were on the alert; they came from their side, one company after another.

The camp was laid out and strongly protected by ditch and carts. As we did not intend to fight that day, we sent a few unmailed braves ahead, who were to get to grips with the enemy and thus take an omen. They made a few pagans prisoner, cut off and brought in their heads. Malik Qāsim also cut off and brought in a few heads; he did well. By these successes the hearts of our men became very strong.

When we marched on next day, I had it in my mind to fight, but Khalīfa and other well-wishers represented that the camping-ground previously decided on was near and that it would favour our fortunes if we had a ditch and defences made there and went there direct. Khalīfa accordingly rode off to get the ditch dug; he settled its position with the spades-men, appointed overseers of the work and returned to us.

(*w. The battle of Kānwa.*)[2]

On Saturday the 13th of the second Jumāda (March 17th, 1527 AD.) we had the carts dragged in front of us (as before), made a *kuroh* (2 m.) of road, arrayed in right, left and centre, and dismounted on the ground selected.

[1] *kurohcha*, perhaps a short *kuroh*, but I have not found Bābur using *cha* as a diminutive in such a case as *kurohcha*.

[2] or Kānūa, in the Bīānā district and three marches from Bīāna-town. "It had been determined on by Rānā Sangrām Sīngh (*i.e.* Sangā) for the northern limit of his dominions, and he had here built a small palace." Tod thus describes Bābur's foe, "Sangā Rānā was of the middle stature, and of great muscular strength, fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes which appear to be peculiar to his descendants. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior: one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in action with the Lodī kings of Dehlī, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another; while he counted 80 wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body" (Tod's *Rājastān*, cap. Annals of Mewār).

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A few tents had been set up; a few were in setting up when news of the appearance of the enemy was brought. Mounting instantly, I ordered every man to his post and that our array should be protected with the carts.[1]

* As the following Letter-of-victory (*Fatḥ-nāma*) which is what Shaikh Zain had indited, makes known particulars about the army of Islām, the great host of the pagans with the position of their arrayed ranks, and the encounters had between them and the army of Islām, it is inserted here without addition or deduction.[2]

SHAIKH ZAIN'S LETTER-OF-VICTORY.

(*a. Introduction.*)

Praise be to God the Faithful Promiser, the Helper of His servants, the Supporter of His armies, the Scatterer of hostile hosts, the One alone without whom there is nothing. Fol. 316*b*.

[1] Here M. de C. has the following note (ii, 273 n.); it supplements my own of f. 264 [n. 3]. "*Le mot arāba, que j'ai traduit par chariot est pris par M. Leyden*" (this should be Erskine) "*dans le sens de 'gun', ce que je ne crois pas exact; tout au plus signifierait-il affût*" (gun-carriage). "*Il me paraît impossible d'admettre que Bâber eût à sa disposition une artillerie attelée aussi considérable. Ces arāba pouvaient servir en partie à transporter des pièces de campagne, mais ils avaient aussi une autre destination, comme on le voit par la suite du récit.*" It does not appear to me that Erskine *translates* the word *arāba* by the word *gun*, but that the *arābas* (all of which he took to be gun-carriages) being there, he supposed the guns. This was not correct as the various passages about carts as defences show (cf. Index *s.nn. arāba* and carts).

[2] It is characteristic of Bābur that he reproduces Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma*, not because of its eloquence but because of its useful details. Erskine and de Courteille have the following notes concerning Shaikh Zain's *farmān*:—"Nothing can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly and intelligent style of Baber himself, than the pompous, laboured periods of his secretary. Yet I have never read this Firmān to any native of India who did not bestow unlimited admiration on the official bombast of Zeineddin, while I have met with none but Turks who paid due praise to the calm simplicity of Baber" [Mems. p. 359]. "*Comme la précédente (farmān), cette pièce est rédigée en langue persane et offre un modèle des plus accomplis du style en usage dans les chancelleries orientales. La traduction d'un semblable morceau d'éloquence est de la plus grande difficulté, si on veut être clair, tout en restant fidèle à l'original.*"

Like the Renunciation *farmān*, the Letter-of-victory with its preceding sentence which I have asterisked, was probably inserted into Bābur's narrative somewhat later than the battle of Kānwa. Hence Bābur's pluperfect-tense "had indited". I am indebted to my husband for help in revising the difficult *Fatḥ-nāma*; he has done it with consideration of the variants between the earlier English and the French translations. No doubt it could be dealt with more searchingly still by one well-versed in the Qorān and the Traditions, and thus able to explain others of its allusions. The italics denote Arabic passages in the original; many of these are from the Qorān, and in tracing them M. de Courteille's notes have been most useful to us.

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O Thou the Exalter of the pillars of Islām, Helper of thy faithful minister, Overthrower of the pedestals of idols, Overcomer of rebellious foes, Exterminator to the uttermost of the followers of darkness!

Lauds be to God the Lord of the worlds, and may the blessing of God be upon the best of His creatures Muḥammad, Lord of ghāzīs and champions of the Faith, and upon his companions, the pointers of the way, until the Day of judgment.

The successive gifts of the Almighty are the cause of frequent praises and thanksgivings, and the number of these praises and thanksgivings is, in its turn, the cause of the constant succession of God's mercies. For every mercy a thanksgiving is due, and every thanksgiving is followed by a mercy. To render full thanks is beyond men's power; the mightiest are helpless to discharge their obligations. Above all, adequate thanks cannot be rendered for a benefit than which none is greater in the world and nothing is more blessed, in the world to come, to wit, victory over most powerful infidels and dominion over wealthiest heretics, "*these are the unbelievers, the wicked.*"[1] In the eyes of the judicious, no blessing can be greater than this. Thanks be to God! that this great blessing and mighty boon, which from the cradle until now has been the real object of this right-thinking mind (Bābur's), has now manifested itself by the graciousness of the King of the worlds; the Opener who dispenses his treasures without awaiting solicitation, hath opened them with a master-key before our victorious Nawāb (Bābur),[2] so that the names of our[3] conquering heroes have been emblazoned in the records of glorious *ghāzīs*. By the help of our victorious soldiers the
Fol. 317. standards of Islām have been raised to the highest pinnacles. The account of this auspicious fortune is as follows:—

[1] Qorān, cap. 80, last sentence.

[2] Shaikh Zain, in his version of the *Bābur-nāma*, styles Bābur Nawāb where there can be no doubt of the application of the title, *viz.* in describing Shāh Ṭahmāsp's gifts to him (mentioned by Bābur on f. 305). He uses the title also in the *farmān* of renunciation (f. 313*b*), but it does not appear in my text, "royal" (fortune) standing for it (*in loco* p. 555, l. 10).

[3] The possessive pronoun occurs several times in the Letter-of-victory. As there is no semblance of putting forward that letter as being Bābur's, the pronoun seems to imply "on our side".

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(*b. Rānā Sangā and his forces.*)

When the flashing-swords of our Islām-guarded soldiers had illuminated the land of Hindūstān with rays of victory and conquest, as has been recorded in former letters-of-victory,[1] the Divine favour caused our standards to be upreared in the territories of Dihlī, Āgra, Jūn-pūr, Kharīd,[2] Bihār, *etc.*, when many chiefs, both pagans and Muḥammadans submitted to our generals and shewed sincere obedience to our fortunate Nawāb. But Rānā Sangā the pagan who in earlier times breathed submissive to the Nawāb,[3] now *was puffed up with pride and became of the number of unbelievers.*[4] Satan-like he threw back his head and collected an army of accursed heretics, thus gathering a rabble-rout of whom some wore the accursed torque (*ṭauq*), the *zīnār*,[5] on the neck, some had in the skirt the calamitous thorn of apostacy.[6] Previous to the rising in Hindūstān of the Sun of dominion and the emergence there of the light of the Shāhanshāh's Khalīfate [*i.e.* Bābur's] the authority of that execrated pagan (Sangā)—*at the Judgment Day he shall have no friend*,[7] was such that not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm, such as the Sulṭān of Dihlī, the Fol. 317*b*. Sulṭān of Gujrāt and the Sulṭān of Mandū, could cope with this evil-dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans; one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him; and he had this authority although the rājas and rāīs of high degree, who obeyed him in this battle, and the governors and commanders

[1] The *Bābur-nāma* includes no other than Shaikh Zain's about Kanwā. Those here alluded to will be the announcements of success at Milwat, Pānīpat, Dībālpūr and perhaps elsewhere in Hindūstān.

[2] In Jūn-pūr (*Āyīn-i-akbarī*); Elliot & Dowson note (iv, 283–4) that it appears to have included, near Sikandarpūr, the country on both sides of the Gogra, and thence on that river's left bank down to the Ganges.

[3] That the word Nawāb here refers to Bābur and not to his lieutenants, is shewn by his mention (f. 278) of Sangā's messages to himself.

[4] Qorān, cap. 2, v. 32. The passage quoted is part of a description of Satan, hence mention of Satan in Shaikh Zain's next sentence.

[5] The brahminical thread.

[6] *khār-i-miḥnat-i-irtidād dar dāman.* This Erskine renders by "who fixed thorns from the pangs of apostacy in the hem of their garments" (p. 360). Several good MSS. have *khār*, thorn, but Ilminsky has Ar. *khimār*, cymar, instead (p. 411). De Courteille renders the passage by "*portent au pan de leurs habits la marque douloureuse de l'apostasie*" (ii, 290). To read *khimār*, cymar (scarf), would serve, as a scarf is part of some Hindū costumes.

[7] Qorān, cap. 69, v. 35.

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who were amongst his followers in this conflict, had not obeyed him in any earlier fight or, out of regard to their own dignity, been friendly with him. Infidel standards dominated some 200 towns in the territories of Islām; in them mosques and shrines fell into ruin; from them the wives and children of the Faithful were carried away captive. So greatly had his forces grown that, according to the Hindū calculation by which one *lak* of revenue should yield 100 horsemen, and one *krūr* of revenue, 10,000 horsemen, the territories subject to the Pagan (Sangā) yielding 10 *krūrs*, should yield him 100,000 horse. Many noted pagans who hitherto had not helped him in battle, now swelled his ranks out of hostility to the people of Islām. Ten powerful chiefs, each the leader of a pagan host, uprose in rebellion, as smoke rises, and linked themselves, as though
Fol. 318. enchained, to that perverse one (Sangā); and this infidel decade who, unlike the blessed ten,[1] uplifted misery-freighted standards which *denounce unto them excruciating punishment*,[2] had many dependants, and troops, and wide-extended lands. As, for instance, Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn[3] had territory yielding 30,000 horse, Rāwal Ūdai Sīngh of Bāgar had 12,000, Medinī Rāī had 12,000, Ḥasan Khān of Mīwāt had 12,000, Bār-mal of Īdr had 4,000, Narpat Hāra had 7,000, Satrvī of Kach (Cutch) had 6,000, Dharm-deo had 4,000, Bīr-sing-deo had 4,000, and Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sl. Sikandar, to whom, though he possessed neither district nor *pargana*, 10,000 horse had gathered in hope of his attaining supremacy. Thus, according to the calculation of Hind, 201,000 was the total of those sundered from salvation. In brief, that haughty pagan, inwardly blind, and hardened of

[1] M. Defrémery, when reviewing the French translation of the B.N. (*Journal des Savans* 1873), points out (p. 18) that it makes no mention of the "blessed ten". Erskine mentions them but without explanation. They are the '*asharah mubash-sharah*, the decade of followers of Muḥammad who "received good tidings", and whose certain entry into Paradise he foretold.

[2] Qorān, cap. 3, v. 20. M. Defrémery reads Shaikh Zain to mean that these words of the Qorān were on the infidel standards, but it would be simpler to read Shaikh Zain as meaning that the infidel insignia on the standards "denounce punishment" on their users.

[3] He seems to have been a Rājpūt convert to Muḥammadanism who changed his Hindī name Silhādī for what Bābur writes. His son married Sangā's daughter; his fiefs were Raisin and Sārangpūr; he deserted to Bābur in the battle of Kānwa. (Cf. Erskine's *History of India* i, 471 note; *Mirāt-i-sikandarī*, Bayley's trs. *s.n.*; *Akbar-nāma*, H.B.'s trs. i, 261; Tod's *Rājastān* cap. Mewār.)

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heart, having joined with other pagans, dark-fated and doomed to perdition, advanced to contend with the followers of Islām and to destroy the foundations of the law of the Prince of Men (Muḥammad), on whom be God's blessing! The protagonists of the royal forces fell, like divine destiny, on that one-eyed Dajjāl[1] who, to understanding men, shewed the truth of the saying, *When Fate arrives, the eye becomes blind*, and, setting before their eyes the scripture which saith, *Whosoever striveth to promote the true religion, striveth for the good of his own soul*,[2] they acted on the precept to which obedience is due, *Fight against infidels and hypocrites.* Fol. 318*b*.

(*c. Military movements.*)

(*March 17th, 1527*) On Saturday the 13th day of the second Jumāda of the date 933, a day blessed by the words, *God hath blessed your Saturday*, the army of Islām was encamped near the village of Kānwa, a dependency of Bīāna, hard by a hill which was 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) from the enemies of the Faith. When those accursed infidel foes of Muḥammad's religion heard the reverberation of the armies of Islām, they arrayed their ill-starred forces and moved forward with one heart, relying on their mountain-like, demon-shaped elephants, as had relied the Lords of the Elephant[3] who went to overthrow the sanctuary (*ka'ba*) of Islām.

[1] "Dejāl or al Masih al Dajjal, the false or lying Messiah, is the Muhammadan Anti-christ. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters K.F.R. signifying Kafer, or Infidel. He is to appear in the latter days riding on an ass, and will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahān, and will continue on the Earth 40 days, of which one will be equal to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days. He is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mekka or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels. He is finally to be slain at the gate of Lud by Jesus, for whom the Musalmans profess great veneration, calling him the breath or spirit of God.—See Sale's *Introductory Discourse to the Koran*" [Erskine].

[2] Qorān, cap. 29, v. 5.

[3] "This alludes to the defeat of [an Abyssinian Christian] Abraha the prince of Yemen who [in the year of Muḥammad's birth] marched his army and some elephants to destroy the *ka'ba* of Makka. 'The Meccans,' says Sale, 'at the appearance of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple. But God himself undertook the defence of both. For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one and named Maḥmūd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter; and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea-coast, every-one of which carried three stones,

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" Having these elephants, the wretched Hindus
Became proud, like the Lords of the Elephant;
Yet were they odious and vile as is the evening of death,
Blacker [1] than night, outnumbering the stars,
All such as fire is [2] but their heads upraised
In hate, as rises its smoke in the azure sky,
Ant-like they come from right and from left,
Thousands and thousands of horse and foot."

They advanced towards the victorious encampment, intending
Fol. 319. to give battle. The holy warriors of Islām, trees in the garden of valour, moved forward in ranks straight as serried pines and, like pines uplift their crests to heaven, uplifting their helmet-crests which shone even as shine the hearts of those *that strive in the way of the Lord*; their array was like Alexander's iron-wall,[3] and, as is the way of the Prophet's Law, straight and firm and strong, *as though they were a well-compacted building*;[4] and they became fortunate and successful in accordance with the saying, *They are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper.*[5]

In that array no rent was frayed by timid souls;
Firm was it as the Shāhanshāh's resolve, strong as the Faith;
Their standards brushed against the sky;
Verily we have granted thee certain victory.[6]

Obeying the cautions of prudence, we imitated the *ghāzīs* of Rūm[7] by posting matchlockmen (*tufanchīān*) and cannoneers (*ra'd-andāzān*) along the line of carts which were chained to one another in front of us; in fact, Islām's army was so arrayed and so steadfast that primal Intelligence[8] and the firmament (*'aql-i-pīr u charkh-i-aṣīr*) applauded the marshalling thereof. To effect this arrangement and organization, Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, the pillar of the Imperial fortune, exerted himself

one in each foot and one in its bill; and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck.' The rest were swept away by a flood or perished by a plague, Abraha alone reaching Senaa, where he also died" [Erskine]. The above is taken from Sale's note to the 105 chapter of the Qorān, entitled "the Elephant".

[1] Presumably black by reason of their dark large mass.

[2] Presumably, devouring as fire.

[3] This is 50 m. long and blocked the narrow pass of the Caspian Iron-gates. It ends south of the Russian town of Dar-band, on the west shore of the Caspian. Erskine states that it was erected to repress the invasions of Yajuj and Mujuj (Gog and Magog).

[4] Qorān, cap. lxi, v. 4.

[5] Qorān, cap. ii, v. 4. Erskine appears to quote another verse.

[6] Qorān, cap. xlviii, v. 1.

[7] Index *s.n.*

[8] *Khirad*, Intelligence or the first Intelligence, was supposed to be the guardian of the empyreal heaven (Erskine).

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strenuously; his efforts were in accord with Destiny, and were approved by his sovereign's luminous judgment.

(*d. Commanders of the centre.*)

His Majesty's post was in the centre. In the right-hand of the centre were stationed the illustrious and most upright brother, the beloved friend of Destiny, the favoured of Him whose aid is entreated (*i.e.* God), Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān,[1]—the illustrious son, accepted in the sight of the revered Allāh, Sulaimān Shāh,[2]—the reservoir of sanctity, the way-shower, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn (Perfect-in-the Faith) Dost-i-khāwand,—the trusted of the sulṭānate, the abider near the sublime threshold, the close companion, the cream of associates, Kamālu'd-dīn Yūnas-i-'alī,—the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in friendship, Jalālu'd-dīn (Glory-of-the-Faith) Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*,—the pillar of royal retainers, most excellent of servants, Niẓāmu'd-dīn (Upholder-of-the-Faith) Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*,—the pillars of royal retainers, the sincere in fidelity, Shihābu'd-dīn (Meteor-of-the-Faith) 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian and Nīẓāmu'd-dīn Dost Lord-of-the-Gate. Fol. 319*b*.

In the left-hand of the centre took each his post, the reservoir of sovereignty, ally of the Khalīfate, object of royal favour, Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-dīn 'Ālam Khān son of Sl. Bahlūl *Lūdī*,—the intimate of illustrious Majesty, the high priest (*dastūr*) of *ṣadrs* amongst men, the refuge of all people, the pillar of Islām, Shaikh Zain of Khawāf,[3]—the pillar of the nobility, Kamālu'd-dīn Muḥibb-i-'alī, son of the intimate counsellor named above (*i.e.* Khalīfa),—the pillar of royal retainers, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Ṭardī Beg brother of Qūj (son of) Aḥmad, whom God hath taken into His mercy,—Shīr-afgan son of the above-named Qūj Beg deceased,—the pillar of great ones, the mighty khān, Ārāīsh Khān,[4]—the wazīr, greatest Fol. 320.

[1] Chīn-tīmūr *Chīngīz-khānid Chaghatāī* is called Bābur's brother because a (maternal-) cousin of Bābur's own generation, their last common ancestor being Yūnas Khān.

[2] Sulaimān *Tīmūrid Mīrān-shāhī* is called Bābur's son because his father was of Bābur's generation, their last common ancestor being Sl. Abū-sa'id Mīrzā. He was 13 years old and, through Shāh Begīm, hereditary shāh of Badakhshān.

[3] The Shaikh was able, it would appear, to see himself as others saw him, since the above description of him is his own. It is confirmed by Abū'l-faẓl and Badāyūnī's accounts of his attainments.

[4] The honourable post given to this amīr of Hind is likely to be due to his loyalty to Bābur.

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of wazīrs amongst men, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain,—and a number of other attendants at Court (*dīwanīān*).

(*e. Commanders of the right wing.*)

In the right wing was the exalted son, honourable and fortunate, the befriended of Destiny, the Star of the Sign of sovereignty and success, Sun of the sphere of the Khalīfate, lauded of slave and free, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bahādur. On that exalted prince's right hand there were, one whose rank approximates to royalty and who is distinguished by the favour of the royal giver of gifts, Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān,—the pillar of the nobility Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad-i-yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī*,[1]—the trusted of royalty, most excellent of servants, Jalālu'd-dīn Hindū Beg *qūchīn*,[2]—the trusted of royalty, perfect in loyalty, Jalālu'd-dīn Khusrau Kūkūldāsh,—the trusted of royalty, Qawām (var. Qiyām) Beg *Aūrdū-shāh*,—the pillar of royal retainers, of perfect sincerity, Walī *Qarā-qūzī* the treasurer,[3]—the pillar of royal retainers, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Pīr-qulī of Sīstān,—the pillar of wazīrs, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn *pahlawān* (champion) of Badakhshān,—the pillar of royal retainers, 'Abdu'l-shakūr,—the pillar of the nobility, most excellent of servants, the envoy from 'Irāq Sulaimān Āqā,—and Ḥusain Āqā the envoy from Sīstān. On
Fol. 320*b*. the victory-crowned left of the fortunate son already named there were, the sayyid of lofty birth, of the family of Murtiẓā ('Alī), Mīr Hama (or Hāma),—the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in sincerity, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh and Niẓāmu'd-dīn Khwājagī Asad *jān-dār*.[4] In the right wing

[1] Aḥmad may be a nephew of Yūsuf of the same agnomen (Index *s.nn.*).

[2] I have not discovered the name of this old servant or the meaning of his seeming-sobriquet, Hindū. As a *qūchīn* he will have been a Mughūl or Turk. The circumstance of his service with a son of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (down to 905 AH.) makes it possible that he drew his name in his youth from the tract s.e. of Maḥmūd's Ḥiṣār territory which has been known as Little Hind (Index *s.n.* Hind). This is however conjecture merely. Another suggestion is that as *hindū* can mean *black*, it may stand for the common *qarā* of the Turks *e.g.* Qarā Barlās, Black Barlās.

[3] I am uncertain whether Qarā-qūzī is the name of a place, or the jesting sobriquet of more than one meaning it can be.

[4] Soul-full, animated; var. Ḥai. MS. *khān-dār*. No agnomen is used for Asad by Bābur. The *Akbar-nāma* varies to *jāmadār*, wardrobe-keeper, cup-holder (*Bib. Ind.* ed. i, 107), and Firishta to *sar-jāmadar*, head wardrobe-keeper (lith. ed. p. 209 top). It would be surprising to find such an official sent as envoy to 'Irāq, as Asad was both before and after he fought at Kānwa.

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there were, of the amīrs of Hind,—the pillar of the State, the Khān-of-Khāns, Dilāwar Khān,[1]—the pillar of the nobility, Malik Dād *Kararānī*, —and the pillar of the nobility, the Shaikh-of-shaikhs, Shaikh Gūran, each standing in his appointed place.

(*f. Commanders of the left wing.*)

In the left wing of the armies of Islām there extended their ranks,—the lord of lofty lineage, the refuge of those in authority, the ornament of the family of *Ṭa Ha* and *Ya Sin*,[2] the model for the descendants of the prince of ambassadors (Muḥammad), Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja,—the exalted and fortunate brother, the well-regarded of his Majesty, Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā,[3] —the personage approximating to royalty, the descended of monarchs, 'Ādil Sulṭān son of Mahdī Sulṭān,[4]—the trusted in the State, perfect in attachment, 'Abdu'l-'azīz Master of the Horse, —the trusted in the State, the pure in friendship, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad 'Ali *Jang-jang*,[5]—the pillar of royal retainers, Jalālu'd-dīn Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal* (scout), —the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in sincerity, Jalālu'd-dīn Shāh Ḥusain *yārāgī Mughūl Ghānchī* (?),[6]—and Niẓāmu'd-dīn Jān-i-muḥammad *Beg Ātāka*.

Of amīrs of Hind there were in this division, the scions of sulṭāns, Kamāl Khān and Jamāl Khān sons of the Sl. 'Alā'u'd-dīn above-mentioned,—the most excellent officer 'Alī Khān Shaikh-zāda of Farmūl,—and the pillar of the nobility, Niẓām Khān of Bīāna. Fol. 321.

[1] son of Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī*.

[2] These are the titles of the 20th and 36th chapters of the Qorān; Sale offers conjectural explanations of them. The "family" is Muḥammad's.

[3] a Bāi-qarā Tīmūrid of Bābur's generation, their last common ancestor being Tīmūr himself.

[4] an Aūzbeg who married a daughter of Sl. Ḥusain M. *Bāī-qarā*.

[5] It has been pointed out to me that there is a Chinese title of nobility *Yūn-wāng*, and that it may be behind the words *jang-jang*. Though the suggestion appears to me improbable, looking to the record of Bābur's officer, to the prevalence of sobriquets amongst his people, and to what would be the sporadic appearance of a Chinese title or even class-name borne by a single man amongst them, I add this suggestion to those of my note on the meaning of the words (Index *s.n.* Muḥ. 'Alī). The title *Jūn-wāng* occurs in Dr. Denison Ross' *Three MSS. from Kāshghar*, p. 5, v. 5 and translator's preface, p. 14.

[6] Cf. f. 266 and f. 299. *Yārāgī* may be the name of his office, (from *yārāq*) and mean provisioner of arms or food or other military requirements.

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(*g. The flanking parties.*)

For the flank-movement (*tūlghāma*) of the right wing there were posted two of the most trusted of the household retainers, Tardīka [1] and Malik Qāsim the brother of Bābā Qashqa, with a body of Mughūls; for the flank-movement of the left wing were the two trusted chiefs Mūmin Ātāka and Rustam *Turkmān*, leading a body of special troops.

(*h. The Chief of the Staff.*)

The pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in loyalty, the cream of privy-counsellors, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Sulṭān Muhammad *Bakhshī*, after posting the *ghāzīs* of Islām, came to receive the royal commands. He despatched adjutants (*tawāchī*) and messengers (*yasāwal*) in various directions to convey imperative orders concerning the marshalling of the troops to the great sulṭāns and amīrs. And when the Commanders had taken up their positions, an imperative order was given that none should quit his post or, uncommanded, stretch forth his arm to fight.

(*i. The battle.*)

One watch [2] of the afore-mentioned day had elapsed when the opposing forces approached each other and the battle began. As Light opposes Darkness, so did the centres of the two
Fol. 321*b*. armies oppose one another. Fighting began on the right and left wings, such fighting as shook the Earth and filled highest Heaven with clangour.

The left wing of the ill-fated pagans advanced against the right wing of the Faith-garbed troops of Islām and charged down on Khusrau Kūkūldāsh and Bābā Qashqa's brother Malik Qāsim. The most glorious and most upright brother Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, obeying orders, went to reinforce them and, engaging in the conflict with bold attack, bore the pagans back almost to the rear of their centre. Guerdon was made for the brother's glorious fame.[3] The marvel of the Age, Muṣṭafa of Rūm, had his post in the centre (of the right wing) where was the exalted son, upright and fortunate, the object of the favourable regard of

[1] or, Tardī *yakka*, the champion, Gr. *monomachus* (A.N. trs. i, 107 n.).
[2] var. 1 watch and 2 *g'harīs*; the time will have been between 9 and 10 a.m.
[3] *jūldū ba nām al 'azīz-i-barādar shud*, a phrase not easy to translate.

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Creative Majesty (*i.e.* God), the one *distinguished by the particular grace of the mighty Sovereign who commands to do and not to do* (*i.e.* Bābur), Muḥammad Humāyūn Bahādur. This Muṣṭafa of Rūm had the carts (*arābahā*) [1] brought forward and broke the ranks of pagans with matchlock and culverin dark like their hearts (?).[2] In the thick of the fight, the most glorious brother Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān and the pillars of royal retainers, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad-i-yūsuf and Qawām Beg, obeying orders, hastened to their help. And since band after band of pagan troops followed each other to help their men, so we, in our turn, sent the trusted in the State, the glory of the Faith, Hindū Beg, and, after him, the pillars of the nobility, Muhammadī Kūkūldāsh and Khwājagī Asad *jān-dār*, and, after them, the trusted in Fol. 322. the State, the trustworthy in the resplendent Court, the most confided-in of nobles, the elect of confidential servants, Yūnas-i-'alī, together with the pillar of the nobility, the perfect in friendship, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās* and the pillar of the grandees, the pure in fidelity, 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian, and after these, the pillar of the nobles, Dost the Lord-of-the-Gate, and Muḥammad Khalīl the master-gelder (*akhta-begī*).[3]

The pagan right wing made repeated and desperate attack on the left wing of the army of Islām, falling furiously on the holy warriors, possessors of salvation, but each time was made to turn back or, smitten with the arrows of victory, was *made to descend into Hell, the house of perdition; they shall be thrown to burn therein, and an unhappy dwelling shall it be.*[4] Then the trusty amongst the nobles, Mūmin Ātāka and Rustam *Turkmān* betook themselves to the rear [5] of the host of darkened pagans; and to help them were sent the Commanders Khwāja Maḥmūd and 'Alī Ātāka, servants of him who amongst the royal retainers is near the throne, the trusted of the Sulṭānate, Niẓāmu'd-din 'Alī Khalīfa.

[1] *viz.* those chained together as a defence and probably also those conveying the culverins.

[2] The comparison may be between the darkening smoke of the fire-arms and the heresy darkening pagan hearts.

[3] There appears to be a distinction of title between the *akhta-begī* and the *mīr-akhwūr* (master of the horse).

[4] Qorān, cap. 14, v. 33.

[5] These two men were in one of the flanking-parties.

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Our high-born brother[1] Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, and the representative of royal dignity, 'Ādil Sulṭān, and the trusted in the State, the strengthener of the Faith, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, the Master of the Horse, and the glory of the Faith, Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal*, and the meteor of the Faith, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, and the pillar of royal retainers, Shāh Ḥusain *yāragī Mughūl Ghānchī* (?) stretched out the arm to fight and stood firm. To support them we sent the *Dastūr*, the highest of wazīrs, Khwāja
Fol. 322*b*. Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain with a body of *dīwānīs*.[2] Every holy warrior was eager to show his zeal, entering the fight with desperate joy as if approving the verse, *Say, Do you expect any other should befall us than one of the two most excellent things, victory or martyrdom?*[3] and, with display of life-devotion, uplifted the standard of life-sacrifice.

As the conflict and battle lasted long, an imperative order was issued that the special royal corps (*tābīnān-i-khāṣa-i-pādshāhī*)[4] who, heroes of one hue,[5] were standing, like tigers enchained, behind the carts,[6] should go out on the right and the left of the centre,[7] leaving the matchlockmen's post in-between, and join battle on both sides. As the True Dawn emerges from its cleft in the horizon, so they emerged from behind the carts; they poured a ruddy crepuscule of the blood of those ill-fated pagans on the nadir of the Heavens, that battle-field; they made fall from the firmament of existence many heads of the headstrong, as stars fall from the firmament of heaven. The marvel of the Age, Ustād 'Alī-qulī, who with his own appurtenances stood in front of the centre, did deeds of valour, discharging against the iron-mantled forts of the infidels[8] stones of such size that were (one) put into a scale of the Balance in which actions are weighed, that *scale shall be heavy with good works and he*

[1] This phrase "our brother" would support the view that Shaikh Zain wrote as for Bābur, if there were not, on the other hand, mention of Bābur as His Majesty, and the precious royal soul.

[2] *dīwānīān* here may mean those associated with the wazīr in his duties: and not those attending at Court.

[3] Qorān, cap. 14, v. 52.

[4] Index *s.n. chuhra* (a brave).

[5] *hizabrān-i-besha yakrangī*, literally, forest-tigers (or, lions) of one hue.

[6] There may be reference here to the chains used to connect the carts into a defence.

[7] The braves of the *khāṣa tābīn* were part of Bābur's own centre.

[8] perhaps the cataphract elephants; perhaps the men in mail.

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(*i.e.* its owner) *shall lead a pleasing life*[1]; and were such stones discharged against a hill, broad of base and high of summit, it would *become like carded wool*.[2] Such stones Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharged at the iron-clad fortress of the pagan ranks and by this discharge of stones, and abundance of culverins and matchlocks (?)[3] destroyed many of the builded bodies of the Fol. 323. pagans. The matchlockmen of the royal centre, in obedience to orders, going from behind the carts into the midst of the battle, each one of them made many a pagan taste of the poison of death. The foot-soldiers, going into a most dangerous place, made their names to be blazoned amongst those of the forest-tigers (*i.e.* heroes) of valour and the champions in the field of manly deeds. Just at this time came an order from his Majesty the Khāqān that the carts of the centre should be advanced; and the gracious royal soul (*i.e.* Bābur) moved towards the pagan soldiers, Victory and Fortune on his right, Prestige and Conquest on his left. On witnessing this event, the victorious troops followed from all sides; the whole surging ocean of the army rose in mighty waves; the courage of all the crocodiles[4] of that ocean was manifested by the strength of their deeds; an obscuring cloud of dust o'erspread the sky (?). The dust that gathered over the battle-field was traversed by the lightning-flashes of the sword; the Sun's face was shorn of light as is a mirror's back; the striker and the struck, the victor and the vanquished were commingled, all distinction between them lost. The Wizard of Time produced such a night that its only planets were arrows,[5] its only constellations of fixed stars were the steadfast squadrons.

Upon that day of battle sank and rose
Blood to the Fish and dust-clouds to the Moon,
While through the horse-hoofs on that spacious plain, Fol. 323*b*.
One Earth flew up to make another Heaven.[6]

[1] Qorān, cap. 101, v. 54.

[2] Qorān, cap. 101, v. 4.

[3] *bā andākhtan-i-sang u ṣarb-zan tufak bisyārī*. As Bābur does not in any place mention metal missiles, it seems safest to translate *sang* by its plain meaning of *stone*.

[4] Also, metaphorically, swords.

[5] *tīr*. My husband thinks there is a play upon the two meanings of this word, arrow and the planet Mercury; so too in the next sentence, that there may be allusion in the *kuākib ṣawābit* to the constellation Pegasus, opposed to Bābur's squadrons of horse.

[6] The Fish mentioned in this verse is the one pictured by Muḥammadan cosmogony as supporting the Earth. The violence of the fray is illustrated by supposing that of

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At the moment when the holy warriors were heedlessly flinging away their lives, they heard a secret voice say, *Be not dismayed, neither be grieved, for, if ye believe, ye shall be exalted above the unbelievers,*[1] and from the infallible Informer heard the joyful words, *Assistance is from God, and a speedy victory! And do thou bear glad tidings to true believers.*[2] Then they fought with such delight that the plaudits of the saints of the Holy Assembly reached them and the angels from near the Throne, fluttered round their heads like moths. Between the first and second Prayers, there was such blaze of combat that the flames thereof raised standards above the heavens, and the right and left of the army of Islām rolled back the left and right of the doomed infidels in one mass upon their centre.

When signs were manifest of the victory of the Strivers and of the up-rearing of the standards of Islām, those accursed infidels and wicked unbelievers remained for one hour confounded. At length, their hearts abandoning life, they fell upon the right and left of our centre. Their attack on the left was the more vigorous and there they approached furthest, but the holy warriors, their minds set on the reward, planted shoots (*nihāl*) of arrows in the field of the breast of each one of them, and, such being their gloomy fate, overthrew them. In this state of affairs, the breezes of victory and fortune blew over the meadow of our
Fol. 324. happy Nawāb, and brought the good news, *Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory.*[3] And Victory the beautiful woman (*shāhid*) whose world-adornment of waving tresses was embellished by *God will aid you with a mighty aid,*[4] bestowed on us the good fortune that had been hidden behind a veil, and made it a reality. The absurd (*bāṭil*) Hindūs, knowing their position perilous, *dispersed like carded wool before the wind,* and *like moths scattered abroad.*[4a] Many fell dead on the field of battle; others, desisting from fighting, fled to the desert of exile and

Earth's seven climes one rose to Heaven in dust, thus giving Heaven eight. The verse is from Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*, [Turner-Macan's ed. i, 222]. The translation of it is Warner's, [ii, 15 and n.]. I am indebted for the information given in this note to my husband's long search in the *Shāh-nāmā*.

[1] Qorān, cap. 3, v. 133.
[2] Qorān, cap. 61, v. 13.
[3] Qorān, cap. 48, v. 1.
[4] Qorān, cap. 48, v. 3.

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became the food of crows and kites. Mounds were made of the bodies of the slain, pillars of their heads.

(*j. Hindū chiefs killed in the battle.*)

Ḥasan Khān of Mīwāt was enrolled in the list of the dead by the force of a matchlock (*ẓarb-i-tufak*); most of those headstrong chiefs of tribes were slain likewise, and ended their days by arrow and matchlock (*tīr u tufak*). Of their number was Rāwal Ūdī Sīngh of Bāgar,[1] ruler (*wālī*) of the Dungarpūr country, who had 12,000 horse, Rāī Chandrabān *Chūhān* who had 4,000 horse, Bhūpat Rāo son of that Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn already mentioned, who was lord of Chandīrī and had 6,000 horse, Mānik-chand *Chūhān* and Dilpat Rāo who had each 4,000 horse, Kankū (or Gangū) and Karm Sīngh and Dankūsī (?)[2] who had each 3,000 horse, and a number of others, each one of whom was leader of a great command, a splendid and magnificent chieftain. All these trod the road to Hell, removing from this house of clay to the pit of perdition. The enemy's country (*dāru'l-ḥarb*) was full, as Hell is full, of wounded who had died on the road. The lowest pit was gorged with miscreants who had surrendered their souls to the lord of Hell. In whatever direction one from the army of Islām hastened, he found everywhere a self-willed one dead; whatever march the illustrious camp made in the wake of the fugitives, it found no foot-space without its prostrate foe. Fol. 324*b*.

All the Hindūs slain, abject (*khwār*, var. *zār*) and mean,
By matchlock-stones, like the Elephants' lords,[3]
Many hills of their bodies were seen,
And from each hill a fount of running blood.
Dreading the arrows of (our) splendid ranks,
Passed[4] they in flight to each waste and hill.

[4a] [see p. 572] *farāsh*. De Courteille, reading *firāsh*, translates this metaphor by *comme un lit lorsqu'il est défait*. He refers to Qorān, cap. 101, v. 3. A better metaphor for the breaking up of an army than that of moths scattering, one allowed by the word *farāsh*, but possibly not by Muḥammad, is *vanished like bubbles on wine*.

[1] Bāgar is an old name for Dungarpūr and Bānswāra [*G. of I.* vi, 408 *s.n.* Bāṇswāra].

[2] *sic*, Ḥai. MS. and may be so read in I.O. 217 f. 220*b*; Erskine writes Bikersi (p. 367) and notes the variant Nagersi; Ilminsky (p. 421) N:krsī; de Courteille (ii, 307) Niguersi.

[3] Cf. f. 318*b*, and note, where it is seen that the stones which killed the lords of the Elephants were so small as to be carried in the bill of a bird like a swallow. Were such stones used in matchlocks in Bābur's day?

[4] *guzāran*, var. *gurazān*, caused to flee and hogs (Erskine notes the double-meaning).

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They turn their backs. The command of God is to be performed. Now praise be to God, All-hearing and All-wise, for victory is from God alone, the Mighty, the Wise.[1] Written Jumāda II. 25th 933 (AH.—March 29th 1527 A.D.).[2]

MINOR SEQUELS OF VICTORY.

(*a. Bābur assumes the title of Ghāzī.*)

After this success *Ghāzī* (Victor in a Holy-war) was written amongst the royal titles.

[1] This passage, entered in some MSS. as if verse, is made up of Qorān, cap. 17, v. 49, cap. 33, v. 38, and cap. 3, v. 122.

[2] As the day of battle was Jumāda II. 13th (March 16th), the *Fatḥ-nāma* was ready and dated twelve days after that battle. It was started for Kābul on Rajab 9th (April 11th). Something may be said here appropriately about the surmise contained in Dr. Ilminsky's Preface and M. de Courteille's note to *Mémoires* ii, 443 and 450, to the effect that Bābur wrote a plain account of the battle of Kanwā and for this in his narrative substituted Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma*, and that the plain account has been preserved in Kehr's *Bābur-nāma* volume [whence Ilminsky reproduced it, it was translated by M. de Courteille and became known as a "Fragment" of Bāburiana]. Almost certainly both scholars would have judged adversely of their suggestion by the light of to-day's easier research. The following considerations making against its value, may be set down :—

(1) There is no sign that Bābur ever wrote a plain account of the battle or any account of it. There is against his doing so his statement that he inserts Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma* because it gives particulars. If he had written any account, it would be found preceding the *Fatḥ-nāma*, as his account of his renunciation of wine precedes Shaikh Zain's *Farmān* announcing the act.

(2) Moreover, the "Fragment" cannot be described as a plain account such as would harmonize with Bābur's style ; it is in truth highly rhetorical, though less so as Shaikh Zain's.

(3) The "Fragment" begins with a quotation from the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 310*b* and n.), skips a good deal of Bābur's matter preliminary to the battle, and passes on with what there can be no doubt is a translation in inferior Turkī of the *Akbar-nāma* account.

(4) The whole of the extra matter is seen to be continuous and not fragmentary, if it is collated with the chapter in which Abū'l-faẓl describes the battle, its sequel of events, the death, character, attainments, and Court of Bābur. Down to the death, it is changed to the first person so as to make Bābur seem to write it. The probable concocter of it is Jahāngīr.

(5) If the Fragment were Bābur's composition, where was it when 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translated the *Bābur-nāma* in 998 AH.–1590 AD. ; where too did Abū'l-faẓl find it to reproduce in the *Akbar-nāma*?

(6) The source of Abū'l-faẓl's information seems without doubt to be Bābur's own narrative and Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma*. There are many significant resemblances between the two rhetoricians' metaphors and details selected.

(7) A good deal might be said of the dissimilarities between Bābur's diction and that of the "Fragment". But this is needless in face of the larger and more circumstantial objections already mentioned.

(For a fuller account of the "Fragment" see JRAS. Jan. 1906 pp. 81, 85 and 1908 p. 75 ff.)

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Below the titles (*ṭughrā*) [1] entered on the *Fatḥ-nāma*, I wrote the following quatrain :—[2]

For Islām's sake, I wandered in the wilds,
Prepared for war with pagans and Hindūs,
Resolved myself to meet the martyr's death.
Thanks be to God ! a *ghāzī* I became.

Fol. 325.

(*b. Chronograms of the victory.*)

Shaikh Zain had found (*tāpīb aīdī*) the words *Fatḥ-i-pādshāḥ-i-islām* [3] (Victory of the Pādshāh of the Faith) to be a chronogram of the victory. Mīr Gesū, one of the people come from Kābul, had also found these same words to be a chronogram, had composed them in a quatrain and sent this to me. It was a coincidence that Shaikh Zain and Mīr Gesū should bring forward precisely the same words in the quatrains they composed to embellish their discoveries.[4] Once before when Shaikh Zain found the date of the victory at Dībālpūr in the words *Wasaṭ-i-shahr Rabī'u'l-awwal* [5] (Middle of the month Rabī' I.), Mīr Gesū had found it in the very same words.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED.

(*a. After the victory.*)

The foes beaten, we hurried them off, dismounting one after another. The Pagan's encirclement [6] may have been 2 *kurohs*

[1] *Ṭughrā* means an imperial signature also, but would Bābur sign Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-i-nāma*? His autograph verse at the end of the *Rāmpūr Dīwān* has his signature following it. He is likely to have signed this verse. Cf. App. Q. [Erskine notes that titles were written on the back of despatches, an unlikely place for the quatrain, one surmises.]

[2] This is in the *Rāmpūr dīwān* (E.D.R. Plate 17). Dr. E. Denison Ross points out (p. 17 n.) that in the 2nd line the Ḥai. Codex varies from the *Dīwān*. The MS. is wrong ; it contains many inaccuracies in the latter part of the Hindūstān section, perhaps due to a change of scribe.

[3] These words by *abjad* yield 933. From Bābur's use of the pluperfect tense, I think it may be inferred that (my) Sections *a* and *b* are an attachment to the *Fatḥ-nāma*, entered with it at a somewhat later date.

[4] My translation of this puzzling sentence is tentative only.

[5] This statement shews that the Dībālpūr affair occurred in one of the B.N. gaps, and in 930 AH. The words make 930 by *abjad*. It may be noted here that on f. 312*b* and notes there are remarks concerning whether Bābur's remission of the *tamghā* was contingent on his winning at Kānwa. If the remission had been delayed until his victory was won, it would have found fitting mention with the other sequels of victory chronicled above ; as it is not with these sequels, it may be accepted as an absolute remission, proclaimed before the fight. The point was a little uncertain owing to the seemingly somewhat deferred insertion in Bābur's narrative of Shaikh Zain's *Farmān*.

[6] *dā'ira*, presumably a defended circle. As the word *aūrdū* [bracketed in the text] shows, Bābur used it both for his own and for Sangā's camps.

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from our camp (*aūrdū*); when we reached his camp (*aūrdū*), we sent Muḥammadī, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, 'Alī Khān and some others in pursuit of him. There was a little slackness;[1] I ought to have gone myself, and not have left the matter to what I expected from other people. When I had gone as much as a *kuroh* (2 m.) beyond the Pagan's camp, I turned back because it was late in the day; I came to our camp at the Bed-time Prayer.

With what ill-omened words Muḥammad Sharīf the astrologer had fretted me! Yet he came at once to congratulate me! I emptied my inwards[2] in abuse of him, but, spite of his being heathenish, ill-omened of speech, extremely self-satisfied, and a most disagreeable person, I bestowed a *lak* upon him because there had been deserving service from him in former times, and,
Fol. 325*b*. after saying he was not to stay in my dominions, I gave him leave to go.

(*b. Suppression of a rebellion.*)

(*March 17th*) We remained next day (*Jumāda II. 14th*) on that same ground. Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and Shaikh Gūran and 'Abdu'l-malik[3] the armourer were sent off with a dense (*qālīn*) army against Ilīās Khān who, having rebelled in Between-the-two-waters (Ganges and Jumna), had taken Kūl (Koel) and made Kīchīk 'Alī prisoner.[4] He could not fight when they came up; his force scattered in all directions; he himself was taken a few days later and brought into Āgra where I had him flayed alive.

(*c. A trophy of victory.*)

An order was given to set up a pillar of pagan heads on the infant-hill (*koh-bacha*) between which and our camp the battle had been fought.

[1] Hence the Rānā escaped. He died in this year, not without suspicion of poison.

[2] *aīchīmnī khālī qīldīm*, a seeming equivalent for English, "I poured out my spleen."

[3] var. *malūk* as *e.g.* in I.O. 217 f. 225*b*, and also elsewhere in the *Bābur-nāma*.

[4] On f. 315 the acts attributed to Ilīās Khān are said to have been done by a "mannikin called Rustam Khān". Neither name appears elsewhere in the B.N.; the hero's name seems a sarcasm on the small man.

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(*d. Bīāna visited.*)

(*March 20th*) Marching on from that ground, and after halting on two nights, we reached Bīāna (*Sunday, Jumāda II. 17th*). Countless numbers of the bodies of pagans and apostates[1] who had fallen in their flight, lay on the road as far as Bīāna, indeed as far as Alūr and Mīwāt.[2]

(*e. Discussion of plans.*)

On our return to camp, I summoned the Turk amīrs and the amīrs of Hind to a consultation about moving into the Pagan (Sangā)'s country; the plan was given up because of the little water and much heat on the road.

(*f. Mīwāt.*)

Near Dihlī lies the Mīwāt country which yields revenue of 3 or 4 *krūrs*.[3] Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī*[4] and his ancestors one after another had ruled it with absolute sway for a hundred years or two. They must have made[5] imperfect submission to the Dihlī Sulṭāns; the Sulṭāns of Hind,[6] whether because their Fol. 326. own dominions were wide, or because their opportunity was narrow, or because of the Mīwāt hill-country,[7] did not turn in the Mīwāt direction, did not establish order in it, but just

[1] Bābur so-calls both Ḥasan and his followers, presumably because they followed their race sympathies, as of Rājpūt origin, and fought against co-religionists. Though Ḥasan's subjects, Meos, were nominally Muḥammadans, it appears that they practised some Hindu customs. For an account of Mīwāt, see *Gazetteer of Ulwur* (Alwar, Alūr) by Major P. W. Powlett.

[2] Alwar being in Mīwāt, Bābur may mean that bodies were found beyond that town in the main portion of the Mīwāt country which lies north of Alwar towards Dihlī.

[3] Major Powlett speaking (p. 9) of the revenue Mīwāt paid to Bābur, quotes Thomas as saying that the coins stated in Bābur's Revenue Accounts, *viz.* 169,81,000 *tankas* were probably Sikandarī *tankas*, or Rs. 8,490,50.

[4] This word appears to have been restricted in its use to the Khān-zādas of the ruling house in Mīwāt, and was not used for their subjects, the Meos (Powlett *l.c.* Cap. I.). The uses of "Mīwātī" and "Meo" suggest something analogous with those of "Chaghatāī" and "Mughūl" in Bābur's time. The resemblance includes mutual dislike and distrust (Powlett *l.c.*).

[5] *qīlūrlār aīkān dūr.* This presumptive past tense is frequently used by the cautious Bābur. I quote it here and in a few places near-following because it supports Shaw's statement that in it the use of *aīkān* (*īkān*) reduces the positive affirmation of the perfect to presumption or rumour. With this statement all grammarians are not agreed; it is fully supported by the *Bābur-nāma*.

[6] Contrast here is suggested between Sulṭāns of Dihlī & Hind; is it between the greater Turks with whom Bābur classes himself immediately below as a conqueror of Hind, and the Lūdī Sulṭāns of Dihlī?

[7] The strength of the Tijāra hills towards Dihlī is historical (Powlett *l.c.* p. 132).

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put up with this amount of (imperfect) submission. For our own part, we did after the fashion of earlier Sulṭāns; having conquered Hind, we shewed favour to Ḥasan Khān, but that thankless and heathenish apostate disregarded our kindness and benefits, was not grateful for favour and promotion, but became the mover of all disturbance and the cause of all misdoing.

When, as has been mentioned, we abandoned the plan (against Rānā Sangā), we moved to subdue Mīwāt. Having made 4 night-halts on the way, we dismounted on the bank of the Mānas-nī[1] 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) from Alūr, the present seat of government in Mīwāt. Ḥasan Khān and his forefathers must have had their seat[2] in Tijāra, but when I turned towards Hindūstan, beat Pahār (or Bihār) Khān and took Lāhor and Dībālpūr (930AH.–1524AD.), he bethought himself betimes and busied himself for a residence (*'imārat*) in Fort Alūr (Alwar).

His trusted man, Karm-chand by name, who had come from him to me in Āgra when his son (Nāhar *i.e.* Tiger) was with me there,[3] came now from that son's presence in Alūr and asked
Fol. 326*b*. for peace. 'Abdu'r-raḥīm *shaghāwal* went with him to Alūr, conveying letters of royal favour, and returned bringing Nāhar Khān who was restored to favour and received *parganas* worth several *laks* for his support.

(*g. Rewards to officers.*)

Thinking, "What good work Khusrau did in the battle!" I named him for Alūr and gave him 50 *laks* for his support, but unluckily for himself, he put on airs and did not accept this. Later on it [*khwud*, itself] came to be known that Chīn-tīmūr must have done[4] that work; guerdon was made him for his renown (?);[5] Tijāra-town, the seat of government

[1] This is one of the names of the principal river which flows eastwards to the south of Alwar town; other names are Bārah and Rūparel. Powlett notes that it appears in Thorn's Map of the battle of Laswarree (1803 AD.), which he reproduces on p. 146. But it is still current in Gurgaon, with also a variant Mānas-le, man-killer (*G. of Gurgaon* 1910 AD. ivA, p. 6).

[2] *aūltūrūrlār aīkān dūr*, the presumptive past tense.

[3] f. 308.

[4] *qīlghān aīkān dūr*, the presumptive past tense.

[5] *Sulṭān ātīghā juldū būlūb*; Pers. trs. *Juldū ba nām-i Sulṭān shud.* The *juldū* guerdon seems to be apart from the fief and allowance.

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in Mīwāt, was bestowed on him together with an allowance of 50 *laks* for his support.

Alūr and an allowance of 15 *laks* was bestowed on Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*) who in the flanking-party of the right-hand (*qūl*) had done better than the rest. The contents of the Alūr treasury were bestowed on Humāyūn.

(*h. Alwar visited.*)

(*April 13th*) Marching from that camp on Wednesday the 1st of the month of Rajab, we came to within 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) of Alūr. I went to see the fort, there spent the night, and next day went back to camp.

(*i. Leave given to various followers.*)

When the oath before-mentioned[1] was given to great and small before the Holy-battle with Rānā Sangā, it had been mentioned[2] that there would be nothing to hinder leave after this victory, and that leave would be given to anyone wishing to go away (from Hindūstān). Most of Humāyūn's men were from Badakhshān or elsewhere on that side (of Hindū-kūsh); they had never before been of an army led out for even a month or two; there had been weakness amongst them before the fight; on these accounts and also because Kābul was empty of troops, it was now decided to give Humāyūn leave for Kābul. Fol. 327.

(*April 11th*) Leaving the matter at this, we marched from Alūr on Thursday the 9th of Rajab, did 4 or 5 *kurohs* (8–10 m.) and dismounted on the bank of the Mānas-water.

Mahdī Khwāja also had many discomforts; he too was given leave for Kābul. The military-collectorate of Bīāna [he held] was bestowed on Dost Lord-of-the-gate, and, as previously Etāwa had been named for Mahdī Khwāja,[3] Mahdī Khwāja's son Ja'far Khwāja was sent there in his father's place when (later) Quṭb Khān abandoned it and went off.[4]

[1] f. 315.
[2] Bābur does not record this detail (f. 315).
[3] f. 298*b* and f. 328*b*. Ja'far is mentioned as Mahdī's son by Gul-badan and in the *Ḥabību's-siyar* iii, 311, 312.
[4] f. 388*b*.

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(*j. Despatch of the Letter-of-victory.*)

Because of the leave given to Humāyūn, two or three days were spent on this ground. From it Mūmin-i-'alī the messenger (*tawāchī*) was sent off for Kābul with the *Fatḥ-nāma.*)

(*k. Excursions and return to Āgra.*)

Praise had been heard of the Fīrūzpūr-spring and of the great lake of Kūtila.[1] Leaving the camp on that same ground, I rode out on Sunday (*Rajab 12th–April 14th*) both to visit
Fol. 327*b.* these places and to set Humāyūn on his way. After visiting Fīrūzpūr and its spring on that same day, *ma'jūn* was eaten. In the valley where the spring rises, oleanders (*kanīr*) were in bloom; the place is not without charm but is over-praised. I ordered a reservoir of hewn stone, 10 by 10[2] to be made where the water widened, spent the night in that valley, next day rode on and visited the Kūtila lake. It is surrounded by mountain-skirts. The Mānas-nī is heard-say to go into it.[3] It is a very large lake, from its one side the other side is not well seen. In the middle of it is rising ground. At its sides are many small boats, by going off in which the villagers living near it are said to escape from any tumult or disturbance. Even on our arrival a few people went in them to the middle of the lake.

On our way back from the lake, we dismounted in Humāyūn's camp. There we rested and ate food, and after having put robes of honour on him and his begs, bade him farewell at the Bed-time Prayer, and rode on. We slept for a little at some place on the road, at shoot of day passed through the *pargana* of Kharī, again slept a little, and at length got to our camp

[1] The town of Fīrūzpūr is commonly known as Fīrūzpūr-jhirka (Fīrūzpūr of the spring), from a small perennial stream which issues from a number of fissures in the rocks bordering the road through a pass in the Mīwāt hills which leads from the town *viâ* Tijāra to Rewārī (*G. of Gurgaon*, p. 249). In Abū'l-faẓl's day there was a Hindū shrine of Mahadeo near the spring, which is still a place of annual pilgrimage. The Kūtila lake is called Kotla-*jhil* in the *G. of G.* (p. 7). It extends now 3 m. by 2½ m. varying in size with the season; in Abū'l-faẓl's day it was 4 *kos* (8 m.) round. It lies partly in the district of Nūh, partly in Gurgaon, where the two tracts join at the foot of the Alwar hills.

[2] This is the frequently mentioned size for reservoirs; the measure here is probably the *qārī*, *cir.* a yard.

[3] Bābur does not state it as a fact known to himself that the Mānas-nī falls into the Kūtila lake; it did so formerly, but now does not, tradition assigning a cause for the change (*G. of G.* p. 6). He uses the hear-say tense, *kīrār aīmīsh.*

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which had dismounted at Toda-(bhim).[1] After leaving Toda, we dismounted at Sūnkār; there Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī's* son Nāhar Khān escaped from 'Abdu'r-raḥīm's charge. Fol. 328.

Going on from that place, we halted one night, then dismounted at a spring situated on the bill of a mountain between Busāwar and Chausa[2] (or Jūsa); there awnings were set up and we committed the sin of *ma'jūn*. When the army had passed by this spring, Tardī Beg *khāksār* had praised it; he (or we) had come and seen it from on horse-back (*sar-asbgī*) and passed on. It is a perfect spring. In Hindūstān where there are never running-waters,[3] people seek out the springs themselves. The rare springs that are found, come oozing drop by drop (*āb-zih*) out of the ground, not bubbling up like springs of those lands.[4] From this spring comes about a half-mill-water. It bubbles up on the hill-skirt; meadows lie round it; it is very beautiful. I ordered an octagonal reservoir of hewn stone made above[5] it. While we were at the border of the spring, under the soothing influence of *ma'jūn*, Tardī Beg, contending for its surpassing beauty, said again and again, (*Persian*) "Since I am celebrating the beauty of the place,[6] a name ought to be settled for it". 'Abdu'l-lāh said, "It must be called the Royal-spring approved of by Tardī Beg." This saying caused much joke and laughter.

Dost Lord-of-the-gate coming up from Bīāna, waited on me at this spring-head. Leaving this place, we visited Bīāna again, went on to Sīkrī, dismounted there at the side of a garden which had been ordered made, stayed two days supervising the garden, and on Thursday the 23rd of Rajab (*April 25th*), reached Āgra. Fol. 328*b*.

(*I. Chandwār and Rāprī regained.*)

During recent disturbances, the enemy, as has been mentioned,[7] had possessed themselves of Chandwār[8] and Rāprī. Against

[1] Kharī and Toda were in Akbar's *sarkār* of Rantambhor.

[2] Bhosāwar is in Bhurtpūr, and Chausa (or Jūsa) may be the Chausath of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, ii, 183.

[3] As has been noted frequently, this phrase stands for artificial water-courses.

[4] Certainly Trans-Hindū-kush lands; presumably also those of Trans-Indus, Kābul in chief.

[5] *aūstī*; perhaps the reservoir was so built as to contain the bubbling spring.

[6] *Chūn jā'ī khwush karda ām.*

[7] f. 315.

[8] var. Janwār (Jarrett). It is 25 m. east of Āgra on the Muttra–Etāwa road (*G. of I.*).

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those places we now sent Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Qūj Beg's (brother) Tardī Beg, 'Abdu'l-malik the armourer, and Ḥasan Khān with his Daryā-khānīs. When they were near Chandwār, Quṭb Khān's people in it got out and away. Our men laid hands on it, and passed on to Rāprī. Here Ḥusain Khān *Nūḥānī's* people came to the lane-end [1] thinking to fight a little, could not stand the attack of our men, and took to flight. Ḥusain Khān himself with a few followers went into the Jūn-river (Jumna) on an elephant and was drowned. Quṭb Khān, for his part, abandoned Etāwa on hearing these news, fled with a few and got away. Etāwa having been named for Mahdī Khwāja, his son Ja'far Khwāja was sent there in his place.[2]

(*m. Apportionment of fiefs.*)

When Rānā Sangā sallied out against us, most Hindūstānīs and Afghāns, as has been mentioned,[3] turned round against us and took possession of their *parganas* and districts.[4]

Fol. 329. Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī* who had abandoned Qanūj and come to me, would not agree to go there again, whether from fear or for his reputation's sake; he therefore exchanged the 30 *laks* of Qanūj for the 15 of Sihrind, and Qanūj was bestowed with an allowance of 30 *laks* on Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā. Badāūn [5] was given to Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān and he was sent against Bīban who had laid siege to Luknūr [6] during the disturbance with Rānā Sangā, together with Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, and, of Turk amīrs, Bābā Qashqa's Malik Qāsim with his elder and younger brethren and his Mughūls, and Abū'l-muḥammad the lance-player, and Mu'yad with his father's Daryā-khānīs and those of Ḥusain Khān *Daryā-khānī* and the retainers of Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, and again, of amīrs of Hind, 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī* and Malik Dād *Kararānī* and Shaikh Muḥammad of Shaikh *Bhakhārī* (?) and Tātār Khān Khān-i-jahān.

[1] *kūcha-band*, perhaps a barricade at the limit of a suburban lane.
[2] This has been mentioned already (f. 327).
[3] f. 315.
[4] *i.e.* those professedly held for Bābur.
[5] Or, according to local pronunciation, Badāyūn.
[6] This is the old name of Shāhābād in Rāmpūr (*G. of I.* xxii, 197). The *A.-i-A.* locates it in Saṃbal. Cf. E. and D.'s *History of India*, iv, 384 n. and v. 215 n.

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At the time this army was crossing the Gang-river (Ganges),* Bīban, hearing about it, fled, abandoning his baggage. Our army followed him to Khairābād,[1] stayed there a few days and then turned back.

(*n. Appointments and dispersion for the Rains.*)

After the treasure had been shared out,[2] Rānā Sangā's great affair intervened before districts and *parganas* were apportioned. During the respite now from Holy-war against the Pagan (Sangā), this apportionment was made. As the Rains were near, it was settled for every-one to go to his *pargana*, get equipment ready, and be present when the Rains were over. Fol. 329*b*.

(*o. Misconduct of Humāyūn.*)

Meantime news came that Humāyūn had gone into Dihlī, there opened several treasure-houses and, without permission, taken possession of their contents. I had never looked for such a thing from him ; it grieved me very much ; I wrote and sent off to him very severe reproaches.[3]

(*p. An embassy to 'Irāq.*)

Khwājagī Asad who had already gone as envoy to 'Irāq and returned with Sulaimān *Turkmān*,[4] was again joined with him and on the 15th of Sha'bān (*May 17th*) sent with befitting gifts to Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp.

(*q. Tardī Beg khāksār resigns service.*)

I had brought Tardī Beg out from the darwīsh-life and made a soldier of him ; for how many years had he served me ! Now his desire for the darwīsh-life was overmastering and he asked for leave. It was given and he was sent as an envoy to Kāmrān conveying 3 *laks* from the Treasury for him.[5]

[1] Perhaps the one in Sītapūr.

[2] f. 305*b*.

[3] As the Elphinstone Codex which is the treasure-house of Humāyūn's notes, has a long *lacuna* into which this episode falls, it is not known if the culprit entered in his copy of the *Bābur-nāma* a marginal excuse for his misconduct (cf. f. 252 and n.) ; such excuse was likely to be that he knew he would be forgiven by his clement father.

[4] f. 305*b*.

[5] Kāmrān would be in Qandahār. Erskine notes that the sum sent to him would be about £750, but that if the coins were rūpīs, it would be £30,000.

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(*r. Lines addressed to deserting friends.*)

A little fragment[1] had been composed suiting the state of those who had gone away during the past year; I now addressed it to Mullā 'Alī Khān and sent it to him by Tardī Beg. It is as follows :—[2]

Fol. 330.

Ah you who have gone from this country of Hind,
Aware for yourselves of its woe and its pain,
With longing desire for Kābul's fine air,
You went hot-foot forth out of Hind.
The pleasure you looked for you will have found there
With sociable ease and charm and delight;
As for us, God be thanked! we still are alive,
In spite of much pain and unending distress;
Pleasures of sense and bodily toil
Have been passed-by by you, passed-by too by us.

(*s. Of the Ramẓān Feast.*)

Ramẓān was spent this year with ablution and *tarāwiḥ*[3] in the Garden-of-eight-paradises. Since my 11th year I had not kept the Ramẓān Feast for two successive years in the same place; last year I had kept it in Āgra; this year, saying, "Don't break the rule!" I went on the last day of the month to keep it in Sīkrī. Tents were set up on a stone platform made on the n.e. side of the Garden-of-victory which is now being laid out at Sīkrī, and in them the Feast was held.[4]

(*t. Playing cards.*)

The night we left Āgra Mīr 'Alī the armourer was sent to Shāh Ḥasan (*Arghūn*) in Tatta to take him playing-cards [*ganjīfa*] he much liked and had asked for.[5]

[1] *qiṭa'*, for account of which form of poem *see* Blochmann's translations of Saifī's and Jāmī's *Prosody*, p. 86.

[2] *Rāmpūr Dīwān* (E. D. Ross' ed. p. 16 and Plate 14*a*). I am uncertain as to the meaning of ll. 4 and 10. I am not sure that what in most MSS. ends line 4, *viz. aūl dam*, should not be read as *aūlūm*, death; this is allowed by Plate 14a where for space the word is divided and may be *aūlūm*. To read *aūlūm* and that the deserters fled from the death in Hind they were anxious about, has an answering phrase in "we still are alive". Ll. 9 and 10 perhaps mean that in the things named all have done alike. [Ilminsky reads *khāir nafsī* for the elsewhere *ḥazz-nafsī*.]

[3] These are 20 attitudes (*rak'ah*) assumed in prayer during Ramẓān after the Bed-time Prayer. The ablution (*ghusl*) is the bathing of the whole body for ceremonial purification.

[4] This Feast is the 'Id-i-fiṭr, held at the breaking of the Ramẓān Fast on the 1st of Shawwāl.

[5] Erskine notes that this is the earliest mention of playing-cards he can recall in oriental literature.

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(*u. Illness and a tour.*)

(*August 3rd*) On Sunday the 5th of Ẕū'l-qa'da I fell ill; the illness lasted 17 days.

(*August 24th*) On Friday the 24th of the same month we set out to visit Dūlpūr. That night I slept at a place half-way; reached Sikandar's dam [1] at dawn, and dismounted there. Fol. 330*b*.

At the end of the hill below the dam the rock is of building-stone. I had Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter brought and gave him an order that if a house could be cut all in one piece in that rock, it was to be done, but that if the rock were too low for a residence (*'imārat*), it was to be levelled and have a reservoir, all in one piece, cut out of it.

From Dūlpūr we went on to visit Bārī. Next morning (*August 26th*) I rode out from Bārī through the hills between it and the Chambal-river in order to view the river. This done I went back to Bārī. In these hills we saw the ebony-tree, the fruit of which people call *tindū*. It is said that there are white ebony-trees also and that most ebony-trees in these hills are of this kind.[2] On leaving Bārī we went to Sīkrī; we reached Āgra on the 29th of the same month (*August 28th*).

(*v. Doubts about Shaikh Bāyazīd Farmūlī.*)

As in these days people were telling wild news about Shaikh Bāyazīd, Sl. Qulī *Turk* was sent to him to give him tryst [3] in 20 days.

(*w. Religious and metrical exercises.*)

(*August 28th*) On Friday the 2nd of Ẕū'l-ḥijja I began what one is made to read 41 times.[4]

In these same days I cut up [*taqṭi'*] the following couplet of mine into 504 measures [5]:—

[1] f. 339*b*.

[2] The two varieties mentioned by Bābur seem to be *Diospyrus melanoxylon*, the wood of which is called *tindu abnūs* in Hindūstānī, and *D. tomentosa*, Hindi, *tindu* (Brandis *s.nn.*). Bārī is 19 m. west of Dūlpūr.

[3] *mī'ād*, perhaps the time at which the Shaikh was to appear before Bābur.

[4] The Pers. trs. makes the more definite statement that what had to be read was a Section of the Qoran (*wird*). This was done with remedial aim for the illness.

[5] As this statement needs comment, and as it is linked to matters mentioned in the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*, it seems better to remit remarks upon it to Appendix Q, *Some matters concerning the Rāmpūr Dīwān.*

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"Shall I tell of her eye or her brow, her fire or her speech?
Shall I tell of her stature or cheek, of her hair or her waist?"

On this account a treatise [1] was arranged.

(*x. Return of illness.*)

Fol. 331. On this day (*i.e.* 2nd Ẕū'l-ḥijja) I fell ill again; the illness lasted nine days.

(*y. Start for Saṃbal.*)

(*Sep. 24th*) On Thursday the 29th of Ẕū'l-ḥijja we rode out for an excursion to Kūl and Saṃbal.

[1] *risāla.* *See* Appendix Q.

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934 AH.—SEP. 27TH 1527 TO SEP. 15TH 1528 AD.[1]

(*a. Visit to Kūl (Aligarh) and Saṃbal.*)

(*Sep. 27th*) On Saturday the 1st of Muḥarram we dismounted in Kūl (Koel). Humāyūn had left Darwīsh(-i-'alī) and Yūsuf-i-'alī[2] in Saṃbal; they crossed one river,[3] fought Quṭb *Sīrwānī*[4] and a party of rājas, beat them well and killed a mass of men. They sent a few heads and an elephant into Kūl while we were there. After we had gone about Kūl for two days, we dismounted at Shaikh Gūran's house by his invitation, where he entertained us hospitably and laid an offering before us.

(*Sep. 30th—Muḥ. 4th*) Riding on from that place, we dismounted at Aūtrūlī (Atrauli).[5]

(*Oct. 1st—Muḥ. 5th*) On Wednesday we crossed the river Gang (Ganges) and spent the night in villages of Saṃbal.

(*Oct. 2nd—Muḥ. 6th*) On Thursday we dismounted in Saṃbal. After going about in it for two days, we left on Saturday.

(*Oct. 5th—Muḥ. 9th*) On Sunday we dismounted in Sikandara[6]

[1] Elph. MS. *lacuna*; I.O. 215 *lacuna* and 217 f. 229; Mems. p. 373. This year's narrative resumes the diary form.

[2] There is some uncertainty about these names and also as to which adversary crossed the river. The sentence which, I think, shews, by its plural verb, that Humāyūn left two men and, by its co-ordinate participles, that it was they crossed the river, is as follows :—(Darwīsh and Yūsuf, understood) *Quṭb Sīrwānī-nī u bīr pāra rājalār-nī bīr daryā aūtūb aūrūshūb yakshī bāsīb tūrlār. Aūtūb, aūrūshūb* and *bāsīb* are grammatically referable to the same subject, [whatever was the fact about the crossing].

[3] *bīr daryā*; W.-i-B. 217 f. 229, *yak daryā*, one river, but many MSS. *har daryā*, every river. If it did not seem pretty certain that the rebels were not in the Miyān-dū-āb one would surmise the river to be "one river" of the two enclosing the tract "between the waters", and that one to be the Ganges. It may be one near Saṃbhal, east of the Ganges.

[4] var. Shīrwānī. The place giving the cognomen may be Sarwān, a *thakurāt* of the Mālwā Agency (*G. of I.*). Quṭb of Sīrwān may be the Quṭb Khān of earlier mention without the cognomen.

[5] n.w. of Aligarh (Kūl). It may be noted here, where instances begin to be frequent, that my translation "we marched" is an evasion of the Turkī impersonal "it was marched". Most rarely does Bābur write "we marched", never, "I marched."

[6] in the Aligarh (Kūl) district; it is the Sikandara Rao of the *A.-i-A.* and the *G. of I.*

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at the house of Rāo *Sīrwānī* who set food before us and served us. When we rode out at dawn, I made some pretext to leave the rest, and galloped on alone to within a *kuroh* of Āgra where they overtook me. At the Mid-day Prayer we dismounted in Āgra.

(*b. Illness of Bābur.*)

(*Oct. 12th*) On Sunday the 16th of Muḥarram I had fever and ague. This returned again and again during the next 25 or 26 days. I drank operative medicine and at last relief came. I suffered much from thirst and want of sleep.

Fol. 331*b*. While I was ill, I composed a quatrain or two; here is one of them :—[1]

Fever grows strong in my body by day,
Sleep quits my eyes as night comes on;
Like to my pain and my patience the pair,
For while that goes waxing, this wanes.

(*c. Arrival of kinswomen.*)

(*Nov. 23rd*) On Saturday the 28th of Ṣafar there arrived two of the paternal-aunt begīms, Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm and Khadīja-sulṭān Begīm.[2] I went to above Sikandarābād to wait on them.[3]

(*d. Concerning a mortar.*)

(*Nov. 24th—Ṣafar 29th*) On Sunday Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharged a stone from a large mortar; the stone went far but the mortar broke in pieces, one of which, knocking down a party of men, killed eight.

(*e. Visit to Sīkrī.*)

(*Dec. 1st*) On Monday the 7th of the first Rabī' I rode out to visit Sīkrī. The octagonal platform ordered made in the middle of the lake was ready; we went over by boat, had an awning set up on it and elected for *ma'jūn*.

[1] *Rāmpūr Dīwān* (E.D.Ross' ed., p. 19, Plate 16*b*). This *Dīwān* contains other quatrains which, judging from their contents, may well be those Bābur speaks of as also composed in Saṃbal. *See* Appendix Q, *Some matters concerning the Rāmpūr Dīwān.*

[2] These are aunts of Bābur, daughters of Sl. Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī.*

[3] Sikandarābād is in the Buland-shahr district of the United Provinces.

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(*f. Holy-war against Chandīrī.*)

(*Dec. 9th*) After returning from Sīkrī we started on Monday night the 14th of the first Rabī',[1] with the intention of making Holy-war against Chandīrī, did as much as 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) and dismounted in Jalīsīr.[2] After staying there two days for people to equip and array, we marched on Thursday (*Dec. 12th—Rabī' I. 17th*) and dismounted at Anwār. I left Anwār by boat, and disembarked beyond Chandwār.[3]

(*Dec. 23rd*) Advancing march by march, we dismounted at the Kanār-passage[4] on Monday the 28th.

(*Dec. 26th*) On Thursday the 2nd of the latter Rabī' I crossed the river; there was 4 or 5 days delay on one bank or the other before the army got across. On those days we went more than once on board a boat and ate *ma'jūn.* The junction of the river Chambal is between one and two *kurohs* (2–4 m.) above the Kanār-passage; on Friday I went into a boat on the Chambal, passed the junction and so to camp. Fol. 332.

(*g. Troops sent against Shaikh Bāyazīd Farmūlī.*)

Though there had been no clear proof of Shaikh Bāyazīd's hostility, yet his misconduct and action made it certain that he had hostile intentions. On account of this Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* was detached from the army and sent to bring together from Qanūj Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā and the sulṭāns and amīrs of that neighbourhood, such as Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān, Bī-khūb (or, Nī-khūb) Sulṭān, Malik Qāsim, Kūkī, Abū'l-muḥammad the lancer, and Minūchihr Khān with his elder and younger brethren and Daryā-khānīs, so that they might move against the hostile Afghāns. They were to invite Shaikh Bāyazīd to go with them; if he came frankly, they were to take him along; if not, were to drive him off. Muḥammad 'Alī

[1] It is not clear whether Bābur returned from Sīkrī on the day he started for Jalīsīr; no question of distance would prevent him from making the two journeys on the Monday.

[2] As this was the rendezvous for the army, it would be convenient if it lay between Āgra and Anwār; as it was 6 m. from Āgra, the only mapped place having approximately the name Jalīsīr, *viz.* Jalesar, in Etah, seems too far away.

[3] Anwār would be suitably the Unwāra of the *Indian Atlas*, which is on the first important southward dip of the Jumna below Āgra. Chandwār is 25 m. east of Āgra, on the Muttra-Etāwah road (*G. of I.*); Jarrett notes that Tiefenthaler identifies it with Fīrūzābād (*A.-i-A.* ii, 183 n.).

[4] In the district of Kālpī. The name does not appear in maps I have seen.

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asking for a few elephants, ten were given him. After he had leave to set off, Bābā Chuhra (the Brave) was sent to and ordered to join him.

(*h. Incidents of the journey to Chandīrī.*)

From Kanār one *kuroh* (2 m.) was done by boat.

(*Jan. 1st 1528 AD.*) On Wednesday the 8th of the latter Rabī' we dismounted within a *kuroh* of Kālpī. Bābā Sl. came to wait on me in this camp; he is a son of Khalīl Sl. who is a younger brother of the full-blood of Sl. Sa'īd Khān. Last year he fled from his elder brother[1] but, repenting himself, went back from the Andar-āb border; when he neared Kāshghar, The Khān (Sa'īd) sent Ḥaidar M. to meet him and take him back. Fol. 332*b*.

(*Jan. 2nd—Rabī' II. 9th*) Next day we dismounted at 'Ālam Khān's house in Kālpī where he set Hindūstānī food before us and made an offering.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Monday the 13th of the month we marched from Kālpī.

(*Jan. 10th—Rabī' II. 17th*) On Friday we dismounted at Īrij.[2]

(*Jan. 11th*) On Saturday we dismounted at Bāndīr.[3]

(*Jan. 12th*) On Sunday the 19th of the month Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was put at the head of 6 or 7000 men and sent ahead against Chandīrī. With him went the begs Bāqī *mīng-bāshī* (head of a thousand), Qūj Beg's (brother) Tardī Beg, 'Āshiq the taster, Mullā Apāq, Muḥsin[4] *Dūldāī* and, of the Hindūstānī begs, Shaikh Gūran.

(*Jan 17th*) On Friday the 24th of the month we dismounted near Kachwa. After encouraging its people, it was bestowed on the son of Badru'd-dīn.[5]

Kachwa[6] is a shut-in place, having lowish hills all round it.

[1] *āghā*, Anglicé, uncle. He was Sa'īd Khān of Kāshghar. Ḥaidar M. says Bābā Sl. was a spoiled child and died without mending his ways.

[2] From Kālpī Bābur will have taken the road to the s.w. near which now runs the Cawnpur (Kānhpūr) branch of the Indian Midland Railway, and he must have crossed the Betwa to reach Īrij (Irich, *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 69 N.W.).

[3] Leaving Īrij, Bābur will have recrossed the Betwa and have left its valley to go west to Bāndīr (Bhander) on the Pahūj (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 69 S.W.).

[4] beneficent, or Muḥassan, comely.

[5] The one man of this name mentioned in the *B.N.* is an amīr of Sl. Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*.

[6] It seems safe to take Kachwa [Kajwa] as the Kajwarra of Ibn Batūta, and the Kadwāha (Kadwaia) of the *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 52 N.E. and of Luard's *Gazetteer*

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A dam has been thrown across between hills on the south-east of it, and thus a large lake made, perhaps 5 or 6 *kurohs* (10–12 m.) round. This lake encloses Kachwa on three sides; on the north-west a space of ground is kept dry;[1] here, therefore is its Gate. On the lake are a great many very small boats, able to hold 3 or 4 persons; in these the inhabitants go out on the lake, if they have to flee. There are two other lakes before Kachwa is reached, smaller than its own and, like that, made by throwing a dam across between hills. Fol. 333.

of Gwalior (i, 247), which is situated in 24° 58′ N. and 77° 57′ E. Each of the three names is of a place standing on a lake; Ibn Batūta's lake was a league (4 m.) long, Bābur's about 11 miles round; Luard mentions no lake, but the *Indian Atlas* marks one quite close to Kadwāha of such form as to seem to have a tongue of land jutting into it from the north-west, and thus suiting Bābur's description of the site of Kachwa. Again,—Ibn Batūta writes of Kajwarra as having, round its lake, idol-temples; Luard says of Kadwāha that it has four idol-temples standing and nine in ruins; there may be hinted something special about Bābur's Kachwa by his remark that he encouraged its people, and this speciality may be interaction between Muḥammadanism and Hindūism serving here for the purpose of identification. For Ibn Batūta writes of the people of Kajwarra that they were *jogīs*, yellowed by asceticism, wearing their hair long and matted, and having Muḥammadan followers who desired to learn their (occult?) secrets. If the same interaction existed in Bābur's day, the Muḥammadan following of the Hindū ascetics may well have been the special circumstance which led him to promise protection to those Hindūs, even when he was out for Holy-war. It has to be remembered of Chandīrī, the nearest powerful neighbour of Kadwāha, that though Bābur's capture makes a vivid picture of Hindūism in it, it had been under Muḥammadan rulers down to a relatively short time before his conquest. The *jogīs* of Kachwa could point to long-standing relations of tolerance by the Chandīrī Governors; this, with their Muḥammadan following, explains the encouragement Bābur gave them, and helps to identify Kachwa with Kajarra. It may be observed that Bābur was familiar with the interaction of the two creeds, witness his "apostates", mostly Muḥammadans following Hindū customs, witness too, for the persistent fact, the reports of District-officers under the British *Rāj*. Again,—a further circumstance helping to identify Kajwarra, Kachwa and Kadwāha is that these are names of the last important station the traveller and the soldier, as well perhaps as the modern wayfarer, stays in before reaching Chandīrī. The importance of Kajwarra is shewn by Ibn Batūta, and of Kadwāha by its being a *maḥāll* in Akbar's *sarkār* of Bāyawān of the *ṣūba* of Āgra. Again,—Kadwāha is the place nearest to Chandīrī about which Bābur's difficulties as to intermediate road and jungle would arise. That intermediate road takes off the main one a little south of Kadwāha and runs through what looks like a narrow valley and broken country down to Bhamor, Bhurānpūr and Chandīrī. Again,—no bar to identification of the three names is placed by their differences of form, in consideration of the vicissitudes they have weathered in tongue, script, and transliteration. There is some ground, I believe, for surmising that their common source is *kajūr*, the date-fruit. [I am indebted to my husband for the help derived from Ibn Batūta, traced by him in Sanguinetti's trs. iv, 33, and S. Lee's trs. p. 162.]

(Two places similar in name to Kachwa, and situated on Bābur's route *viz.* Kocha near Jhansi, and Kuchoowa north of Kadwāha (Sheet 69 S.W.) are unsuitable for his "Kachwa", the first because too near Bandīr to suit his itinerary, the second because too far from the turn off the main-road mentioned above, because it has no lake, and has not the help in identification detailed above of Kadwāha.)

[1] *qūrūghīr* which could mean also *reserved* (from the water?).

(*Jan. 18th*) We waited a day in Kachwa in order to appoint active overseers and a mass of spadesmen to level the road and cut jungle down, so that the carts and mortar [1] might pass along it easily. Between Kachwa and Chandīrī the country is jungly.

(*Jan. 19th—Rabīʿ II. 26th*) After leaving Kachwa we halted one night, passed the Burhānpūr-water (Bhurānpūr) [2] and dismounted within 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) of Chandīrī.

(*i. Chandīrī and its capture.*)

The citadel of Chandīri stands on a hill; below it are the town (*shahr*) and outer-fort (*tāsh-qūrghān*), and below these is the level road along which carts pass.[3] When we left Burhānpūr (*Jan. 10th*) we marched for a *kuroh* below Chandīrī for the convenience of the carts.[4]

(*Jan. 21st*) After one night's halt we dismounted beside Bahjat Khān's tank [5] on the top of its dam, on Tuesday the 28th of the month.

(*Jan. 22nd—Rabīʿ II. 29th*) Riding out at dawn, we assigned post after post (*būljār, būljār*),[6] round the walled town (*qūrghān*)

[1] *qāzān*. There seems to have been one only; how few Bābur had is shewn again on f. 337.

[2] *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 52 N.E. near a tributary of the Betwa, the Or, which appears to be Bābur's Burhānpūr-water.

[3] The bed of the Betwa opposite Chandīrī is 1050 ft. above the sea; the walled-town (*qūrghān*) of Chandīrī is on a table-land 250 ft. higher, and its citadel is 230 ft. higher again (Cunningham's *Archeological Survey Report*, 1871 A.D. ii, 404).

[4] The plan of Chandīrī illustrating Cunningham's Report (*see* last note) allows surmise about the road taken by Bābur, surmise which could become knowledge if the names of tanks he gives were still known. The courtesy of the Government of India allows me to reproduce that plan [Appendix R, *Chandīrī* and *Gwālīāwar*].

[5] He is said to have been Governor of Chandīrī in 1513 AD.

[6] Here and in similar passages the word *m:ljār* or *m:lchār* is found in MSS. where the meaning is that of T. *būljār*. It is not in any dictionary I have seen; Mr. Irvine found it "obscure" and surmised it to mean "approach by trenches", but this does not suit its uses in the *Bābur-nāma* of a military post, and a rendezvous. This surmise, containing, as it does, a notion of protection, links *m:ljār* in sense with Ar. *maljaʾ*. The word needs expert consideration, in order to decide whether it is to be received into dictionaries, or to be rejected because explicable as the outcome of unfamiliarity in Persian scribes with T. *būljār* or, *more Persico* with narrowed vowels, *bŭljăr*. Shaw in his Vocabulary enters *būljāq* (*būljār*?), "a station for troops, a rendezvous, see *maljaʾ*," thus indicating, it would seem, that he was aware of difficulty about *m:ljār* and *būljāq* (*būljār*?). There appears no doubt of the existence of a Turkī word *būljār* with the meanings Shaw gives to *būljāq*; it could well be formed from the root *būl*, being, whence follows, being in a place, posted. *Maljā* has the meaning of a standing-place, as well as those of a refuge and an asylum; both meanings seem combined in the *m:ljār* of f. 336*b*, where for matchlockmen a *m:ljār* was ordered "raised". (Cf. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls* p. 278.)

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to centre, right, and left. Ustād 'Alī-qulī chose, for his stone-discharge, ground that had no fall[1]; overseers and spadesmen were told off to raise a place (*m:ljār*) for the mortar to rest on, and the whole army was ordered to get ready appliances for taking a fort, mantelets, ladders[2] and . . . -mantelets (*tūra*).[3]

Formerly Chandīrī will have belonged to the Sulṭāns of Mandāū (Mandū). When Sl. Nāṣiru'd-dīn passed away,[4] one Fol. 333*b*. of his sons Sl. Maḥmūd who is now holding Mandū, took possession of it and its neighbouring parts, and another son called Muḥammad Shāh laid hands on Chandīrī and put it under Sl. Sikandar (*Lūdī*)'*s* protection, who, in his turn, took Muḥammad Shāh's side and sent him large forces. Muḥammad Shāh survived Sl. Sikandar and died in Sl. Ibrāhīm's time, leaving a very young son called Aḥmad Shāh whom Sl. Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own. At the time Rānā Sangā led out an army against Sl. Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm's begs turned against him at Dūlpūr, Chandīrī fell into the Rānā's hands and by him was given to Medinī [Mindnī] Rāo[5] the greatly-trusted pagan who was now in it with 4 or 5000 other pagans.

As it was understood there was friendship between Medinī

[1] *yāghdā*; Pers. trs. *sar-āshīb*. Bābur's remark seems to show that for effect his mortar needed to be higher than its object. Presumably it stood on the table-land north of the citadel.

[2] *shātū*. It may be noted that this word, common in accounts of Bābur's sieges, may explain one our friend the late Mr. William Irvine left undecided (*l.c.* p. 278), *viz. shāṭūr*. On p. 281 he states that *nardubān* is the name of a scaling-ladder and that Bābur mentions scaling ladders more than once. Bābur mentions them however always as *shātū*. Perhaps *shāṭūr* which, as Mr. Irvine says, seems to be made of the trunks of trees and to be a siege appliance, is really *shātū u* . . . (ladder and . . .) as in the passage under note and on f. 216*b*, some other name of an appliance following.

[3] The word here preceding *tūra* has puzzled scribes and translators. I have seen the following variants in MSS.;—*nūkrī* or *tūkrī*, *b:krī* or *y:krī*, *būkrī* or *yūkrī*, *bûkrāī* or *yūkrāī*, in each of which the *k* may stand for *g*. Various suggestions might be made as to what the word is, but all involve reading the Persian enclitic *ī* (forming the adjective) instead of Turkī *līk*. Two roots, *tīg* and *yūg*, afford plausible explanations of the unknown word; appliances suiting the case and able to bear names formed from one or other of these roots are *wheeled mantelet*, and *head-strike* (P. *sar-kob*). That the word is difficult is shewn not only by the variants I have quoted, but by Erskine's reading *naukarī tūra*, "to serve the *tūras*," a requisite not specified earlier by Bābur, and by de Courteille's paraphrase, *tout ce qui est nécessaire aux touras*.

[4] Sl. Nāṣiru'd-dīn was the Khīljī ruler of Mālwā from 906 to 916 A.H. (1500–1510 AD.).

[5] He was a Rājpūt who had been prime-minister of Sl. Maḥmūd II. *Khīljī* (son of Nāṣīru'd-dīn) and had rebelled. Bābur (like some other writers) spells his name Mindnī, perhaps as he heard it spoken.

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Rāo and Ārāīsh Khān, the latter was sent with Shaikh Gūran to speak to Medinī Rāo with favour and kindness, and promise Shamsābād [1] in exchange for Chandīrī. One or two of his trusted men got out (?).[2] No adjustment of matters was reached, it is not known whether because Medinī Rāo did not trust what was said, or whether because he was buoyed up by delusion about the strength of the fort.

(*Jan. 28th*) At dawn on Tuesday the 6th of the first Jumāda we marched from Bahjat Khān's tank intending to assault Chandīrī. We dismounted at the side of the middle-tank near
Fol. 334. the fort.

(*j. Bad news.*)

On this same morning after reaching that ground, Khalīfa brought a letter or two of which the purport was that the troops appointed for the East [3] had fought without consideration, been beaten, abandoned Laknau, and gone to Qanūj. Seeing that Khalīfa was much perturbed and alarmed by these news, I said,[4] (*Persian*) "There is no ground for perturbation or alarm; nothing comes to pass but what is predestined of God. As this task (Chandīrī) is ahead of us, not a breath must be drawn about what has been told us. Tomorrow we will assault the fort; that done, we shall see what comes."

(*k. Siege of Chandīrī, resumed.*)

The enemy must have strengthened just the citadel, and have posted men by twos and threes in the outer-fort for prudence' sake. That night our men went up from all round; those few in the outer-fort did not fight; they fled into the citadel.

[1] Presumably the one in the United Provinces. For Shamsābād in Gūālīār *see* Luard *l.c.* i, 286.

[2] *chīqtī*; Pers. trs. *bar āmad* and, also in some MSS. *namī bar āmad*; Mems. p. 376, "averse to conciliation"; *Mém.* ii, 329, "*s'élevèrent contre cette proposition.*" So far I have not found Bābur using the verb *chīqmāq* metaphorically. It is his frequent verb to express "getting away", "going out of a fort". It would be a short step in metaphor to understand here that Medinī's men "got out of it", *i.e.* what Bābur offered. They may have left the fort also; if so, it would be through dissent.

[3] f. 332.

[4] I.O. 217, f. 231, inserts here what seems a gloss, "*Tā īn jā Farsī farmūda*" (*gufta*, said). As Bābur enters his speech in Persian, it is manifest that he used Persian to conceal the bad news.

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(*Jan. 29th*) At dawn on Wednesday the 7th of the first Jumāda, we ordered our men to arm, go to their posts, provoke to fight, and attack each from his place when I rode out with drum and standard.

I myself, dismissing drum and standard till the fighting should grow hot, went to amuse myself by watching Ustād 'Alī-qulī's stone-discharge.[1] Nothing was effected by it because his ground had no fall (*yāghdā*) and because the fort-walls, being entirely Fol. 334*b*. of stone, were extremely strong.

That the citadel of Chandīrī stands on a hill has been said already. Down one side of this hill runs a double-walled road (*dū-tahī*) to water.[2] This is the one place for attack; it had been assigned as the post of the right and left hands and royal corps of the centre.[3] Hurled though assault was from every side, the greatest force was here brought to bear. Our braves did not turn back, however much the pagans threw down stones and flung flaming fire upon them. At length Shāhīm the centurion[4] got up where the *dū-tahī* wall touches the wall of the outer fort; braves swarmed up in other places; the *dū-tahī* was taken.

Not even as much as this did the pagans fight in the citadel; when a number of our men swarmed up, they fled in haste.[5] In a little while they came out again, quite naked, and renewed the fight; they put many of our men to flight; they made them fly (*āuchūrdīlār*) over the ramparts; some they cut down and killed. Why they had gone so suddenly off the walls seems to have been that they had taken the resolve of those who give up a place as lost; they put all their ladies and beauties (*ṣūratīlār*) to death, then, looking themselves to die, came naked out to fight. Our men attacking, each one from his post, drove Fol. 335. them from the walls whereupon 2 or 300 of them entered Medinī Rāo's house and there almost all killed one another in this way:—one having taken stand with a sword, the rest

[1] The *Illustrated London News* of July 10th, 1915 (on which day this note is written), has an àpropos picture of an ancient fortress-gun, with its stone-ammunition, taken by the Allies in a Dardanelles fort.

[2] The *dū-tahī* is the *āb-duzd*, water-thief, of f. 67. Its position can be surmised from Cunningham's Plan [Appendix R].

[3] For Bābur's use of hand (*qūl*) as a military term *see* f. 209.

[4] His full designation would be Shāh Muḥammad *yūz-begī*.

[5] This will be flight from the ramparts to other places in the fort.

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eagerly stretched out the neck for his blow.[1] Thus went the greater number to hell.

By God's grace this renowned fort was captured in 2 or 3 *garīs*[2] (*cir.* an hour), without drum and standard,[3] with no hard fighting done. A pillar of pagan-heads was ordered set up on a hill north-west of Chandīrī. A chronogram of this victory having been found in the words *Fatḥ-i-dāru'l-ḥarb*[4] (Conquest of a hostile seat), I thus composed them :—

Was for awhile the station Chandīrī
Pagan-full, the seat of hostile force ;
By fighting, I vanquished its fort,
The date was *Fatḥ-i-dāru'l-ḥarb.*

(*l. Further description of Chandīrī.*)

Chandīrī is situated (in) rather good country,[5] having much running-water round about it. Its citadel is on a hill and inside it

[1] Bābur's account of the siege of Chandīrī is incomplete, inasmuch as it says nothing of the general massacre of pagans he has mentioned on f. 272. Khwāfī Khān records the massacre, saying, that after the fort was surrendered, as was done on condition of safety for the garrison, from 3 to 4000 pagans were put to death by Bābur's troops on account of hostility shewn during the evacuation of the fort. The time assigned to the massacre is previous to the *jūhar* of 1000 women and children and the self-slaughter of men in Medinī Rāo's house, in which he himself died. It is not easy to fit the two accounts in ; this might be done, however, by supposing that a folio of Bābur's MS. was lost, as others seem lost at the end of the narrative of this year's events (*q.v.*). The lost folio would tell of the surrender, one clearly affecting the mass of Rājpūt followers and not the chiefs who stood for victory or death and who may have made sacrifice to honour after hearing of the surrender. Bābur's narrative in this part certainly reads less consecutive than is usual with him ; something preceding his account of the *jūhar* would improve it, and would serve another purpose also, since mention of the surrender would fix a term ending the now too short time of under one hour he assigns as the duration of the fighting. If a surrender had been mentioned, it would be clear that his "2 or 3 *garīs*" included the attacking and taking of the *dū-tahī* and down to the retreat of the Rājpūts from the walls. On this Bābur's narrative of the unavailing sacrifice of the chiefs would follow in due order. Khwāfī Khān is more circumstantial than Firishta who says nothing of surrender or massacre, but states that 6000 men were killed fighting. Khwāfī Khān's authorities may throw light on the matter, which so far does not hang well together in any narrative, Bābur's, Firishta's, or Khwāfī Khān's. One would like to know what led such a large body of Rājpūts to surrender so quickly ; had they been all through in favour of accepting terms ? One wonders, again, why from 3 to 4000 Rājpūts did not put up a better resistance to massacre. Perhaps their assailants were Turks, stubborn fighters down to 1915 AD.

[2] For suggestion about the brevity of this period, *see* last note.

[3] Clearly, without Bābur's taking part in the fighting.

[4] These words by *abjad* make 934. The Hai. MS. mistakenly writes *Būd Chandīrī* in the first line of the quatrain instead of *Būd chandī*. Khwāfī Khān quotes the quatrain with slight variants.

[5] *Chandīrī ṭaurī wilāyat* (*dā* ?) *wāqi' būlūb tūr*, which seems to need *dā*, in, because the fort, and not the country, is described. Or there may be an omission *e.g.* of a second sentence about the walled-town (fort).

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has a tank cut out of the solid rock. There is another large tank [1] at the end of the *dū-tahī* by assaulting which the fort was taken. All houses in Chandīrī, whether of high or low, are built of stone, those of chiefs being laboriously carved; [2] those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are covered in Fol. 335*b*. with stone-slabs instead of with earthen tiles. In front of the fort are three large tanks made by former governors who threw dams across and made tanks round about it; their ground lies high.[3] It has a small river (*daryācha*), Betwa[4] by name, which may be some 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) from Chandīrī itself; its water is noted in Hindūstān as excellent and pleasant drinking. It is a perfect little river (*daryā-ghīna*). In its bed lie piece after piece of sloping rock (*qīālār*)[5] fit for making houses.[6] Chandīrī is 90 *kurohs* (180 m.) by road to the south of Āgra. In Chandīrī the altitude of the Pole-star (?) is 25 degrees.[7]

(*m. Enforced change of campaign.*)

(*Jan. 30th—Jumāda I. 8th*) At dawn on Thursday we went round the fort and dismounted beside Mallū Khān's tank.[8]

[1] This is the "Kirat-sagar" of Cunningham's Plan of Chandīrī; it is mentioned under this name by Luard (*l.c.* i, 210). "Kirat" represents Kirtī or Kirit Singh who ruled in Gūālīār from 1455 to 1479 AD., there also making a tank (Luard, *l.c.* i, 232).

[2] For illustrative photographs *see* Luard, *l.c.* vol. i, part iv.

[3] I have taken this sentence to apply to the location of the tanks, but with some doubt; they are on the table-land.

[4] Bābur appears to have written Betwī, this form being in MSS. I have read the name to be that of the river Betwa which is at a considerable distance from the fort. But some writers dispraise its waters where Bābur praises.

[5] T. *qīā* means a slope or slant; here it may describe tilted *strata*, such as would provide slabs for roofing and split easily for building purposes. (*See* next note.)

[6] *'imārat qīlmāq munāsib.* This has been read to mean that the *qīālar* provide good sites (Mems. & *Mém.*), but position, distance from the protection of the fort, and the merit of local stone for building incline me to read the words quoted above as referring to the convenient lie of the stone for building purposes. (*See* preceding note.)

[7] *Chandīrī-dā judai* (*jady*)*-nīng irtiqā'ī yīgīrma-bīsh darja dūr*; Erskine, p. 378, Chanderi is situated in the 25th degree of N. latitude; de Courteille, ii, 334, *La hauteur du Capricorne à Tchanderi est de 25 degrées.* The latitude of Chandīrī, it may be noted, is 24° 43′. It does not appear to me indisputable that what Bābur says here is a statement of latitude. The word *judai* (or *jady*) means both Pole-star and the Sign Capricorn. M. de Courteille translates the quoted sentence as I have done, but with Capricorn for Pole-star. My acquaintance with such expressions in French does not allow me to know whether his words are a statement of latitude. It occurs to me against this being so, that Bābur uses other words when he gives the latitude of Samarkand (f. 44*b*); and also that he has shewn attention to the Pole-star as a guide on a journey (f. 203, where he uses the more common word *Quṭb*). Perhaps he notes its lower altitude when he is far south, in the way he noted the first rise of Canopus to his view (f. 125).

[8] Mallū Khān was a noble of Mālwā, who became ruler of Mālwā in 1532 or 1533 AD. [?], under the style of Qādir Shāh.

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We had come to Chandīrī meaning, after taking it, to move against Rāīsīng, Bhīlsān, and Sārangpūr, pagan lands dependent on the pagan Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn, and, these taken, to move on Rānā Sangā in Chītūr. But as that bad news had come, the begs were summoned, matters were discussed, and decision made that the proper course was first to see to the rebellion of those malignants. Chandīrī was given to the Aḥmad Shāh already mentioned, a grandson of Sl. Nāṣiru'd-dīn; 50 *laks* from it were made *khalṣa*;[1] Mullā Apāq was entrusted with its military-collectorate, and left to reinforce Aḥmad Shāh with from 2 to 3000 Turks and Hindūstānīs.

Fol. 336. (*Feb. 2nd*) This work finished, we marched from Mallū Khān's tank on Sunday the 11th of the first Jumāda, with the intention of return (north), and dismounted on the bank of the Burhānpūr-water.

(*Feb. 9th*) On Sunday again, Yakka Khwāja and Ja'far Khwāja were sent from Bāndīr to fetch boats from Kālpī to the Kanār-passage.

(*Feb. 22nd*) On Saturday the 24th of the month we dismounted at the Kanār-passage, and ordered the army to begin to cross.

(*n. News of the rebels.*)

News came in these days that the expeditionary force[2] had abandoned Qanūj also and come to Rāprī, and that a strong body of the enemy had assaulted and taken Shamsābād although Abū'l-muḥammad the lancer must have strengthened it.[3] There was delay of 3 or 4 days on one side or other of the river before the army got across. Once over, we moved march by march towards Qanūj, sending scouting braves (*qāzāq yīgītlār*) ahead to get news of our opponents. Two or three marches from Qanūj, news was brought that Ma'rūf's son had fled on seeing the dark mass of the news-gatherers, and got away. Bīban, Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf, on hearing news of us, crossed Gang (Ganges) and seated themselves on its eastern bank opposite Qanūj, thinking to prevent our passage.

[1] *i.e.* paid direct to the royal treasury.

[2] This is the one concerning which bad news reached Bābur just before Chandīrī was taken.

[3] This presumably is the place offered to Medinī Rāo (f. 333*b*), and Bikramājīt (f. 343).

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(*o. A bridge made over the Ganges.*)

(*Feb. 27th*) On Thursday the 6th of the latter Jumāda we passed Qanūj and dismounted on the western bank of Gang. Some of the braves went up and down the river and took boats Fol. 336*b*. by force,[1] bringing in 30 or 40, large or small. Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman was sent to find a place convenient for making a bridge and to collect requisites for making it. He came back approving of a place about a *kuroh* (2 m.) below the camp. Energetic overseers were told off for the work. Ustād 'Alī-qulī placed the mortar for his stone-discharge near where the bridge was to be and shewed himself active in discharging it. Muṣṭafa *Rūmī* had the culverin-carts crossed over to an island below the place for the bridge, and from that island began a culverin-discharge. Excellent matchlock fire was made from a post[2] raised above the bridge. Malik Qāsim *Mughūl* and a very few men went across the river once or twice and fought excellently (*yakhshīlār aūrūshtīlār*). With equal boldness Bābā Sl. and Darwīsh Sl. also crossed, but went with the insufficient number of from 10 to 15 men; they went after the Evening Prayer and came back without fighting, with nothing done; they were much blamed for this crossing of theirs. At last Malik Qāsim, grown bold, attacked the enemy's camp and, by shooting arrows into it, drew him out (?);[3] he came with a mass of men and an elephant, fell on Malik Qāsim and hurried him off. Malik Qāsim got into a boat, but before it could put off, the elephant Fol. 337. came up and swamped it. In that encounter Malik Qāsim died.

In the days before the bridge was finished Uṣtād 'Alī-qulī did good things in stone-discharge (*yakhshīlār tāsh aītī*), on the first day discharging 8 stones, on the second 16, and going on equally well for 3 or 4 days. These stones he discharged from the Ghāzī-mortar which is so-called because it was used in the battle with Rānā Sangā the pagan. There had been another and larger mortar which burst after discharging one stone.[4] The matchlockmen made a mass (*qālīn*) of discharges, bringing down many

[1] Obviously for the bridge.

[2] *m:ljār* (*see* f. 333 n.). Here the word would mean befittingly a protected standing-place, a refuge, such as matchlockmen used (f. 217 and Index *s.n. arāba*).

[3] *sīghīrūrdī*, a vowel-variant, perhaps, of *sūghūrūrdī*.

[4] f. 331*b*. This passage shews that Bābur's mortars were few.

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men and horses; they shot also slave-workmen running scared away (?) and men and horses passing-by.[1]

(*March 11th*) On Wednesday the 19th of the latter Jumāda the bridge being almost finished, we marched to its head. The Afghāns must have ridiculed the bridge-making as being far from completion.[2]

(*March 12th*) The bridge being ready on Thursday, a small body of foot-soldiers and Lāhorīs went over. Fighting as small followed.

(*p. Encounter with the Afghāns.*)

(*March 13th*) On Friday the royal corps, and the right and left hands of the centre crossed on foot. The whole body of Afghāns, armed, mounted, and having elephants with them, attacked us. They hurried off our men of the left hand, but our centre itself (*i.e.* the royal corps) and the right hand stood
Fol. 337*b*. firm, fought, and forced the enemy to retire. Two men from these divisions had galloped ahead of the rest; one was dismounted and taken; the horse of the other was struck again and again, had had enough,[3] turned round and when amongst our men, fell down. On that day 7 or 8 heads were brought in; many of the enemy had arrow or matchlock wounds. Fighting went on till the Other Prayer. That night all who had gone across were made to return; if (more) had gone over on that Saturday's eve,[4] most of the enemy would probably have fallen into our hands, but this was in my mind:—Last year we marched out of Sīkrī to fight Rānā Sangā on Tuesday, New-year's-day, and crushed that rebel on Saturday; this year we had marched to crush these rebels on Wednesday, New-year's-day,[5] and it would be one of singular things, if we beat them on Sunday. So thinking, we did not make the rest of

[1] *nufūr qūl-lār-dīn ham karka bīla rah rawā kīshī u āt aītīlār*, a difficult sentence.

[2] *Afghānlār kūprūk bāghlāmāq-nī istib'ād qīlīb tamaskhur qīlūrlār aīkāndūr.* The ridicule will have been at slow progress, not at the bridge-making itself, since pontoon-bridges were common (Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*).

[3] *tūīlāb*; Pers. trs. *uftān u kheẓān*, limping, or falling and rising, a translation raising doubt, because such a mode of progression could hardly have allowed escape from pursuers.

[4] Anglicé, on Friday night.

[5] According to the Persian calendar, New-year's-day is that on which the Sun enters Aries.

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the army cross. The enemy did not come to fight on Saturday, but stood arrayed a long way off.

(*Sunday March 15th—Jumāda II. 23rd*) On this day the carts were taken over, and at this same dawn the army was ordered to cross. At beat of drum news came from our scouts that the enemy had fled. Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was ordered to lead his army in pursuit and the following leaders also were made pursuers who should move with the Sulṭān and not go beyond his word :—Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Ḥusamu'd-dīn 'Alī (son) of Khalīfa, Muḥibb-i-'alī (son) of Khalīfa, Kūkī (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Dost-i-muḥammad (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Bāqī of Tāshkīnt, and Red Walī. I crossed at the Sunnat Prayer. The camels were ordered to be taken over at a passage seen lower down. That Sunday we dismounted on the bank of standing-water within a *kuroh* of Bangarmāwū.[1] Those appointed to pursue the Afghāns were not doing it well; they had dismounted in Bangarmāwū and were scurrying off at the Mid-day Prayer of this same Sunday. Fol. 338.

(*March 16th—Jumāda II. 24th*) At dawn we dismounted on the bank of a lake belonging to Bangarmāwū.

(*q. Arrival of a Chaghatāī cousin.*)

On this same day (*March 16th*) Tūkhtā-būghā Sl. a son of my mother's brother (*dādā*) the Younger Khān (*Aḥmad Chaghatāī*) came and waited on me.

(*March 21st*) On Saturday the 29th of the latter Jumāda I visited Laknau, crossed the Gūī-water[2] and dismounted. This day I bathed in the Gūī-water. Whether it was from water getting into my ear, or whether it was from the effect of the climate, is not known, but my right ear was obstructed and for a few days there was much pain.[3]

(*r. The campaign continued.*)

One or two marches from Aūd (Oudh) some-one came from Chīn-tīmūr Sl. to say, "The enemy is seated on the far side of

[1] so-spelled in the Ḥai. MS. ; by de Courteille Banguermādū ; the two forms may represent the same one of the Arabic script.

[2] or Gūī, from the context clearly the Gumti. Jarrett gives Godi as a name of the Gumti; Gūī and Godī may be the same word in the Arabic script.

[3] Some MSS. read that there was not much pain.

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the river Sīrd[a ?] ;[1] let His Majesty send help." We detached a reinforcement of 1000 braves under Qarācha.

(*March 28th*) On Saturday the 7th of Rajab we dismounted
Fol. 338*b*. 2 or 3 *kurohs* from Aūd above the junction of the Gagar (Gogra) and Sīrd[a]. Till today Shaikh Bāyazīd will have been on the other side of the Sīrd[a] opposite Aūd, sending letters to the Sulṭān and discussing with him, but the Sulṭān getting to know his deceitfulness, sent word to Qarācha at the Mid-day Prayer and made ready to cross the river. On Qarācha's joining him, they crossed at once to where were some 50 horsemen with 3 or 4 elephants. These men could make no stand ; they fled ; a few having been dismounted, the heads cut off were sent in.

Following the Sulṭān there crossed over Bī-khūb (var. Nī-khūb) Sl. and Tardī Beg (the brother) of Qūj Beg, and Bābā Chuhra (the Brave), and Bāqī *shaghāwal*. Those who had crossed first and gone on, pursued Shaikh Bāyazīd till the Evening Prayer, but he flung himself into the jungle and escaped. Chīn-tīmūr dismounted late on the bank of standing-water, rode on at midnight after the rebel, went as much as 40 *kurohs* (80 m.), and came to where Shaikh Bāyazīd's family and relations (*nisba* ?) had been ; they however must have fled. He sent gallopers off in all directions from that place ; Bāqī *shaghāwal* and a few braves drove the enemy like sheep before them, overtook the family and brought in some Afghān prisoners.

We stayed a few days on that ground (near Aūd) in order to settle the affairs of Aūd. People praised the land lying along the Sīrd[a] 7 or 8 *kurohs* (14–16 m.) above Aūd, saying it was hunting-ground. Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman was sent out and returned after looking at the crossings over the Gagar-water (Gogra) and the Sīrd[a]-water (Chauka ?).

Fol. 339. (*April 2nd*) On Thursday the 12th of the month I rode out intending to hunt.[2]

[1] I take this to be the Kali-Sarda-Chauka affluent of the Gogra and not its Sarju or Saru one. To so take it seems warranted by the context ; there could be no need for the fords on the Sarju to be examined, and its position is not suitable.

[2] Unfortunately no record of the hunting-expedition survives.

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Here, in all known texts of the *Bābur-nāma* there is a break of the narrative between April 2nd and Sep. 18th 1528 AD.—Jumāda II. 12th 934 AH. and Muḥarram 3rd 935 AH., which, whether intentional or accidental, is unexplained by Bābur's personal circumstances. It is likely to be due to a loss of pages from Bābur's autograph manuscript, happening at some time preceding the making of either of the Persian translations of his writings and of the Elphinstone and Ḥaidarābād transcripts. Though such a loss might have occurred easily during the storm chronicled on f. 376*b*, it seems likely that Bābur would then have become aware of it and have made it good. A more probable explanation of the loss is the danger run by Humāyūn's library during his exile from rule in Hindūstān, at which same time may well have occurred the seeming loss of the record of 936 and 937 AH.

a. Transactions of the period of the lacuna.

Mr. Erskine notes (*Mems.* p. 381 n.) that he found the gap in all MSS. he saw and that historians of Hindūstān throw no light upon the transactions of the period. Much can be gleaned however as to Bābur's occupations during the 5½ months of the *lacuna* from his chronicle of 935 AH. which makes several references to occurrences of "last year" and also allows several inferences to be drawn. From this source it becomes known that the Afghān campaign the record of which is broken by the gap, was carried on and that in its course Bābur was at Jūn-pūr (f. 365), Chausa (f. 365*b*) and Baksara (f. 366–366*b*); that he swam the Ganges (f. 366*b*), bestowed Sarūn on a Farmūlī Shaikh-zāda (f. 374*b* and f. 377), negociated with Rānā Sangā's son Bikramājīt (f. 342*b*), ordered a Chār-bāgh laid out (f. 340), and was ill for 40 days (f. 346*b*). It may be inferred too that he visited Dūlpūr (f. 353*b*), recalled 'Askarī (f. 339), sent Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand on family affairs to Kābul (f. 345*b*), and was much pre-occupied by the

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disturbed state of Kābul (*see* his letters to Humāyūn and Khwāja Kālan written in 935 AH.).[1]

It is not easy to follow the dates of events in 935 AH. because in many instances only the day of the week or a "next day" is entered. I am far from sure that one passage at least now found *s.a.* 935 AH. does not belong to 934 AH. It is not in the Ḥai. Codex (where its place would have been on f. 363*b*), and, so far as I can see, does not fit with the dates of 935 AH. It will be considered with least trouble with its context and my notes (*q.v.* f. 363*b* and ff. 366–366*b*).

b. Remarks on the lacuna.

One interesting biographical topic is likely to have found mention in the missing record, *viz.* the family difficulties which led to 'Askarī's supersession by Kāmrān in the government of Multān (f. 359).

Another is the light an account of the second illness of 934 AH. might have thrown on a considerable part of the Collection of verses already written in Hindūstān and now known to us as the *Rāmpūr Dīwān.* The *Bābur-nāma* allows the dates of much of its contents to be known, but there remain poems which seem prompted by the self-examination of some illness not found in the *B.N.* It contains the metrical version of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh's *Wālidiyyah* of which Bābur writes on f. 346 and it is dated Monday Rabī' II. 15th 935 AH. (Dec. 29th 1528 AD.). I surmise that the reflective verses following the *Wālidiyyah* belong to the 40 days' illness of 934 AH. *i.e.* were composed in the period of the *lacuna.* The Collection, as it is in the "Rāmpūr Dīwān", went to a friend who was probably Khwāja Kalān; it may have been the only such collection made by Bābur. No other copy of it has so far been found. It has the character of an individual gift with verses specially addressed to its recipient. Any light upon it which may have vanished with pages of 934 AH. is an appreciable loss.

[1] One historian, Aḥmad-i-yādgār states in his *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghina* that Bābur went to Lāhor immediately after his capture of Chandīrī, and on his return journey to Āgra suppressed in the Panj-āb a rising of the Mundāhar (or, Mandhar) Rājpūts. His date is discredited by Bābur's existing narrative of 934 AH. as also by the absence in 935 AH. of allusion to either episode. My husband who has considered the matter, advises me that the Lāhor visit may have been made in 936 or early in 937 AH. [These are a period of which the record is lost or, less probably, was not written.]

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935 AH.—SEP. 15TH 1528 TO SEP. 5TH 1529 A.D.[1]

(*a. Arrivals at Court.*)

(*Sep. 18th*) On Friday the 3rd[2] of Muḥarram, 'Askarī whom I had summoned for the good of Multān[3] before I moved out for Chandīrī, waited on me in the private-house.[4]

(*Sep. 19th*) Next day waited on me the historian Khwānd-amīr, Maulānā Shihāb[5] the enigmatist, and Mīr Ibrāhīm the harper a relation of Yūnas-i-'alī, who had all come out of Herī long before, wishing to wait on me.[6]

(*b. Bābur starts for Gūālīār.*)[7]

(*Sep. 20th*) With the intention of visiting Gūālīār which in books they write Gālīūr,[8] I crossed the Jūn at the Other

[1] Elph. MS. f. 262; I. O. 215 f. 207*b* and 217 f. 234*b*; *Mems.* p. 382. Here the Elphinstone MS. recommences after a *lacuna* extending from Ḥai. MS. f. 312*b*.

[2] *See* Appendix S :—*Concerning the dating of* 935 AH.

[3] 'Askarī was now about 12 years old. He was succeeded in Multān by his elder brother Kāmrān, transferred from Qandahār [Index; JRAS. 1908 p. 829 para. (1)]. This transfer, it is safe to say, was due to Bābur's resolve to keep Kābul in his own hands, a resolve which his letters to Humāyūn (f. 348), to Kāmrān (f. 359), and to Khwāja Kalān (f. 359) attest, as well as do the movements of his family at this time. What would make the stronger government of Kāmrān seem now more "for the good of Multān" than that of the child 'Askarī are the Bīlūchī incursions, mentioned somewhat later (f. 355*b*) as having then occurred more than once.

[4] This will be his own house in the Garden-of-eight-paradises, the Chār-bāgh begun in 932 AH. (August 1526 AD.).

[5] To this name Khwānd-amīr adds Aḥmadu'l-ḥaqīrī, perhaps a pen-name; he also quotes verses of Shihāb's (*Ḥabību's-siyar* lith. ed. iii, 350).

[6] Khwānd-amīr's account of his going into Hindūstān is that he left his "dear home" (Herāt) for Qandahār in mid-Shawwāl 933 AH. (mid-July 1527 AD.); that on Jumāda I. 10th 934 AH. (Feb. 1st 1528 AD.) he set out from Qandahār on the hazardous journey into Hindūstān; and that owing to the distance, heat, setting-in of the Rains, and breadth of rapid rivers, he was seven months on the way. He mentions no fellow-travellers, but he gives as the day of his arrival in Āgra the one on which Bābur says he presented himself at Court. (For an account of annoyances and misfortunes to which he was subjected under Aūzbeg rule in Herāt *see Journal des Savans*, July 1843, pp. 389, 393, Quatremère's art.)

[7] Concerning Gūālīār *see* Cunningham's *Archeological Survey Reports* vol. ii; Louis Rousselet's *L'Inde des Rajas*; Lepel Griffin's *Famous Monuments of Central India*, especially for its photographs; *Gazetteer of India*; Luard's *Gazetteer of Gwalior*, text and photographs; *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Hakluyt Society ed. R. C. Temple, ii, 61, especially for its picture of the fort and note (p. 62) enumerating early writers on Gūālīār. Of Persian books there is Jalāl *Ḥiṣārī's Tārīkh-i-Gwālīāwar* (B. M. Add. 16,859) and Hirāman's (B. M. Add. 16,709) unacknowledged version of it, which is of the B. M. MSS. the more legible.

[8] Perhaps this stands for Gwālīāwar, the form seeming to be used by Jalāl *Ḥiṣārī*, and having good traditional support (Cunningham p. 373 and Luard p. 228).

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Prayer of Sunday the 5th of the month, went into the fort of Āgra to bid farewell to Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm and Khadīja-sulṭān Begīm who were to start for Kābul in a few days, and got to horse. Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā asked for leave and stayed behind in Āgra. That night we did 3 or 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.) of the road, dismounted near a large lake (*kūl*) and there slept.

(*Sep. 21st*) We got through the Prayer somewhat before time (*Muḥ. 6th*) and rode on, nooned [1] on the bank of the Gamb[h]īr-water [2], and went on shortly after the Mid-day Prayer. On the way we ate [3] powders mixed with the flour of parched
Fol. 339*b*. grain,[4] Mullā Rafī' having prepared them for raising the spirits. They were found very distasteful and unsavoury. Near the Other Prayer we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 m.) west of Dūlpūr, at a place where a garden and house had been ordered made.[5]

(*c. Work in Dūlpūr* (*Dhūlpūr*).)

That place is at the end of a beaked hill,[6] its beak being of solid red building-stone (*'imārat-tāsh*). I had ordered the (beak of the) hill cut down (dressed down?) to the ground-level and that if there remained a sufficient height, a house was to be cut out in it, if not, it was to be levelled and a tank (*ḥauẓ*) cut out in its top. As it was not found high enough for a house, Ūstād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter was ordered to level it and cut out an octagonal, roofed tank. North of this tank the ground is thick with trees, mangoes, *jāman* (*Eugenia jambolana*), all sorts of trees; amongst them I had ordered a well made, 10 by 10; it was almost ready; its water goes to the afore-named tank. To the north of this tank Sl. Sikandar's dam is flung across (the valley); on it houses have been built, and above it the waters of the Rains gather into a great lake. On the east of this lake is a garden; I ordered a seat and four-pillared platform (*tālār*)

[1] *tūshlānīb*, *i.e.* they took rest and food together at mid-day.

[2] This seems to be the conjoined Gambhīr and Bāngānga which is crossed by the Āgra-Dhūlpūr road (*G. of I.* Atlas, Sheet 34).

[3] *aīchtūq*, the plural of which shews that more than one partook of the powders (*safūf*).

[4] T. *tālqān*, Hindī *sattu* (Shaw). M. de Courteille's variant translation may be due to his reading for *tālqān*, *tālghāq*, *flot*, *agitation* (his Dict. *s.n.*) and *yīl*, wind, for *bīla*, with.

[5] in 933 AH. f. 330*b*.

[6] "Each beaked promontory" (Lycidas). Our name "Selsey-bill" is an English instance of Bābur's (not infrequent) *tūmshūq*, beak, bill of a bird.

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to be cut out in the solid rock on that same side, and a mosque built on the western one. Fol. 340.

(*Sept. 22nd and 23rd—Muḥ. 7th and 8th*) On account of these various works, we stayed in Dūlpūr on Tuesday and Wednesday.

(*d. Journey to Gūālīār resumed.*)

(*Sep. 24th*) On Thursday we rode on, crossed the Chambal-river and made the Mid-day Prayer on its bank, between the two Prayers (the Mid-day and the Afternoon) bestirred ourselves to leave that place, passed the Kawārī and dismounted. The Kawārī-water being high through rain, we crossed it by boat, making the horses swim over.

(*Sep. 25th*) Next day, Friday which was 'Āshūr (*Muḥ. 10th*), we rode on, took our nooning at a village on the road, and at the Bed-time Prayer dismounted a *kuroh* north of Gūālīār, in a Chār-bāgh ordered made last year.[1]

(*Sep. 26th*) Riding on next day after the Mid-day Prayer, we visited the low hills to the north of Gūālīār, and the Praying-place, went into the fort[2] through the Gate called Hātī-pūl which joins Mān-sing's buildings (*'imārāt*[3]), and dismounted, close to the Other Prayer, at those (*'imāratlār*)[4] of Rāja Bikramājīt in which Raḥīm-dād[5] had settled himself.

[1] No order about this Chār-bāgh is in existing annals of 934 AH. Such order is likely to have been given after Bābur's return from his operations against the Afghāns, in his account of which the annals of 934 AH. break off.

[2] The fort-hill at the northern end is 300 ft. high, at the southern end, 274 ft.; its length from north to south is 1¾ m.; its breadth varies from 600 ft. opposite the main entrance (Hātī-pūl) to 2,800 ft. in the middle opposite the great temple (Sās-bhao). Cf. Cunningham p. 330 and Appendix R, *in loco*, for his Plan of Gūālīār.

[3] This Arabic plural may have been prompted by the greatness and distinction of Mān-sing's constructions. Cf. Index *s.nn. begāt* and *bāghāt*.

[4] A translation point concerning the (Arabic) word *'imārat* is that the words "palace", "*palais*", and "residence" used for it respectively by Erskine, de Courteille, and, previous to the Hindūstān Section, by myself, are too limited in meaning to serve for Bābur's uses of it in Hindūstān; and this (1) because he uses it throughout his writings for buildings under palatial rank (*e.g.* those of high and low in Chandīrī); (2) because he uses it in Hindūstān for non-residential buildings (*e.g.* for the Bādalgarh outwork, f. 341*b*, and a Hindū temple *ib.*); and (3) because he uses it for the word "building" in the term building-stone, f. 335*b* and f. 339*b*. *Building* is the comprehensive word under which all his uses of it group. For labouring this point a truism pleads my excuse, namely, that a man's vocabulary being characteristic of himself, for a translator to increase or diminish it is to intrude on his personality, and this the more when an autobiography is concerned. Hence my search here (as elsewhere) for an English grouping word is part of an endeavour to restrict the vocabulary of my translation to the limits of my author's.

[5] Jalāl *Ḥiṣārī* describes "Khwāja Raḥīm-dād" as a paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khwāja. Neither man has been introduced by Bābur, as it is his rule to introduce

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To-night I elected to take opium because of ear-ache ; another reason was the shining of the moon.[1]

(*e. Visit to the Rājas' palaces.*)

(*Sep. 27th*) Opium sickness gave me much discomfort next day (*Muḥ. 12th*) ; I vomited a good deal. Sickness notwithstanding, I visited the buildings (*'imāratlār*) of Mān-sing and
Fol. 340*b*. Bikramājīt thoroughly. They are wonderful buildings, entirely of hewn stone, in heavy and unsymmetrical blocks however.[2] Of all the Rājas' buildings Mān-sing's is the best and loftiest.[3] It is more elaborately worked on its eastern face than on the others. This face may be 40 to 50 *qārī* (yards) high,[4] and is entirely of hewn stone, whitened with plaster.[5] In parts it is four storeys high ; the lower two are very dark ; we went through them with

when he first mentions a person of importance, by particulars of family, *etc.* Both men became disloyal in 935 AH. (1529 AD.) as will be found referred to by Bābur. Jalāl *Ḥiṣārī* supplements Bābur's brief account of their misconduct and Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghaus'* mediation in 936 AH. For knowledge of his contribution I am indebted to my husband's perusal of the *Tārīkh-i-Gwālīāwar*.

[1] Erskine notes that Indians and Persians regard moonshine as cold but this only faintly expresses the wide-spread fear of moon-stroke expressed in the Psalm (121 v. 6), "The Sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the Moon by night."

[2] *Agarcha lūk balūk u bī sīyāq*. Ilminsky [p. 441] has *balūk balūk* but without textual warrant and perhaps following Erskine, as he says, speaking generally, that he has done in case of need (Ilminsky's Preface). Both Erskine and de Courteille, working, it must be remembered, without the help of detailed modern descriptions and pictures, took the above words to say that the buildings were scattered and without symmetry, but they are not scattered and certainly Mān-sing's has symmetry. I surmise that the words quoted above do not refer to the buildings themselves but to the stones of which they are made. T. *lūk* means heavy, and T. *balūk* [? block] means a thing divided off, here a block of stone. Such blocks might be *bī sīyāq*, *i.e.* irregular in size. To take the words in this way does not contradict known circumstances, and is verbally correct.

[3] The Rājas' buildings Bābur could compare were Rāja Karna (or Kirtī)'s [who ruled from 1454 to 1479 AD.], Rāja Mān-sing's [1486 to 1516 AD.], and Rāja Bikramājīt's [1516 to 1526 AD. when he was killed at Panīpat].

[4] The height of the eastern face is 100 ft. and of the western 60 ft. The total length from north to south of the outside wall is 300 ft. ; the breadth of the residence from east to west 160 ft. The 300 ft. of length appears to be that of the residence and service-courtyard (Cunningham p. 347 and Plate lxxxvii).

[5] *kaj bīla āqārītīb*. There can be little doubt that a white pediment would show up the coloured tiles of the upper part of the palace-walls more than would pale red sandstone. These tiles were so profuse as to name the building Chīt Mandīr (Painted Mandīr). Guided by Bābur's statement, Cunningham sought for and found plaster in crevices of carved work ; from which one surmises that the white coating approved itself to successors of Mān-sing. [It may be noted that the word Mandīr is in the same case for a translator as is *'imārat* (f. 339*b* n.) since it requires a grouping word to cover its uses for temple, palace, and less exalted buildings.]

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candles.[1] On one (or, every) side of this building are five cupolas[2] having between each two of them a smaller one, square after the fashion of Hindūstān. On the larger ones are fastened sheets of gilded copper. On the outside of the walls is painted-tile work, the semblance of plantain-trees being shewn all round with green tiles. In a bastion of the eastern front is the Hātī-pūl,[3] *hātī* being what these people call an elephant, *pūl*, a gate. A sculptured image of an elephant with two drivers (*fīl-bān*)[4] stands at the out-going (*chīqīsh*) of this Gate; it is exactly like an elephant; from it the gate is called Hātī-pūl. A window in the Fol. 341. lowest storey where the building has four, looks towards this elephant and gives a near view of it.[5] The cupolas which have been mentioned above are themselves the topmost stage (*murtaba*) of the building;[6] the sitting-rooms are on the second storey (*ṭabaqat*), in a hollow even;[7] they are rather airless places although Hindūstānī pains have been taken with them.[8] The buildings of Mān-sing's son Bikramājīt are in a central position (*aūrta dā*) on the north side of the fort.[9] The son's buildings do not match the father's. He has made a great dome, very dark but growing lighter if one stays awhile in it.[10] Under it is a smaller building

[1] The lower two storeys are not only backed by solid ground but, except near the Hātī-pūl, have the rise of ground in front of them which led Bābur to say they were "even in a pit" (*chūqūr*).

[2] MSS. vary between *har* and *bīr*, every and one, in this sentence. It may be right to read *bīr*, and apply it only to the eastern façade as that on which there were most cupolas. There are fewer on the south side, which still stands (Luard's photo. No. 37).

[3] The ground rises steeply from this Gate to an inner one, called Hawā-pūl from the rush of air (*hawā*) through it.

[4] Cunningham says the riders were the Rāja and a driver. Perhaps they were a mahout and his mate. The statue stood to the left on exit (*chīqīsh*).

[5] This window will have been close to the Gate where no mound interferes with outlook.

[6] Rooms opening on inner and open courts appear to form the third story of the residence.

[7] T. *chūqūr*, hollow, pit. This storey is dark and unventilated, a condition due to small windows, absence of through draught, and the adjacent mound. Cunningham comments on its disadvantages.

[8] *Agarcha Hindūstānī takalluflār qīlīb tūrlār walī bī hawālīk-rāq yīrlār dūr.* Perhaps amongst the pains taken were those demanded for *punkhas*. I regret that Erskine's translation of this passage, so superior to my own in literary merit, does not suit the Turkī original. He worked from the Persian translation, and not only so, but with a less rigid rule of translation than binds me when working on Bābur's *ipsissima verba* (*Mems.* p. 384; Cunningham p. 349; Luard p. 226).

[9] The words *aūrtā dā* make apt contrast between the outside position of Mān-sing's buildings which helped to form the fort-wall, and Bikramājīt's which were further in except perhaps one wall of his courtyard (see Cunningham's Plate lxxxiii).

[10] Cunningham (p. 350) says this was originally a *bāra-dūrī*, a twelve-doored open hall, and must have been light. His "originally" points to the view that the hall

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into which no light comes from any side. When Raḥīm-dād settled down in Bikramājīt's buildings, he made a rather small hall [*kīchīkrāq tālārghīna*] on the top of this dome.[1] From Bikramājīt's buildings a road has been made to his father's, a road such that nothing is seen of it from outside and nothing known of it inside, a quite enclosed road.[2]

Fol. 341*b*. After visiting these buildings, we rode to a college Raḥīm-dād had made by the side of a large tank, there enjoyed a flower-garden[3] he had laid out, and went late to where the camp was in the Chārbāgh.

(*f. Raḥīm-dād's flower-garden.*)

Raḥīm-dād has planted a great numbers of flowers in his garden (*ḫāghcha*), many being beautiful red oleanders. In these places the oleander-flower is peach,[4] those of Gūālīār are beautiful, deep red. I took some of them to Āgra and had them planted in gardens there. On the south of the garden is a large lake[5] where the waters of the Rains gather; on the west of it is a lofty idol-house,[6] side by side with which Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn Aīltmīsh (Altamsh) made a Friday mosque; this is a very lofty building (*'imārat*), the highest in the fort; it is seen, with the fort, from the Dūlpūr-hill (*cir.* 30 m. away). People say the stone for it was cut out and brought from the large lake above-mentioned. Raḥīm-dād has made a wooden (*yīghāch*) *tālār* in his garden, and

had been altered before Bābur saw it but as it was only about 10 years old at that time, it was in its first form, presumably. Perhaps Bābur saw it in a bad light. The dimensions Cunningham gives of it suggest that the high dome must have been frequently ill-lighted.

[1] The word *tālār*, having various applications, is not easy to match with a single English word, nor can one be sure in all cases what it means, a platform, a hall, or *etc.* To find an equivalent for its diminutive *tālār-ghīna* is still more difficult. Raḥīm-dād's *tālār*-ette will have stood on the flat centre of the dome, raised on four pillars or perhaps with its roof only so-raised; one is sure there would be a roof as protection against sun or moon. It may be noted that the dome is not visible outside from below, but is hidden by the continuation upwards of walls which form a mean-looking parallelogram of masonry.

[2] T. *tūr yūl.* Concerning this hidden road *see* Cunningham p. 350 and Plate lxxxvii.

[3] *bāghcha.* The context shews that the garden was for flowers. For Bābur's distinctions between *bāghcha*, *bāgh* and *baghāt*, *see* Index *s.nn.*

[4] *shaft-ālū i.e.* the rosy colour of peach-flowers, perhaps lip-red (Steingass). Bābur's contrast seems to be between those red oleanders of Hindūstān that are rosy-red, and the deep red ones he found in Gūālīār.

[5] *kul*, any large sheet of water, natural or artificial (Bābur). This one will be the Sūraj-kund (Sun-tank).

[6] This is the Telī Mandīr, or Telingana Mandīr (Luard). Cf. Cunningham, p. 356 and Luard p. 227 for accounts of it; and *G. of I. s.n.* Teliagarhi for Telī Rājas.

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porches at the gates, which, after the Hindūstānī fashion, are somewhat low and shapeless.

(*g. The Urwāh-valley.*)

(*Sep. 28th*) Next day (*Muḥ. 13th*) at the Mid-day Prayer we rode out to visit places in Gūālīār we had not yet seen. We saw the *'imārat* called Bādalgar [1] which is part of Mān-sing's fort (*qila'*), went through the Hātī-pūl and across the fort to a place called Urwā (Urwāh), which is a valley-bottom (*qūl*) on its western side. Though Urwā is outside the fort-wall running along the top of the hill, it has two stages (*murtaba*) of high wall at its mouth. The higher of these walls is some 30 or 40 *qārī* (yards) high; this is the longer one; at each end it joins the wall of the fort. The second wall curves in and joins the middle part of the first; it is the lower and shorter of the two. This curve of wall will have been made for a water-thief; [2] within it is a stepped well (*wā'īn*) in which water is reached by 10 or 15 steps. Above the Gate leading from the valley to this walled-well the name of Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn Aīltmīsh (Altamsh) is inscribed, with the date 630 (AH.—1233 AD.). Below this outer wall and outside the fort there is a large lake which seems to dwindle (at times) till no lake remains; from it water goes to the water-thief. There are two other lakes inside Urwā the water of which those who live in the fort prefer to all other. Fol. 342.

Three sides of Urwā are solid rock, not the red rock of Bīāna but one paler in colour. On these sides people have cut out idol-statues, large and small, one large statue on the south side being perhaps 20 *qārī* (yds.) high.[3] These idols are shewn quite

[1] This is a large outwork reached from the Gate of the same name. Bābur may have gone there specially to see the Gūjarī Mandīr said by Cunningham to have been built by Mān-sing's Gūjar wife Mṛiga-nayāna (fawn-eyed). Cf. Cunningham p. 351 and, for other work done by the same Queen, in the s.e. corner of the fort, p. 344; Luard p. 226. In this place "construction" would serve to translate *'imārat* (f. 340 n.).

[2] *āb-duzd*, a word conveying the notion of a stealthy taking of the water. The walls at the mouth of Urwā were built by Altamsh for the protection of its water for the fort. The date Bābur mentions (a few lines further) is presumably that of their erection.

[3] Cunningham, who gives 57 ft. as the height of this statue, says Bābur estimated it at 20 *gaz*, or 40 ft., but this is not so. Bābur's word is not *gaz* a measure of 24 fingers-breadth, but *qārī*, the length from the tip of the shoulder to the fingers-ends; it is about 33 inches, not less, I understand. Thus stated in *qārīs* Bābur's estimate of the height comes very near Cunningham's, being a good 55 ft. to 57 ft. (I may note that I have usually translated *qārī* by "yard", as the yard is its nearest English equivalent. The Pers. trs. of the B.N. translates by *gaz*, possibly a larger *gaz* than that of 24 fingers-breadth *i.e.* inches.)

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naked without covering for the privities. Along the sides of
Fol. 342*b*. the two Urwā lakes 20 or 30 wells have been dug, with water from which useful vegetables (*sabzī kārlīklār*), flowers and trees are grown. Urwā is not a bad place; it is shut in (T. *tūr*); the idols are its defect; I, for my part, ordered them destroyed.[1]

Going out of Urwā into the fort again, we enjoyed the window[2] of the Sultānī-pūl which must have been closed through the pagan time till now, went to Raḥīm-dād's flower-garden at the Evening Prayer, there dismounted and there slept.

(*h. A son of Rānā Sangā negociates with Bābur.*)

(*Sep. 29th*) On Tuesday the 14th of the month came people from Rānā Sangā's second son, Bikramājīt by name, who with his mother Padmāwatī was in the fort of Rantanbūr. Before I rode out for Gūālīār,[3] others had come from his great and trusted Hindū, Asūk by name, to indicate Bikramājīt's submission and obeisance and ask a subsistence-allowance of 70 *laks* for him; it had been settled at that time that *parganas* to the amount he asked should be bestowed on him, his men were given leave to go, with tryst for Gūālīār which we were about to visit. They came into Gūālīār somewhat after the trysting-day. The Hindū Asūk[4] is said to be a near relation of Bikramājīt's mother Padmāwatī; he, for his part, set these particulars forth father-
Fol. 343. like and son-like;[5] they, for theirs, concurring with him, agreed to wish me well and serve me. At the time when Sl. Maḥmūd (*Khiljī*) was beaten by Rānā Sangā and fell into pagan captivity

[1] The statues were not broken up by Bābur's agents; they were mutilated; their heads were restored with coloured plaster by the Jains (Cunningham p. 365; Luard p. 228).

[2] *rozan* [or, *aūz:n*] . . . *tafarruj qīlīb*. Neither Cunningham nor Luard mentions this window, perhaps because Erskine does not; nor is this name of a Gate found. It might be that of the Dhonda-paur (Cunningham, p. 339). The 1st Pers. trs. [I.O. 215 f. 210] omits the word *rozan* (or, *auz:n*); the 2nd (I.O. 217 f. 236*b*] renders it by *jā'ī*, place. Manifestly the Gate was opened by Bābur, but, presumably, not precisely at the time of his visit. I am inclined to understand that *rozan* . . . *tafarruj karda* means enjoying the window formerly used by Muḥammadan rulers. If *aūz:n* be the right reading, its sense is obscure.

[3] This will have occurred in the latter half of 934 AH. of which no record is now known.

[4] He is mentioned under the name Asūk Mal *Rājpūt*, as a servant of Rānā Sangā by the *Mirāt-i-sikandarī*, lith. ed. p. 161. In Bayley's Translation p. 273 he is called Awāsūk, manifestly by clerical error, the sentence being *az jānib-i-au Asūk Mal Rājpūt dar ān (qila') būda* . . .

[5] *ātā-līk, aūghūl-līk, i.e.* he spoke to the son as a father, to the mother as a son.

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(925 AH.—1519 AD.) he possessed a famous crown-cap (*tāj-kula*) and golden belt, accepting which Sangā let him go free. That crown-cap and golden belt must have become Bikramājīt's; his elder brother Ratan-sī, now Rānā of Chītūr in his father's place, had asked for them but Bikramājīt had not given them up,[1] and now made the men he sent to me, speak to me about them, and ask for Bīāna in place of Rantanbūr. We led them away from the Bīāna question and promised Shamsābād in exchange for Rantanbūr. To-day (*Muḥ. 14th*) they were given a nine days' tryst for Bīāna, were dressed in robes of honour, and allowed to go.

(*i. Hindū temples visited.*)

We rode from the flower-garden to visit the idol-houses of Gūālīār. Some are two, and some are three storeys high, each storey rather low, in the ancient fashion. On their stone plinths (*izāra*) are sculptured images. Some idol-houses, College-fashion, have a portico, large high cupolas[2] and *madrāsa*-like cells, each topped by a slender stone cupola.[3] In the lower cells are idols carved in the rock. Fol. 343*b*.

After enjoying the sight of these buildings (*'imāratlār*) we left the fort by the south Gate,[4] made an excursion to the south, and went (north) to the Chār-bāgh Raḥim-dād had made over-against the Hātī-pūl.[5] He had prepared a feast of cooked-meat (*āsh*) for us and, after setting excellent food before us, made offering of a mass of goods and coin worth 4 *laks*. From his Chār-bāgh I rode to my own.

(*j. Excursion to a waterfall.*)

(*Sep. 30th.*) On Wednesday the 15th of the month I went to see a waterfall 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) to the south-east of Gūālīār. Less

[1] The *Mirāt-i-sikandarī* (lith. ed. p. 234, Bayley's trs. p. 372) confirms Bābur's statement that the precious things were at Bikramājīt's disposition. Perhaps they had been in his mother's charge during her husband's life. They were given later to Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt.

[2] The Telī Mandīr has not a cupola but a waggon-roof of South Indian style, whence it may be that it has the southern name Telingana, suggested by Col. Luard.

[3] See Luard's Photo. No. 139 and P. Mundy's sketch of the fort p. 62.

[4] This will be the Ghargarāj-gate which looks south though it is not at the south end of the fort-hill where there is only a postern approached by a flight of stone steps (Cunningham p. 332).

[5] The garden will have been on the lower ground at the foot of the ramp and not near the Hātī-pūl itself where the scarp is precipitous.

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than that must have been ridden ;[1] close to the Mid-day Prayer we reached a fall where sufficient water for one mill was coming down a slope (*qīā*) an *arghamchī*[2] high. Below the fall there is a large lake ; above it the water comes flowing through solid rock ; there is solid rock also below the fall. A lake forms wherever the water falls. On the banks of the water lie piece after piece of rock as if for seats, but the water is said not always to be there. We sat down above the fall and ate *ma'jūn*, went up-stream to visit its source (*badayat*), returned, got out on higher ground, and stayed while musicians played and reciters
Fol. 344. repeated things (*nīma aītīlār*). The Ebony-tree which Hindīs call *tindū*, was pointed out to those who had not seen it before. We went down the hill and, between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers, rode away, slept at a place reached near the second watch (midnight), and with the on-coming of the first watch of day (6 a.m. *Muḥ. 16th–Oct. 1st*) reached the Chār-bāgh and dismounted.

(*k. Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn's birth-place.*)[3]

(*Oct. 2nd*) On Friday the 17th of the month, I visited the garden of lemons and pumeloes (*sadā-fal*) in a valley-bottom amongst the hills above a village called Sūkhjana (?)[4] which is Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn's birth-place. Returning to the Chār-bāgh, I dismounted there in the first watch.[5]

(*l. Incidents of the march from Gūālīār.*)

(*Oct. 4th*) On Sunday the 19th of the month, we rode before dawn from the Chār-bāgh, crossed the Kawārī-water and took our nooning (*tūshlāndūk*). After the Mid-day Prayer we rode on, at sunset passed the Chambal-water, between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers entered Dulpūr-fort, there, by lamp-light,

[1] *Mūndīn kīchīkrāq ātlānīlghān aīkāndūr.* This may imply that the distance mentioned to Bābur was found by him an over-estimate. Perhaps the fall was on the Mūrar-river.

[2] Rope (Shaw) ; *corde qui sert à attacher le bagage sur les chameaux* (de Courteille) ; a thread of 20 cubits long for weaving (Steingass) ; I have the impression that an *arghamchī* is a horse's tether.

[3] For information about this opponent of Bābur in the battle of Kānwa, *see* the *Asiatic Review*, Nov. 1915, H. Beveridge's art. *Silhadī, and the Mirāt-i-sikandarī*.

[4] Colonel Luard has suggested to us that the Bābur-nāma word Sūkhjana may stand for Salwai or Sukhalhari, the names of two villages near Gūālīār.

[5] Presumably of night, 6–9 p.m., of Saturday Muḥ. 18th–Oct. 2nd.

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visited a Hot-bath which Abū'l-fatḥ had made, rode on, and dismounted at the dam-head where the new Chār-bāgh is in making.

(*Oct. 5th*) Having stayed the night there, at dawn (*Monday 20th*) I visited what places had been ordered made.[1] The face (*yūz*) of the roofed-tank, ordered cut in the solid rock, was not being got up quite straight; more stone-cutters were sent for who were to make the tank-bottom level, pour in water, and, by help of the water, to get the sides to one height. They got the face up straight just before the Other Prayer, were then ordered to fill the tank with water, by help of the water made the sides match, then busied themselves to smooth them. I ordered a water-chamber (*āb-khāna*) made at a place where it would be cut in the solid rock; inside it was to be a small tank also cut in the solid rock. Fol. 344*b*.

(*Here the record of 6 days is wanting.*)[2]

(*Oct. 12th?*) To-day, Monday (*27th ?*), there was a *ma'jūn* party. (*Oct. 13th*) On Tuesday I was still in that same place. (*Oct. 14th*) On the night of Wednesday,[3] after opening the mouth and eating something[4] we rode for Sīkrī. Near the second watch (midnight), we dismounted somewhere and slept; I myself could not sleep on account of pain in my ear, whether caused by cold, as is likely, I do not know. At the top of the dawn, we bestirred ourselves from that place, and in the first watch dismounted at

[1] f. 330*b* and f. 339*b*.

[2] Between the last explicit date in the text, *viz.* Sunday, Muḥ. 19th, and the one next following, *viz.* Saturday, Ṣafar 3rd, the diary of six days is wanting. The gap seems to be between the unfinished account of doings in Dhūlpūr and the incomplete one of those of the Monday of the party. For one of the intermediate days Bābur had made an appointment, when in Gūālīār (f. 343), with the envoys of Bikramājīt, the trysting-day being Muḥ. 23rd (*i.e.* 9 days after Muḥ. 14th). Bābur is likely to have gone to Bīāna as planned; that envoys met him there may be surmised from the circumstance that when negociations with Bikramājīt were renewed in Āgra (f. 345), two sets of envoys were present, a "former" one and a "later" one, and this although all envoys had been dismissed from Gūālīār. The "former" ones will have been those who went to Bīāna, were not given leave there, but were brought on to Āgra; the "later" ones may have come to Āgra direct from Ranthambhor. It suits all round to take it that pages have been lost on which was the record of the end of the Dhūlpūr visit, of the journey to the, as yet unseen, fort of Bīāna, of tryst kept by the envoys, of other doings in Bīāna where, judging from the time taken to reach Sīkrī, it may be that the *ma'jūn* party was held.

[3] Anglicé, Tuesday after 6 p.m.

[4] *aghaz aïchīb nīma yīb*, which words seem to imply the breaking of a fast.

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the garden now in making at Sīkrī. The garden-wall and well-buildings were not getting on to my satisfaction; the overseers therefore were threatened and punished. We rode on from Sīkrī between the Other and Evening Prayers, passed through Marhākūr, dismounted somewhere and slept.

(*Oct. 15th*) Riding on (*Thursday 30th*), we got into Āgra during the first watch (6–9 a.m.). In the fort I saw the honoured Khadīja-sulṭān Begīm who had stayed behind for several reasons when Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm started for Kābul. Crossing Jūn (Jumna), I went to the Garden-of-eight paradises.[1]

(*m. Arrival of kinswomen.*)

(*Oct. 17th*) On Saturday the 3rd of Ṣafar, between the Other and Evening Prayers, I went to see three of the great-aunt begīms,[2] Gauhar-shād Begīm, Badī'u'l-jamāl Begīm, and Āq Begīm, with also, of lesser begīms,[3] Sl. Maṣ'ūd Mīrzā's daughter Khān-zāda Begīm, and Sulṭān-bakht Begīm's daughter, and my *yīnkā chīcha's* grand-daughter, that is to say, Zaināb-sulṭān Begīm.[4] They had come past Tūta and dismounted at a small
Fol. 345. standing-water (*qarā sū*) on the edge of the suburbs. I came back direct by boat.

(*n. Despatch of an envoy to receive charge of Ranthambhor.*)

(*Oct. 19th*) On Monday the 5th of the month of Ṣafar, Hāmūsī son of Dīwa, an old Hindū servant from Bhīra, was joined with Bikramājīt's former [5] and later envoys in order that pact and agreement for the surrender of Ranthanbūr and for the conditions of Bikramājīt's service might be made in their own (hindū) way and custom. Before our man returned, he was to see, and learn, and make sure of matters; this done, if that

[1] Doubtless the garden owes its name to the eight heavens or paradises mentioned in the Qurān (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām s.n.* Paradise). Bābur appears to have reached Āgra on the 1st of Ṣafar; the 2nd may well have been spent on the home affairs of a returned traveller.

[2] The great, or elder trio were daughters of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, Bābur's paternal-aunts therefore, of his dutiful attendance on whom, Gul-badan writes.

[3] "Lesser," *i.e.* younger in age, lower in rank as not being the daughters of a sovereign Mīrzā, and held in less honour because of a younger generation.

[4] Gul-badan mentions the arrival in Hindūstān of a khānīm of this name, who was a daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghatāī*, Bābur's maternal-uncle; to this maternal relationship the word *chīcha* (mother) may refer. *Yīnkā*, uncle's or elder brother's wife, has occurred before (ff. 192, 207), *chīcha* not till now.

[5] Cf. f. 344*b* and n. 5 concerning the surmised movements of this set of envoys.

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person (*i.e.* Bikramājīt) stood fast to his spoken word, I, for my part, promised that, God bringing it aright, I would set him in his father's place as Rānā of Chitūr.[1]

(*Here the record of 3 days is wanting.*)

(*o. A levy on stipendiaries.*)

(*Oct. 22nd*) By this time the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhīm in Dihlī and Āgra was at an end. Royal orders were given therefore, on Thursday the 8th of Ṣafar, that each stipendiary (*wajhdār*) should drop into the Dīwān, 30 in every 100 of his allowance, to be used for war-material and appliances, for equipment, for powder, and for the pay of gunners and matchlockmen.

(*p. Royal letters sent into Khurāsān.*)

(*Oct. 24th*) On Saturday the 10th of the month, Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad's foot-man Shāh Qāsim who once before had taken letters of encouragement to kinsfolk in Khurāsān,[2] was sent to Herī with other letters to the purport that, through God's grace, our hearts were at ease in Hindūstān about the rebels and Fol. 345*b*. pagans of east and west; and that, God bringing it aright, we should use every means and assuredly in the coming spring should touch the goal of our desire.[3] On the margin of a royal letter sent to Aḥmad *Afshār* (*Turk*) a summons to Farīdūn the *qabūz*-player was written with my own hand.

(*Here the record of 11 days is wanting.*)

[1] This promise was first proffered in Gūālīār (f. 343).

[2] These may be Bāī-qarā kinsfolk or Mīrān-shāhīs married to them. No record of Shāh Qāsim's earlier mission is preserved; presumably he was sent in 934 AH. and the record will have been lost with much more of that year's. Khwānd-amīr may well have had to do with this second mission, since he could inform Bābur of the discomfort caused in Herī by the near leaguer of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aūzbeg*.

[3] *Albatta aūzūmīznī har nū' qīlīb tīgūrkūmīz dūr.* The following versions of this sentence attest its difficulty:—*Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī*, 1st trs. I.O. 215 f. 212, *albatta khūdrā ba har nū'ī ka bāshad dar ān khūb khwāhīm rasānad*; and 2nd trs. I.O. 217 f. 238*b*, *albatta dar har nu' karda khūdrā mī rasānīm*; *Memoirs* p. 388, "I would make an effort and return in person to Kābul"; *Mémoires* ii, 356, *je ferais tous mes efforts pour pousser en avant.* I surmise, as Pāyanda-i-ḥasan seems to have done (1st Pers. trs. *supra*), that the passage alludes to Bābur's aims in Hindūstān which he expects to touch in the coming spring. What seems likely to be implied is what Erskine says and more, *viz.* return to Kābul, renewal of conflict with the Aūzbeg and release of Khurāsān kin through success. As is said by Bābur immediately after this, Ṭahmāsp of Persia had defeated 'Ubaidu'l-lah *Aūzbeg* before Bābur's letter was written.

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In today's forenoon (*Tuesday 20th ?*) I made a beginning of eating quicksilver.[1]

(*q. News from Kābul and Khurāsān.*)[2]

(*Nov. 4th*) On Wednesday the 21st of the month (*Safar*) a Hindūstānī foot-man (*pīāda*) brought dutiful letters (*'arẓ-dāshtlār*) from Kāmrān and Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand. The Khwāja had reached Kābul on the 10th of Ẕū'l-ḥijja[3] and will have been anxious to go on[4] to Humāyūn's presence, but there comes to him a man from Kāmrān, saying, "Let the honoured Khwāja come (to see me); let him deliver whatever royal orders there may be; let him go on to Humāyūn when matters have been talked over."[5] Kāmrān will have gone into Kābul on the 17th of Ẕū'l-ḥijja (*Sep. 2nd*), will have talked with the Khwāja and, on the 28th of the same month, will have let him go on for Fort Victory (*Qila'-i-ẓafar*).

There was this excellent news in the dutiful letters received:—that Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp, resolute to put down the Aūzbeg,[6] had overcome and killed Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) *Aūzbeg* in Dāmghān and made a general massacre of his people; that 'Ubaid Khān, getting sure news about the *Qīzīl-bāsh* (Red-head) had risen from round Herī, gone to Merv, called up to him there all the sulṭāns of Samarkand and those parts, and that all the sulṭāns of Mā warā'u'n-nahr had gone to help him.[7]

Fol. 346. This same foot-man brought the further news that Humāyūn was said to have had a son by the daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāī,

[1] *Sīmāb yīmāknī bunyād qīldīm*, a statement which would be less abrupt if it followed a record of illness. Such a record may have been made and lost.

[2] The preliminaries to this now somewhat obscure section will have been lost in the gap of 934 AH. They will have given Bābur's instructions to Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand and have thrown light on the unsatisfactory state of Ḳābul, concerning which a good deal comes out later, particularly in Bābur's letter to its Governor Khwāja Kalān. It may be right to suppose that Kāmrān wanted Kābul and that he expected the Khwāja to bring him an answer to his request for it, whether made by himself or for him, through some-one, his mother perhaps, whom Bābur now sent for to Hindūstān.

[3] 934 AH.—August 26th 1528 AD.

[4] The useful verb *tībrāmāk* which connotes agitation of mind with physical movement, will here indicate anxiety on the Khwāja's part to fulfil his mission to Humāyūn.

[5] Kāmrān's messenger seems to repeat his master's words, using the courteous imperative of the 3rd person plural.

[6] Though Bābur not infrequently writes of *e.g.* Bengalīs and Aūzbegs and Turks in the singular, the Bengalī, the Aūzbeg, the Turk, he seems here to mean 'Ubaidu'l-lāh, the then dominant Aūzbeg, although Kūchūm was Khāqān.

[7] This muster preceded defeat near Jām of which Bābur heard some 19 days later.

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and that Kāmrān was said to be marrying in Kābul, taking the daughter of his mother's brother Sl. 'Alī Mīrzā (*Begchīk*).[1]

(*r. Honours for an artificer.*)[2]

On this same day Sayyid Daknī of Shīrāz the diviner (*ghaiba-gar ?*) was made to wear a dress of honour, given presents, and ordered to finish the arched (?) well (*khwāralīq-chāh*) as he best knew how.

(*s. The Wālidiyyah-risāla* (*Parental-tract*).)

(*Nov. 6th*) On Friday the 23rd of the month[3] such heat[4] appeared in my body that with difficulty I got through the Congregational Prayer in the Mosque, and with much trouble through the Mid-day Prayer, in the book-room, after due time, and little by little. Thereafter[5] having had fever, I trembled less on Sunday (*Nov. 28th*). During the night of Tuesday[6] the 27th of the month Ṣafar, it occurred to me to versify (*naẓm qīlmāq*)

[1] Humāyūn's wife was Bega Begīm, the later Ḥājī Begīm; Kāmrān's bride was her cousin perhaps named Māh-afrūz (Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma* f. 64*b*). The hear-say tense used by the messenger allows the inference that he was not accredited to give the news but merely repeated the rumour of Kābul. The accredited bearer-of-good-tidings came later (f. 346*b*).

[2] There are three enigmatic words in this section. The first is the Sayyid's cognomen; was he *daknī*, rather dark of hue, or *zaknī*, one who knows, or *ruknī*, one who props, erects scaffolding, *etc.* ? The second mentions his occupation; was he a *ghaiba-gar*, diviner (Erskine, water-finder), a *jībā-gar*, cuirass-maker, or a *jībā-gar*, cistern-maker, which last suits with well-making? The third describes the kind of well he had in hand, perhaps the stone one of f. 353*b*; had it scaffolding, or was it for drinking-water only (*khwāralīq*); had it an arch, or was it chambered (*khwāzalīq*)? If Bābur's orders for the work had been preserved,—they may be lost from f. 344*b*, trouble would have been saved to scribes and translators, as an example of whose uncertainty it may be mentioned that from the third word (*khwāralīq*?) Erskine extracted "jets d'eau and artificial water-works", and de Courteille "*taillé dans le roc vif*".

[3] All Bābur's datings in Ṣafar are inconsistent with his of Muḥarram, if a Muḥarram of 30 days [as given by Gladwin and others].

[4] *ḥarārat.* This Erskine renders by "so violent an illness" (p. 388), de Courteille by "*une inflammation d'entrailles*" (ii, 357), both swayed perhaps by the earlier mention, on Muḥ. 10th, of Bābur's medicinal quick-silver, a drug long in use in India for internal affections (Erskine). Some such ailment may have been recorded and the record lost (f. 345*b* and n. 8), but the heat, fever, and trembling in the illness of Ṣafar 23rd, taken with the reference to last's year's attack of fever, all point to climatic fever.

[5] *aīndīnī* (or, *āndīnī*). Consistently with the readings quoted in the preceding note, E. and de C. date the onset of the fever as Sunday and translate *aīndīnī* to mean "two days after". It cannot be necessary however to specify the interval between Friday and Sunday; the text is not explicit; it seems safe to surmise only that the cold fit was less severe on Sunday; the fever had ceased on the following Thursday.

[6] Anglicé, Monday after 6 p.m.

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the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* of his Reverence Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh.[1] I laid it to heart that if I, going to the soul of his Reverence[2] for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted, just as the author of the *Qaṣīdatu'l-būrda*[3] was freed from the affliction of paralysis when his poem
Fol. 346*b*. had been accepted. To this end I began to versify the tract, using the metre[4] of Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥīm *Jāmī's Subḥatu'l-abrār* (Rosary of the Righteous). Thirteen couplets were made in that same night. I tasked myself not to make fewer than 10 a day; in the end one day had been omitted. While last year every time such illness had happened, it had persisted at least a month or 40 days,[5] this year, by God's grace and his Reverence's favour, I was free, except for a little depression (*afsurda*), on Thursday the 29th of the month (*Nov. 12th*). The end of versifying the contents of the tract was reached on Saturday the 8th of the first Rabī' (*Nov. 20th*). One day 52 couplets had been made.[6]

(*t. Troops warned for service.*)

(*Nov. 11th*) On Wednesday the 28th of the month royal orders were sent on all sides for the armies, saying, "God

[1] The *Rashaḥāt-i-'aīnu'l-ḥayāt* (Tricklings from the fountain of life) contains an interesting and almost contemporary account of the Khwāja and of his *Wālidiyyah-risāla*. A summary of what in it concerns the Khwāja can be read in the JRAS. Jan. 1916, H. Beveridge's art. The tract, so far as we have searched, is now known in European literature only through Bābur's metrical translation of it; and this, again, is known only through the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*. [It may be noted here, though the topic belongs to the beginning of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 2), that the *Rashaḥāt* contains particulars about Aḥrārī's interventions for peace between Bābur's father 'Umar Shaikh and those with whom he quarrelled.]

[2] "Here unfortunately, Mr. Elphinstone's Turki copy finally ends" (Erskine), that is to say, the Elphinstone Codex belonging to the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh.

[3] This work, Al-buṣīrī's famous poem in praise of the Prophet, has its most recent notice in M. René Basset's article of the *Encyclopædia of Islām* (Leyden and London).

[4] Bābur's technical terms to describe the metre he used are, *ramal musaddas makhbūn 'arūz* and *zarb gāh abtar gāh makhbūn muḥẕūf wazn*.

[5] *aūtkān yīl* (*u*) *har maḥal mūndāq 'ārizat kīm būldī*, from which it seems correct to omit the *u* (and), thus allowing the reference to be to last year's illnesses only; because no record, of any date, survives of illness lasting even one full month, and no other year has a *lacuna* of sufficient length unless one goes improbably far back: for these attacks seem to be of Indian climatic fever. One in last year (934AH.) lasting 25–26 days (f. 331) might be called a month's illness; another or others may have happened in the second half of the year and their record be lost, as several have been lost, to the detriment of connected narrative.

[6] Mr. Erskine's rendering (*Memoirs* p. 388) of the above section shows something of what is gained by acquaintance which he had not, with the *Rashaḥāt-i-'ainu'l-ḥayāt* and with Bābur's versified *Wālidiyyah-risāla*.

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bringing it about, at an early opportunity my army will be got to horse. Let all come soon, equipped for service."

(*Here the record of 9 days is wanting.*) [1]

(*u. Messengers from Humāyūn.*)

(*Nov. 21st*) On Sunday the 9th of the first Rabī', Beg Muḥammad *ta'alluqchī* [2] came, who had been sent last year (934AH.) at the end of Muḥarram to take a dress of honour and a horse to Humāyūn.[3]

(*Nov. 22nd*) On Monday the 10th of the month there came from Humāyūn's presence Wais *Lāgharī's* (son) Beg-gīna (Little Beg) and Bīān Shaikh, one of Humāyūn's servants who had come as the messenger of the good tidings of the birth of Humāyūn's son whose name he gave as Al-amān. Shaikh Abū'l-wajd found *Shāh sa'ādatmand* [4] to be the date of his birth. Fol. 347.

(*v. Rapid travel.*)

Bīān Shaikh set out long after Beg-gīna. He parted from Humāyūn on Friday the 9th of Ṣafar (*Oct. 23rd*) at a place below Kishm called Dū-shamba (Monday); he came into Āgra on Monday the 10th of the first Rabī' (*Nov. 23rd*). He came very quickly! Another time he actually came from Qila'-i-ẓafar to Qandahār in 11 days.[5]

[1] This gap, like some others in the diary of 935 AH. can be attributed safely to loss of pages, because preliminaries are now wanting to several matters which Bābur records shortly after it. Such are (1) the specification of the three articles sent to Naṣrat Shāh, (2) the motive for the feast of f. 351*b*, (3) the announcement of the approach of the surprising group of envoys, who appear without introduction at that entertainment, in a manner opposed to Bābur's custom of writing, (4) an account of their arrival and reception.

[2] Land-holder (*see Hobson-Jobson s.n.* talookdar).

[3] The long detention of this messenger is mentioned in Bābur's letter to Humāyūn (f. 349).

[4] These words, if short *a* be read in Shāh, make 934 by *abjad*. The child died in infancy; no son of Humāyūn's had survived childhood before Akbar was born, some 14 years later. Concerning Abū'l-wajd *Fārighī*, *see Ḥabību's-siyar*, lith. ed. ii, 347; *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, Bib. Ind. ed. i, 3; and Index *s.n.*

[5] I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Hinks, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, for the following approximate estimate of the distances travelled by Bīān Shaikh:—(*a*) From Kishm to Kābul 240m.—from Kābul to Peshāwar 175m.—from Peshāwar to Āgra (railroad distance) 759 m.—total 1174m.; daily average *cir.* 38miles; (*b*) Qila'-i-ẓafar to Kābul 264m.—Kābul to Qandahār 316m.—total 580m.; daily average *cir.* 53miles. The second journey was made probably in 913AH. and to inform Bābur of the death of the Shāh of Badakhshān (f. 213*b*).

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(*w. News of Ṭahmāsp's victory over the Aūzbegs.*)

Bīān Shaikh brought news about Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp's advancing out of 'Irāq and defeating the Aūzbeg.[1] Here are his particulars:—Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp, having come out of 'Irāq with 40,000 men arrayed in Rūmī fashion of matchlock and cart,[2] advances with great speed, takes Basṭām, slaughters Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) *Aūzbeg* and his men in Dāmghān, and from there passes right swiftly on.[3] Kīpīk Bī's son Qambar-i-'alī Beg is beaten by one of the *Qīzīl-bāsh* (Red-head)'s men, and with his few followers goes to 'Ubaid Khān's presence. 'Ubaid Khān finds it undesirable to stay near Herī, hurriedly sends off gallopers to all the sulṭāns of Balkh, Ḥiṣār, Samarkand, and Tāshkend (Tāshkīnt) and goes himself to Merv. Sīūnjak Sl.'s younger son Bārāq Sl. from Tāshkend, Kūchūm Khān, with (his sons) Abū -sa'īd Sl. and Pūlad Sl., and Jānī Beg Sl. with his sons, from Fol. 347*b*. Samarkand and Mīān-kāl, Mahdī Sl.'s and Ḥamza Sl.'s sons from Ḥiṣār, Kītīn-qarā Sl. from Balkh, all these sulṭāns assemble right swiftly in Merv. To them their informers (*tīl-chī*) take news that Shāh-zāda, after saying, "'Ubaid Khān is seated near Herī with few men only," had been advancing swiftly with his 40,000 men, but that when he heard of this assembly (*i.e.* in Merv), he made a ditch in the meadow of Rādagān[4] and seated

[1] On Muḥ. 10th 934 AH.—Sep. 26th 1528 AD. For accounts of the campaign *see* Rieu's Suppl. Persian Cat. under *Histories of Ṭahmāsp* (Churchill Collection); the *Ḥabību's-siyar* and the *'Ālam-ārāī-'abbāsī*, the last a highly rhetorical work. Bābur's accounts (Index *s.n.* Jām) are merely repetitions of news given to him; he is not responsible for mistakes he records, such as those of f. 354. [It must be mentioned that Mr. Erskine has gone wrong in his description of the battle, the starting-point of error being his reversal of two events, the encampment of Ṭahmāsp at Rādagān and his passage through Mashhad. A century ago less help, through maps and travel, was available than now.]

[2] *tufak u arāba*, the method of array Bābur adopted from the Rūmī-Persian model.

[3] Ṭahmāsp's main objective, aimed at earlier than the Aūzbeg muster in Merv, was Herāt, near which 'Ubaid Khān had been for 7 months. He did not take the shortest route for Mashhad, *viz.* the Dāmghān-Sabzawār-Nīshāpūr road, but went from Dāmghān for Mashhad by way of Kālpūsh (*'Ālam-ārāī* lith. ed. p. 45) and Rādagān. Two military advantages are obvious on this route; (1) it approaches Mashhad by the descending road of the Kechef-valley, thus avoiding the climb into that valley by a pass beyond Nīshāpūr on the alternative route; and (2) it passes through the fertile lands of Rādagān. [For Kālpūsh and the route *see* Fr. military map, Sheets Astarābād and Merv, n.e. of Basṭām.]

[4] 7 m. from Kushan and 86 m. from Mashhad. As Lord Curzon reports (*Persia*, ii, 120) that his interlocutors on the spot were not able to explain the word "Radkan," it may be useful to note here that the town seems to borrow its name from the ancient tower standing near it, the *Mīl-i-rādagān*, or, as Réclus gives it, *Tour de méimandan*, both names meaning, Tower of the bounteous (or, beneficent, highly-distinguished,

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himself there.[1] Here-upon the Aūzbegs, with entire disregard of their opponents,[2] left their counsels at this :—"Let all of us sulṭāns and khāns seat ourselves in Mashhad ;[3] let a few of us be told off with 20,000 men to go close to the Qīzīl-bāsh camp[4] and not let them put head out ; let us order magicians[5] to work their magic directly Scorpio appears ;[6] by this stratagem the enemy will be enfeebled, and we shall overcome." So said, they march from Merv. Shāh-zāda gets out of Mashhad.[7] He confronts them near Jām-and-Khirgird.[8] There defeat befalls the Aūzbeg side.[9] A mass of sulṭāns are overcome and slaughtered.

In one letter it (*khūd*) was written, "It is not known for certain that any sulṭān except Kūchūm Khān has escaped ; not a man who went with the army has come back up to now." The Fol. 348.

etc.). (Cf. Vullers Dict. *s.n. rād*; Réclus' *L'Asie Antérieure* p. 219; and O'Donovan's *Merv Oasis.*) Perhaps light on the distinguished people (*rādagān*) is given by the *Dābistān's* notice of an ancient sect, the Rādīyān, seeming to be fire-worshippers whose chief was Rād-gūna, an eminently brave hero of the latter part of Jāmshīd's reign (800 B.C. ?). Of the town Rādagān Daulat Shāh makes frequent mention. A second town so-called and having a tower lies north of Ispahān.

[1] In these days of trench-warfare it would give a wrong impression to say that Ṭahmāsp entrenched himself; he did what Bābur did before his battles at Panīpat and Kānwa (*q.v.*).

[2] The Aūzbegs will have omitted from their purview of affairs that Ṭahmāsp's men were veterans.

[3] The holy city had been captured by 'Ubaid Khān in 933 AH. (1525 AD.), but nothing in Bīān Shaikh's narrative indicates that they were now there in force.

[4] Presumably the one in the Rādagān-meadow.

[5] using the *yada-tāsh* to ensure victory (Index *s.n.*).

[6] If then, as now, Scorpio's appearance were expected in Oct.–Nov., the Aūzbegs had greatly over-estimated their power to check Ṭahmāsp's movements ; but it seems fairly clear that they expected Scorpio to follow Virgo in Sept.–Oct. according to the ancient view of the Zodiacal Signs which allotted two houses to the large Scorpio and, if it admitted Libra at all, placed it between Scorpio's claws (Virgil's *Georgics* i, 32 and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii, 195.—H. B.).

[7] It would appear that the Aūzbegs, after hearing that Ṭahmāsp was encamped at Rādagān, expected to interpose themselves in his way at Mashhad and to get their 20,000 to Rādagān before he broke camp. Ṭāhmāsp's swiftness spoiled their plan ; he will have stayed at Rādagān a short time only, perhaps till he had further news of the Aūzbegs, perhaps also for commissariat purposes and to rest his force. He visited the shrine of Imām Reza, and had reached Jām in time to confront his adversaries as they came down to it from Zawarābād (Pilgrims'-town).

[8] or, Khirjard, as many MSS. have it. It seems to be a hamlet or suburb of Jām. The '*Ālam-ārāī* (lith. ed. p. 40) writes Khusrau-jard-i-Jām (the Khusrau-throne of Jām), perhaps rhetorically. The hamlet is Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī's* birthplace (Daulat Shāh's *Tazkirat*, E. G. Browne's ed. p. 483). Jām now appears on maps as Turbat-i-Shaikh Jāmī, the tomb (*turbat*) being that of the saintly ancestor of Akbar's mother Ḥamīda-bānū.

[9] The '*Ālam-ārāī* (lith. ed. p. 31) says, but in grandiose language, that 'Ubaid Khān placed at the foot of his standard 40 of the most eminent men of Transoxania who prayed for his success, but that as his cause was not good, their supplications were turned backwards, and that all were slain where they had prayed.

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sulṭāns who were in Ḥiṣār abandoned it. Ibrāhīm *Jānī's* son Chalma, whose real name is Ismā'īl, must be in the fort.[1]

(*x. Letters written by Bābur.*)

(*Nov. 27th and 28th*) This same Bīān Shaikh was sent quite quickly back with letters for Humāyūn and Ḳāmrān. These and other writings being ready by Friday the 14th of the month (*Nov. 27th*) were entrusted to him, his leave was given, and on Saturday the 15th he got well out of Āgra.

COPY OF A LETTER TO HUMĀYŪN.[2]

"The first matter, after saying, 'Salutation' to Humāyūn whom I am longing to see, is this :—

Exact particulars of the state of affairs on that side and on this [3] have been made known by the letters and dutiful representations brought on Monday the 10th of the first Rabī' by Beg-gīna and Bīān Shaikh.

(*Turkī*) Thank God! a son is born to thee!
A son to thee, to me a heart-enslaver (*dil-bandī*).

May the Most High ever allot to thee and to me tidings as joyful! So may it be, O Lord of the two worlds!"

"Thou sayest thou hast called him Al-amān; God bless and prosper this! Thou writest it so thyself (*i.e.* Al-amān), but hast

[1] Here the 1st Pers. trs. (I.O. 215 f. 214) mentions that it was Chalma who wrote and despatched the exact particulars of the defeat of the Aūzbegs. This information explains the presumption Bābur expresses. It shows that Chalma was in Ḥiṣār where he may have written his letter to give news to Humāyūn. At the time Bīān Shaikh left, the Mīrzā was near Kishm; if he had been the enterprising man he was not, one would surmise that he had moved to seize the chance of the sulṭāns' abandonment of Ḥiṣār, without waiting for his father's urgency (f. 348*b*). Whether he had done so and was the cause of the sulṭāns' flight, is not known from any chronicle yet come to our hands. Chalma's father Ibrāhīm *Jānī* died fighting for Bābur against Shaibāq Khān in 906 AH. (f. 90*b*).

As the sense of the name-of-office Chalma is still in doubt, I suggest that it may be an equivalent of *aftābachī*, bearer of the water-bottle on journeys. *T. chalma* can mean a water-vessel carried on the saddle-bow; one Chalma on record was a *safarchī*; if, in this word, *safar* be read to mean journey, an approach is made to *aftābachī* (fol. 15*b* and note; Blochmann's A.-i-A. p. 378 and n. 3).

[2] The copies of Bābur's Turkī letter to Humāyūn and the later one to Khwāja Kalān (f. 359) are in some MSS. of the Persian text translated only (I.O. 215 f. 214); in others appear in Turkī only (I.O. 217 f. 240); in others appear in Turkī and Persian (B.M. Add. 26,000 and I.O. 2989); while in Muḥ. Shīrāzī's lith. ed. they are omitted altogether (p. 228).

[3] Trans- and Cis-Hindukush. Pāyanda-ḥasan (in one of his useful glosses to the 1st Pers. trs.) amplifies here by "Khurāsān, Mā warā'u'n-nahr and Kābul".

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over-looked that common people mostly say *alāmā* or *aīlāmān*.[1] Fol. 348*b*. Besides that, this *Al* is rare in names.[2] May God bless and prosper him in name and person; may He grant us to keep Al-amān (peace) for many years and many decades of years![3] May He now order our affairs by His own mercy and favour; not in many decades comes such a chance as this!"[4]

"Again:—On Tuesday the 11th of the month (*Nov. 23rd*) came the false rumour that the Balkhīs had invited and were fetching Qurbān[5] into Balkh."

"Again:—Kāmrān and the Kābul begs have orders to join thee; this done, move on Ḥiṣār, Samarkand, Herī or to whatever side favours fortune. Mayst thou, by God's grace, crush foes and take lands to the joy of friends and the down-casting of adversaries! Thank God! now is your time to risk life and slash swords.[6] Neglect not the work chance has brought; slothful life in retirement befits not sovereign rule:—

(*Persian*) He grips the world who hastens;
Empire yokes not with delay;
All else, confronting marriage, stops,
Save only sovereignty.[7]

If through God's grace, the Balkh and Ḥiṣār countries be won and held, put men of thine in Ḥiṣār, Kāmrān's men in Balkh. Should Samarkand also be won, there make thy seat. Ḥiṣār, Fol. 349. God willing, I shall make a crown-domain. Should Kāmrān regard Balkh as small, represent the matter to me; please God! I will make its defects good at once out of those other countries."

"Again:—As thou knowest, the rule has always been that

[1] The words Bābur gives as mispronunciations are somewhat uncertain in sense; manifestly both are of ill-omen:—Al-amān itself [of which the *alāmā* of the Ḥai. MS. and Ilminsky may be an abbreviation,] is the cry of the vanquished, "Quarter! mercy!"; *Aīlāmān* and also *ālāman* can represent a Turkmān raider.

[2] Presumably amongst Tīmūrids.

[3] Perhaps Bābur here makes a placatory little joke.

[4] *i.e.* that offered by Ṭahmāsp's rout of the Aūzbegs at Jām.

[5] He was an adherent of Bābur. Cf. f. 353.

[6] The plural "your" will include Humāyūn and Kāmrān. Neither had yet shewn himself the heritor of his father's personal dash and valour; they had lacked the stress which shaped his heroism.

[7] My husband has traced these lines to Niẓāmī's *Khusrau* and *Shīrīn*. [They occur on f. 256*b* in his MS. of 317 folios.] Bābur may have quoted from memory, since his version varies. The lines need their context to be understood; they are part of Shīrīn's address to Khusrau when she refuses to marry him because at the time he is fighting for his sovereign position; and they say, in effect, that while all other work stops for marriage (*kadkhudāī*), kingly rule does not.

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when thou hadst six parts, Kāmrān had five; this having been constant, make no change."

"Again :—Live well with thy younger brother. Elders must bear the burden![1] I have the hope that thou, for thy part, wilt keep on good terms with him; he, who has grown up an active and excellent youth, should not fail, for his part, in loyal duty to thee."[2]

"Again :—Words from thee are somewhat few; no person has
Fol. 349*b*. come from thee for two or three years past; the man I sent to thee (Beg Muḥammad *ta'alluqchī*) came back in something over a year; is this not so?"

"Again :—As for the "retirement", "retirement", spoken of in thy letters,—retirement is a fault for sovereignty; as the honoured (Sa'dī) says :—[3]

(*Persian*) If thy foot be fettered, choose to be resigned;
If thou ride alone, take thou thine own head.

No bondage equals that of sovereignty; retirement matches not with rule."

"Again :—Thou hast written me a letter, as I ordered thee to do; but why not have read it over? If thou hadst thought of reading it, thou couldst not have done it, and, unable thyself to read it, wouldst certainly have made alteration in it. Though by taking trouble it can be read, it is very puzzling, and who ever saw an enigma in prose?[4] Thy spelling, though not bad, is not quite correct; thou writest *iltafāt* with *ṭā* (*iltafāṭ*) and *qūlinj* with *yā* (*qūlinj*?).[5] Although thy letter can be read if every sort

[1] *Aūlūghlār kūtārīmlīk kīrāk*; 2nd Pers. trs. *buzurgān bardāsht mī bāīd kardand.* This dictum may be a quotation. I have translated it to agree with Bābur's reference to the ages of the brothers, but *aūlūghlār* expresses greatness of position as well as seniority in age, and the dictum may be taken as a Turkī version of "*Noblesse oblige*", and may also mean "The great must be magnanimous". (Cf. de C.'s Dict. *s.n. kūtārīmlīk.*) [It may be said of the verb *bardāshtan* used in the Pers. trs., that Abū'l-faẓl, perhaps translating *kūtārīmlīk* reported to him, puts it into Bābur's mouth when, after praying to take Humāyūn's illness upon himself, he cried with conviction, "I have borne it away" (A.N. trs. H.B. i, 276).]

[2] If Bābur had foreseen that his hard-won rule in Hindūstān was to be given to the winds of one son's frivolities and the other's disloyalty, his words of scant content with what the Hindūstān of his desires had brought him, would have expressed a yet keener pain (*Rāmpūr Dīwān* E.D.R.'s ed. p. 15 l. 5 fr. ft.).

[3] *Bostān*, cap. *Advice of Noshirwān to Hurmuz* (H.B.).

[4] A little joke at the expense of the mystifying letter.

[5] For *yā*, Mr. Erskine writes *be*. What the mistake was is an open question; I have guessed an exchange of *ī* for *ū*, because such an exchange is not infrequent amongst Turkī long vowels.

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of pains be taken, yet it cannot be quite understood because of that obscure wording of thine. Thy remissness in letter-writing seems to be due to the thing which makes thee obscure, that is to say, to elaboration. In future write without elaboration ; use plain, clear words. So will thy trouble and thy reader's be less."

"Again:—Thou art now to go on a great business;[1] take counsel with prudent and experienced begs, and act as they say. If thou seek to pleasure me, give up sitting alone and avoiding society. Summon thy younger brother and the begs twice daily to thy presence, not leaving their coming to choice; be the business what it may, take counsel and settle every word and act in agreement with those well-wishers."

"Again:—Khwāja Kalān has long had with me the house-friend's intimacy; have thou as much and even more with him. Fol. 350. If, God willing, the work becomes less in those parts, so that thou wilt not need Kāmrān, let him leave disciplined men in Balkh and come to my presence."

"Again:—Seeing that there have been such victories, and such conquests, since Kābul has been held, I take it to be well-omened; I have made it a crown-domain; let no one of you covet it."

"Again:—Thou hast done well (*yakhshī qīlīb sīn*); thou hast won the heart of Sl. Wais;[2] get him to thy presence; act by his counsel, for he knows business."

"Until there is a good muster of the army, do not move out."

"Bīān Shaikh is well-apprized of word-of-mouth matters, and will inform thee of them. These things said, I salute thee and am longing to see thee."—

The above was written on Thursday the 13th of the first Rabi' (*Nov. 26th*). To the same purport and with my own hand, I wrote also to Kāmrān and Khwāja Kalān, and sent off the letters (by Bīān Shaikh).

(*Here the record fails from Rabī' 15th to 19th.*)

(*y. Plans of campaign.*)

(*Dec. 2nd*) On Wednesday the 19th of the month (*Rabi' I.*) the mīrzās, sulṭāns, Turk and Hind amīrs were summoned for

[1] That of reconquering Tīmūrid lands.

[2] of *Kūlāb*; he was the father of Ḥaram Begīm, one of Gul-badan's personages.

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counsel, and left the matter at this :—That this year the army must move in some direction ; that 'Askarī should go in advance towards the East, be joined by the sulṭāns and amīrs from beyond Gang (Ganges), and march in whatever direction favoured fortune. These particulars having been written down, Ghīāṣu'd-dīn the
Fol. 350*b*. armourer was given rendezvous for 16 days,[1] and sent galloping off, on Saturday the 22nd of the month, to the amīrs of the East headed by Sl. Junaid *Barlās*. His word-of-mouth message was, that 'Askarī was being sent on before the fighting apparatus, culverin, cart and matchlock, was ready ; that it was the royal order for the sulṭāns and amīrs of the far side of Gang to muster in 'Askarī's presence, and, after consultation with well-wishers on that side, to move in whatever direction, God willing ! might favour fortune ; that if there should be work needing me, please God ! I would get to horse as soon as the person gone with the (16 days) tryst (*mī'ād*) had returned ; that explicit representation should be made as to whether the Bengali (Naṣrat Shāh) were friendly and single-minded ; that, if nothing needed my presence in those parts, I should not make stay, but should move elsewhere at once ;[2] and that after consulting with well-wishers, they were to take 'Askarī with them, and, God willing ! settle matters on that side.

(*Here the record of 5 days is wanting.*)

(*z. 'Askarī receives the insignia and rank of a royal commander.*)

(*Dec. 12th*) On Saturday the 29th of the first Rabī', 'Askarī was made to put on a jewelled dagger and belt, and a royal dress of honour, was presented with flag, horse-tail standard,
Fol. 351. drum, a set (6–8) of *tīpūchāq* (horses), 10 elephants, a string of camels, one of mules, royal plenishing, and royal utensils. Moreover he was ordered to take his seat at the head of a *Dīwān*. On his mullā and two guardians were bestowed jackets having buttons[3] ; on his other servants, three sets of nine coats.

[1] *aūn altī gūnlūk m:ljār bīla*, as on f. 354*b*, and with exchange of T. *m:ljār* for P. *mī'ād*, f. 355*b*.

[2] Probably into Rājpūt lands, notably into those of Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn.

[3] *tukhmalīq chakmānlār* ; as *tukhma* means both button and gold-embroidery, it may be right, especially of Hindūstān articles, to translate sometimes in the second sense.

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(*aa. Bābur visits one of his officers.*)

(*Dec. 13th*) On Sunday the last day of the month (*Rabī' I. 30th*)[1] I went to Sl. Muḥammad *Bakhshī's* house. After spreading a carpet, he brought gifts. His offering in money and goods was more than *2 laks.*[2] When food and offering had been set out, we went into another room where sitting, we ate *ma'jūn.* We came away at the 3rd watch (midnight ?), crossed the water, and went to the private house.

(*bb. The Āgra-Kābul road measured.*)

(*Dec. 17th*) On Thursday the 4th of the latter Rabī', it was settled that Chīqmāq Beg with Shāhī *ṭamghāchī's*[3] clerkship, should measure the road between Āgra and Kābul. At every 9th *kuroh* (*cir.* 18 m.), a tower was to be erected *12 qārīs* high[4] and having a *chār-dara*[5] on the top ; at every 18th *kuroh* (*cir.* 36 m.),[6] 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened ; and arrangement was to be made for the payment of post-masters and grooms, and for horse-corn. The order was, "If the place where the horses are fastened up,[7] be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned ; if not, let the cost be charged on the beg

[1] These statements of date are consistent with Bābur's earlier explicit entries and with Erskine's equivalents of the Christian Era, but at variance with Gladwin's and with Wüstenfeldt's calculation that Rabī' II. 1st was Dec. 13th. Yet Gladwin (*Revenue Accounts*, ed. 1790 AD. p. 22) gives Rabī' I. 30 days. Without in the smallest degree questioning the two European calculations, I follow Bābur, because in his day there may have been allowed variation which finds no entry in methodical calendars. Erskine followed Bābur's statements ; he is likely nevertheless to have seen Gladwin's book.

[2] Erskine estimated this at £500, but later cast doubts on such estimates as being too low (*History of India*, vol. i, App. D.).

[3] The bearer of the stamp (*ṭamghā*) who by impressing it gave quittance for the payment of tolls and other dues.

[4] Either 24 ft. or 36 ft. according to whether the short or long *qārī* be meant (*infra*). These towers would provide resting-place, and some protection against ill-doers. They recall the two *mīl-i-rādagān* of Persia (f. 347 *n.* 9), the purpose of which is uncertain. Bābur's towers were not "*kos mīnārs*", nor is it said that he ordered each *kuroh* to be marked on the road. Some of the *kos mīnārs* on the "old Mughal roads" were over 30 ft. high ; a considerable number are entered and depicted in the *Annual Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey for 1914 (Northern Circle, p. 45 and Plates 44, 45). Some at least have a *lower* chamber.

[5] Four-doored, open-on-all-sides. We have not found the word with this meaning in Dictionaries. It may translate H. *chaukandī.*

[6] Erskine makes 9 *kos* (*kurohs*) to be 13–14 miles, perhaps on the basis of the smaller *gaz* of 24 inches.

[7] *altī yām-ātī bāghlāghāīlār* which, says one of Erskine's manuscripts, is called a *dāk-chokī.*

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in whose *pargana* the post-house may be." Chīqmāq Beg got out of Āgra with Shāhī on that same day.

Fol. 351*b*. (*Author's note on the kuroh.*) These *kurohs* were established in relation to the *mīl*, in the way mentioned in the *Mubīn* :—[1]

(*Turkī*) Four thousand paces (*qadam*) are one *mīl*;
Know that Hind people call this a *kuroh*;
The pace (*qadam*) they say is a *qārī* and a half (36 in.);
Know that each *qārī* (24 in.) is six hand-breadths (*tūtām*)
That each *tūtām* is four fingers (*aīlīk*),
Each *aīlīk*, six barley-corns. Know this knowledge.[2]

The measuring-cord (*ṭanāb*)[3] was fixed at 40 *qārī*, each being the one-and-a-half *qārī* mentioned above, that is to say, each is 9 hand-breadths.

(*cc. A feast.*)

(*Dec. 18th*) On Saturday the 6th of the month (Rabī' II.) there was a feast[4] at which were present Qīzīl-bāsh (Red-head), and Aūzbeg, and Hindū envoys.[5] The Qīzīl-bāsh envoys sat

[1] Neither Erskine (*Mems.* p. 394), nor de Courteille (*Mém.* ii, 370) recognized the word *Mubīn* here, although each mentions the poem later (p. 431 and ii, 461), deriving his information about it from the *Akbar-nāma*, Erskine direct, de Courteille by way of the Turkī translation of the same *Akbar-nāma* passage, which Ilminsky found in Kehr's volume and which is one of the much discussed "Fragments", at first taken to be extra writings of Bābur's (cf. Index *in loco s.n.* Fragments). Ilminsky (p. 455) prints the word clearly, as one who knows it; he may have seen that part of the poem itself which is included in Berésine's *Chrestomathie Turque* (p. 226 to p. 272), under the title *Fragment d'un poème inconnu de Bâbour*, and have observed that Bābur himself shews his title to be *Mubīn*, in the lines of his colophon (p. 271),

Chū bīān qīldīm āndā shar'īyāt,
Nī 'ajab gar Mubīn dīdīm āt?

(Since in it I have made exposition of Laws, what wonder if I named it *Mubīn* (exposition)?) Cf. *Translator's Note*, p. 437. [Berésine says (Ch. T.) that he prints half of his "*unique manuscrit*" of the poem.]

[2] The passage Bābur quotes comes from the *Mubīn* section on *tayammum masā'la* (purification with sand), where he tells his son sand may be used, *Sū yurāq būlsā sīndīn aīr bīr mīl* (if from thee water be one *mīl* distant), and then interjects the above explanation of what the *mīl* is. Two lines of his original are not with the *Bābur-nāma*.

[3] The *ṭanāb* was thus 120 ft. long. Cf. A.-i-A. Jarrett i, 414; Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms* and Gladwin's *Revenue Accounts*, p. 14.

[4] Bābur's customary method of writing allows the inference that he recorded, in due place, the coming and reception of the somewhat surprising group of guests now mentioned as at this entertainment. That preliminary record will have been lost in one or more of the small gaps in his diary of 935 AH. The envoys from the Samarkand Aūzbegs and from the Persian Court may have come in acknowledgment of the *Fāth-nāma* which announced victory over Rānā Sangā; the guests from Farghāna will have accepted the invitation sent, says Gul-badan, "in all directions," after Bābur's defeat of Sl. Ibrāhīm *Lūdī*, to urge hereditary servants and Tīmūrid and Chīngīz-khānid kinsfolk to come and see prosperity with him now when "the Most High has bestowed sovereignty" (f. 293*a*; Gul-badan's H. N. f. 11).

[5] Hindū here will represent Rājpūt. D'Herbélot's explanation of the name Qīzīl-bāsh (Red-head) comes in usefully here:—"KEZEL BASCH or KIZIL BASCH. Mot Turc qui signifie *Tête rouge*. Les Turcs appellent les Persans de ce nom, depuis qu'Ismaël Sofi, fondateur de la Dynastie des princes qui regnent aujourd'hui en Perse,

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under an awning placed some 70–80 *qārīs* [1] on my right, of the begs Yūnas-i-'alī being ordered to sit with them. On my left the Aūzbeg envoys sat in the same way, of the begs 'Abdu'l-lāh being ordered to sit with them. I sat on the north side of a newly-erected octagonal pavilion (*tālār*) covered in with *khas* [2]. Five or six *qārīs* on my right sat Tūkhtā-būgha Sl. and 'Askarī, with Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān, descendants of his Reverence the Khwāja,[3] and Khwāja Chishtī (var. Ḥusainī), and Khalīfa, together with the *ḥāfizes* and *mullās* dependent on the Khwājas who had come from Samarkand. Five or six *qārīs* on my left sat Muḥammad-i-zamān M. and Tāng-ātmīsh Sl.[4] Fol. 352. and Sayyid Rafī', Sayyid Rūmī, Shaikh Abū'l-fatḥ, Shaikh Jamālī, Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn *'Arab* and Sayyid Daknī (var. Zaknī, Ruknī). Before food all the sulṭāns, khāns, grandees, and amīrs brought gifts [5] of red, of white, of black,[6] of cloth and various other goods. They poured the red and white on a carpet I had ordered spread, and side by side with the gold and silver piled plenishing, white cotton piece-cloth and purses (*badra*) of money. While the gifts were being brought and before food, fierce camels and fierce elephants [7] were set to fight on an island opposite,[8] so too a few rams; thereafter wrestlers grappled. After the

commanda à ses soldats de porter un bonnet rouge autour duquel il y a une écharpe ou Turban à douze plis, en mémoire et à l'honneur des 12 Imams, successeurs d'Ali, desquels il prétendoit descendre. Ce bonnet s'appelle en Persan, *Tāj*, et fut institué l'an 907e de l'Hég." Ṭahmāsp himself uses the name Qīzīl-bāsh; Bābur does so too. Other explanations of it are found (Steingass), but the one quoted above suits its use without contempt. (Cf. f. 354 n. 3).

[1] *cir.* 140–150ft. or more if the 36in. *qārī* be the unit.

[2] *Andropogon muricatus*, the scented grass of which the roots are fitted into window spaces and moistened to mitigate dry, hot winds. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson s.n. Cuscuss.*

[3] A nephew and a grandson of Aḥrārī's second son Yaḥya (f. 347*b*) who had stood staunch to Bābur till murdered in 906 AH.–1500 AD. (80*b*). They are likely to be those to whom went a copy of the *Mubīn* under cover of a letter addressed to lawyers of Mā warā'u'n-nahr (f. 351 n. 1). The Khwājas were in Āgra three weeks after Bābur finished his metrical version of their ancestor's *Wālidiyyah-risāla*; whether their coming (which must have been announced some time before their arrival), had part in directing his attention to the tract can only be surmised (f. 346).

[4] He was an Aūzbeg (f. 371) and from his association here with a Bāī-qarā, and, later with Qāsim-i-ḥusain who was half Bāī-qarā, half Aūzbeg, seems likely to be of the latter's family (Index *s.nn.*).

[5] *sāchāq kīūrdī* (*kīltūrdī?*) No record survives to tell the motive for this feast; perhaps the gifts made to Bābur were congratulatory on the birth of a grandson, the marriage of a son, and on the generally-prosperous state of his affairs.

[6] Gold, silver and copper coins.

[7] Made so by *bhang* or other exciting drug.

[8] *ārāl*, presumably one left by the winter-fall of the Jumna; or, a peninsula.

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chief of the food had been set out, Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān were made to put on surtouts (*jabbah*) of fine muslin,[1] spotted with gold-embroidery, and suitable dresses of honour, and those headed by Mullā Farrūkh and *Ḥāfiẓ*[2] had jackets put on them. On Kūchūm Khān's envoy[3] and on Ḥasan *Chalabī's* younger brother[4] were bestowed silken head-wear (*bāshlīq*) and gold-embroidered surtouts of fine muslin, with suitable dresses of honour. Gold-embroidered jackets and silk coats were presented to the envoys of Abū-sa'īd Sl. (*Aūzbeg*), of Mihr-bān Khānīm and her son Pulād Sl., and of Shāh Ḥasan
Fol. 352*b*. (*Arghūn*). The two Khwājas and the two chief envoys, that is to say Kūchūm Khān's retainer and Ḥasan *Chalabī's* younger brother, were presented with a silver stone's weight of gold and a gold stone's weight of silver.

(*Author's note on the Turkī stone-weight.*) The gold stone (*tāsh*) is 500 *miṣqāls*, that is to say, one Kābul *sīr*; the silver stone is 250 *miṣqāls*, that is to say, half a Kābul *sīr*.[5]

To Khwāja Mīr Sulṭān and his sons, to Ḥāfiẓ of Tāshkīnt, to Mullā Farrūkh at the head of the Khwājas' servants, and also to other envoys, silver and gold were given with a quiver.[6] Yādgār-i-nāṣir[7] was presented with a dagger and belt. On Mīr

[1] Scribes and translators have been puzzled here. My guess at the Turkī clause is *aūrang aīralīk kīsh jabbah*. In reading *muslin*, I follow Erskine who worked in India and could take local opinion; moreover gifts made in Āgra probably would be Indian.

[2] For one Ḥāfiẓ of Samarkand see f. 237*b*.

[3] Kūchūm was Khāqān of the Aūzbegs and had his seat in Samarkand. One of his sons, Abū-sa'īd, mentioned below, had sent envoys. With Abū-sa'īd is named Mihr-bān who was one of Kūchūm's wives; Pulād was their son. Mihr-bān was, I think, a half-sister of Bābur, a daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umīd of Andijān (f. 9), and a full-sister of Nāṣir. No doubt she had been captured on one of the occasions when Bābur lost to the Aūzbegs. In 925 AH.–1519 AD. (f. 237*b*) when he sent his earlier *Dīwān* to Pulād Sl. (*Translator's Note*, p. 438) he wrote a verse on its back which looks to be addressed to his half-sister through her son.

[4] Ṭahmāsp's envoy; the title Chalabī shews high birth.

[5] This statement seems to imply that the weight made of silver and the weight made of gold were of the same size and that the differing specific gravity of the two metals,—that of silver being *cir.* 10 and that of gold *cir.* 20—gave their equivalents the proportion Bābur states. Persian Dictionaries give *sang* (*tāsh*), a weight, but without further information. We have not found mention of the *tāsh* as a recognized Turkī weight; perhaps the word *tāsh* stands for an ingot of unworked metal of standard size. (Cf. *inter alios libros*, A.-i-A. Blochmann p. 36, Codrington's *Musalman Numismatics* p. 117, concerning the *miṣqāl*, *dīnār*, *etc.*)

[6] *tarkāsh bīla.* These words are clear in the Ḥai. MS. but uncertain in some others. E. and de C. have no equivalent of them. Perhaps the coins were given by the quiverful; that a quiver of arrows was given is not expressed.

[7] Bābur's half-nephew; he seems from his name Keepsake-of-nāṣir to have been posthumous.

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Muḥammad the raftsman who was deserving of reward for the excellent bridge he had made over the river Gang (Ganges),[1] a dagger was bestowed, so too on the matchlockmen Champion [*pahlawān*] Ḥājī Muḥammad and Champion Buhlūl and on Walī the cheeta-keeper (*pārschī*); one was given to Ustād 'Alī's son also. Gold and silver were presented to Sayyid Daud *Garmsīrī*. Jackets having buttons,[2] and silk dresses of honour were presented to the servants of my daughter Ma'ṣūma[3] and my son Hind-āl. Again :—presents of jackets and silk dresses of honour, of gold and silver, of plenishing and various goods were given to those from Andijān, and to those who had come from Sūkh and Hushīār, the places whither we had gone landless and homeless.[4] Gifts of the same kind were given to the servants of Qurbān and Shaikhī and the peasants of Kāhmard.[5] Fol. 353.

After food had been sent out, Hindūstānī players were ordered to come and show their tricks. Lūlīs came.[6] Hindūstānī performers shew several feats not shewn by (Tramontane) ones. One is this :—They arrange seven rings, one on the forehead, two on the knees, two of the remaining four on fingers, two on toes, and in an instant set them turning rapidly. Another is this :—Imitating the port of the peacock, they place one hand on the ground, raise up the other and both legs, and then in an instant make rings on the uplifted hand and feet revolve rapidly. Another is this :—In those (Tramontane) countries two people grip one another and turn two somersaults, but Hindūstānī *lūlīs*, clinging together, go turning over three or four times. Another is this :—a *lūlī* sets the end of a 12 or 14 foot pole on his middle and holds it upright while another climbs up it and does his Fol. 353*b*. tricks up there. Another is this :—A small *lūlī* gets up on a big one's head, and stands there upright while the big one moves

[1] 934 AH.–1528 AD. (f. 336).
[2] Or, gold-embroidered.
[3] Wife of Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā.
[4] These Highlanders of Asfara will have come by invitation sent after the victory at Panīpat; their welcome shows remembrance of and gratitude for kindness received a quarter of a century earlier. Perhaps villagers from Dikh-kat will have come too, who had seen the Pādshāh run barefoot on their hills (*Index s.nn.*).
[5] Here gratitude is shewn for protection given in 910 AH.–1504 AD. to the families of Bābur and his men when on the way to Kābul. Qurbān and Shaikhī were perhaps in Fort Ajar (f. 122*b*, f. 126).
[6] Perhaps these acrobats were gipsies.

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quickly from side to side shewing his tricks, the little one shewing his on the big one's head, quite upright and without tottering. Many dancing-girls came also and danced.

A mass of red, white, and black was scattered (*sāchīldī*) on which followed amazing noise and pushing. Between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers I made five or six special people sit in my presence for over one watch. At the second watch of the day (9 a.m., *Sunday, Rabi' II. 7th*) having sat in a boat, I went to the Eight-Paradises.

(*dd. 'Askarī starts eastwards.*)

(*Dec. 20th*) On Monday (*8th*) 'Askarī who had got (his army) out (of Āgra) for the expedition, came to the Hot-bath, took leave of me and marched for the East.

(*ee. A visit to Dhūlpūr.*)

(*Dec. 21st*) On Tuesday (*Rabi' II. 9th*) I went to see the buildings for a reservoir and well at Dūlpūr.[1] I rode from the (Āgra) garden at one watch (*pahr*) and one *garī* (9.22 a.m.), and I entered the Dūlpūr garden when 5 *garīs* of the 1st night-watch (*pās*)[2] had gone (7.40 p.m.).[3]

(*Dec. 23rd*) On Thursday the 11th day of the month the stone-well (*sangīn-chāh*), the 26 rock-spouts (*tāsh-tār-nau*) and rock-pillars (*tāsh-sitūn*), and the water-courses (*ārīqlār*) cut on the solid slope (*yak pāra qīā*) were all ready.[4] At the 3rd watch (*pahr*) of this same day preparation for drawing water from the well was made. On account of a smell (*aīd*) in the water, it was ordered, for prudence' sake, that they should turn the well-wheel without rest for 15 days-and-nights, and so draw off the water. Gifts were made to the stone-cutters, and labourers,
Fol. 354. and the whole body of workmen in the way customary for master-workmen and wage-earners of Āgra.

[1] This may be the one with which Sayyid Daknī was concerned (f. 346).

[2] Bābur obviously made the distinction between *pahr* and *pās* that he uses the first for day-watches, the second for those of the night.

[3] Anglicé, Tuesday, Dec. 21st; by Muḥammadan plan, Wednesday 22nd. Dhūlpūr is 34 m. s. of Āgra; the journey of 10 hrs. 20 m. would include the nooning and the time taken in crossing rivers.

[4] The well was to fill a cistern; the 26 spouts with their 26 supports were to take water into (26?) conduits. Perhaps *tāsh* means that they were hewn in the solid rock; perhaps that they were on the outer side of the reservoir. They will not have been built of hewn stone, or the word would have been *sangīn* or *tāshdīn*.

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(*Dec. 24th*) We rode from Dūlpūr while one *garī* of the 1st watch (*pahr*) of Friday remained (*cir.* 8.40 a.m.), and we crossed the river (Jumna) before the Sun had set.

(*Here the record of 3 days is wanting.*) [1]

(*ff. A Persian account of the battle of Jām.*)

(*Dec. 28th*) On Tuesday the 16th of the month (*Rabī' II.*) came one of Dīv Sl.'s [2] servants, a man who had been in the fight between the Qīzīl-bāsh and Aūzbeg, and who thus described it:—The battle between the Aūzbegs and Turkmāns [3] took place on 'Āshūr-day (*Muḥ. 10th*) near Jām-and-Khirgird.[4] They fought from the first dawn till the Mid-day Prayer. The Aūzbegs were 300,000; the Turkmāns may have been (as is said?) 40 to 50,000; he said that he himself estimated their dark mass at 100,000; on the other hand, the Aūzbegs said they themselves were 100,000. The Qīzīl-bāsh leader (*ādam*) fought after arraying cart, culverin and matchlockmen in the Rūmī fashion, and after protecting himself.[5] Shāh-zāda [6] and Jūha Sl. stood behind the carts with 20,000 good braves. The rest of the begs were posted right and left beyond the carts. Fol. 354*b*. These the Aūzbeg beat at once on coming up, dismounted and

[1] One occupation of these now blank days is indicated by the date of the "*Rāmpūr Diwān*", Thursday Rabī' II. 15th (Dec. 27th).

[2] The demon (or, athlete) sulṭān of Rumelia (*Rūmlū*); once Ṭahmāsp's guardian (*Tazkirat-i-Ṭahmāsp*, Bib. Ind. ed. Phillott, p. 2). Some writers say he was put to death by Ṭahmāsp (*æt.* 12) in 933 AH.; if this were so, it is strange to find a servant described as his in 935 AH. (An account of the battle is given in the *Sharaf-nāma*, written in 1005 AH. by Sharaf Khān who was reared in Ṭahmāsp's house. The book has been edited by Veliaminof-Zernof and translated into French by Charmoy; cf. Trs. vol. ii, part i, p. 555.—*H. Beveridge.*)

[3] This name, used by one who was with the Shāh's troops, attracts attention; it may show the composition of the Persian army; it may differentiate between the troops and their "Qīzīl-bāsh leader".

[4] Several writers give Sārū-qamsh (Charmoy, *roseau jaune*) as the name of the village where the battle was fought; Sharaf Khān gives 'Umarābād and mentions that after the fight Ṭahmāsp spent some time in the meadow of Sārū-qamsh.

[5] The number of Ṭahmāsp's guns being a matter of interest, reference should be made to Bābur's accounts of his own battles in which he arrayed in Rūmī (Ottoman) fashion; it will then be seen that the number of carts does not imply the number of guns (Index *s.n. arāba*, cart).

[6] This cannot but represent Ṭahmāsp who was on the battle-field (*see* his own story *infra*). He was 14 years old; perhaps he was called Shāh-zāda, and not Shāh, on account of his youth, or because under guardianship (?). Readers of the Persian histories of his reign may know the reason. Bābur hitherto has always called the boy Shāh-zāda; after the victory at Jām, he styles him Shāh. Jūha Sl. (*Taklū*) who was with him on the field, was Governor of Ispahān.

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overcame many, making all scurry off. He then wheeled to the (Qīzīl-bāsh) rear and took loot in camel and baggage. At length those behind the carts loosed the chains and came out. Here also the fight was hard. Thrice they flung the Aūzbeg back; by God's grace they beat him. Nine sulṭāns, with Kūchūm Khān, 'Ubaid Khān and Abū-sa'īd Sl. at their head, were captured; one, Abū-sa'īd Sl. is said to be alive; the rest have gone to death.[1] 'Ubaid Khān's body was found, but not his head. Of Aūzbegs 50,000, and of Turkmāns 20,000 were slain.[2]

(*Here matter seems to have been lost.*)[3]

(*gg. Plan of campaign.*)

(*Dec. 30th*) On this same day (Thursday *Rabī' II. 18th*) came Ghiāṣu'd-dīn the armourer[4] who had gone to Jūna-pūr (Jūnpūr) with tryst of 16 days,[5] but, as Sl. Junaid and the rest had led

[1] If this Persian account of the battle be in its right place in Bābur's diary, it is singular that the narrator should be so ill-informed at a date allowing facts to be known; the three sulṭāns he names as killed escaped to die, Kūchūm in 937 AH.—1530 AD., Abū-sa'īd in 940 AH.—1533 AD., 'Ubaid in 946 AH.—1539 AD. (Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*). It would be natural for Bābur to comment on the mistake, since envoys from two of the sulṭāns reported killed, were in Āgra. There had been time for the facts to be known: the battle was fought on Sep. 26th; the news of it was in Āgra on Nov. 23rd; envoys from both adversaries were at Bābur's entertainment on Dec. 19th. From this absence of comment and for the reasons indicated in note 3 (*infra*), it appears that matter has been lost from the text.

[2] Ṭahmāsp's account of the battle is as follows (*T.-i-Ṭ.* p. 11):—"I marched against the Aūzbegs. The battle took place outside Jām. At the first onset, Aūzbeg prevailed over Qīzīl-bāsh. Ya'qūb Sl. fled and Sl. Wālāma *Taklū* and other officers of the right wing were defeated and put to flight. Putting my trust in God, I prayed and advanced some paces. . . . One of my body-guard getting up with 'Ubaid struck him with a sword, passed on, and occupied himself with another. Qūlīj Bahādur and other Aūzbegs carried off the wounded 'Ubaid; Kūchkūnjī (Kūchūm) Khān and Jānī Khān Beg, when they became aware of this state of affairs, fled to Merv. Men who had fled from our army rejoined us that day. That night I spent on the barren plain (*ṣaḥra'*). I did not know what had happened to 'Ubaid. I thought perhaps they were devising some stratagem against me." The 'A.-'A. says that 'Ubaid's assailant, on seeing his low stature and contemptible appearance, left him for a more worthy foe.

[3] Not only does some comment from Bābur seem needed on an account of deaths he knew had not occurred, but loss of matter may be traced by working backward from his next explicit date (*Friday 19th*), to do which shows fairly well that the "same day" will be not Tuesday the 16th but Thursday the 18th. Ghiāṣu'd-dīn's reception was on the day preceding Friday 19th, so that part of Thursday's record (as shewn by "on this same day"), the whole of Wednesday's, and (to suit an expected comment by Bābur on the discrepant story of the Aūzbeg deaths) part of Tuesday's are missing. The gap may well have contained mention of Ḥasan *Chalabī's* coming (f. 357), or explain why he had not been at the feast with his younger brother.

[4] *qūrchī*, perhaps body-guard, life-guardsman.

[5] As on f. 350*b* (*q.v.* p. 628 n. 1) *aūn altī gūnlūk būljār* (or, *m:ljār*) *bīla.*

out their army for Kharīd,[1] he (Ghīāṣu'd-dīn) was not able to be back at the time fixed.[2] Sl. Junaid said, by word-of-mouth, "Thank God! through His grace, no work worth the Pādshāh's attention has shewn itself in these parts; if the honoured Mīrzā ('Askarī) come, and if the sulṭāns, khāns and amīrs here-abouts be ordered to move in his steps, there is hope that everything in these parts will be arranged with ease." Though such was Sl. Junaid's answer, yet, as people were saying that Mullā Muḥammad Mazhab, who had been sent as envoy to Bengal after the Holy-battle with Sangā the Pagan,[3] would arrive today or tomorrow, his news also was awaited. Fol. 355.

(*Dec. 31st*) On Friday the 19th of the month I had eaten *ma'jūn* and was sitting with a special few in the private house, when Mullā Mazhab who had arrived late, that is to say, in the night of Saturday,[4] came and waited on me. By asking one particular after another, we got to know that the attitude of the Bengalī[5] was understood to be loyal and single-minded.

(*Jan. 2nd*) On Sunday (*Rabī' II. 21st*), I summoned the Turk and Hind amīrs to the private house, when counsel was taken and the following matters were brought forward:—As the Bengalī (Naṣrat Shāh) has sent us an envoy[6] and is said to be loyal and single-minded, to go to Bengal itself would be improper; if the move be not on Bengal, no other place on that side has treasure helpful for the army; several places to the west are both rich and near,

(*Turkī*) Abounding wealth, a pagan people, a short road;
Far though the East lie, this is near.

At length the matter found settlement at this:—As our westward road is short, it will be all one if we delay a few days, so that our minds may be at ease about the East. Again Ghīāṣu'd-dīn the armourer was made to gallop off, with tryst of 20 days,[7] to Fol. 355*b*.

[1] A sub-division of the Ballia district of the United Provinces, on the right bank of the Ghogrā.

[2] *i.e.* in 16 days; he was 24 or 25 days away.

[3] The envoy had been long in returning; Kanwā was fought in March, 1527; it is now the end of 1528 AD.

[4] Rabī' II. 20th—January 1st 1529 AD.; Anglicé, Friday, after 6 p.m.

[5] This "Bengalī" is territorial only; Naṣrat Shāh was a Sayyid's son (f. 271).

[6] Ismā'īl Mītā (f. 357) who will have come with Mullā Mazhab.

[7] *mī'ād*, cf. f. 350*b* and f. 354*b*. Ghīāṣu'd-dīn may have been a body-guard.

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convey written orders to the eastern amīrs for all the sulṭāns, khāns, and amīrs who had assembled in 'Askarī's presence, to move against those rebels.[1] The orders delivered, he was to return by the trysted day with what ever news there might be.

(*hh. Balūchī incursions.*)

In these days Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh made dutiful representation that again Balūchīs had come and overrun several places. Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was appointed for the business; he was to gather to his presence the amīrs from beyond Sihrind and Samāna and with them, equipped for 6 months, to proceed against the Balūchīs; namely, such amīrs as 'Ādil Sulṭān, Sl. Muḥ. *Dūldāī*, Khusrau Kūkūldāsh, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master-of-the-horse, Sayyid 'Alī, Walī Qīzil, Qarācha, Halāhil, 'Āshiq the House-steward, Shaikh 'Alī, Kitta (*Beg Kuhbur*), Gujūr Khān, Ḥasan 'Alī *Sīwādī*. These were to present themselves at the Sulṭān's call and muster and not to transgress his word by road or in halt.[2] The messenger[3] appointed to carry these orders was 'Abdu'l-ghaffār; he was to deliver them first to Chīn-tīmūr Sl., Fol. 356. then to go on and shew them to the afore-named begs who were to present themselves with their troops at whatever place the Sulṭan gave rendezvous (*būljār*);[4] 'Abdu'l-ghaffār himself was to remain with the army and was to make dutiful representation of slackness or carelessness if shewn by any person soever; this done, we should remove the offender from the circle of the approved (*muwajjah-jīrgāsī*) and from his country or *pargana*. These orders having been entrusted to 'Abdu'l-ghaffār, words-of-mouth were made known to him and he was given leave to go.

(*The last explicit date is a week back.*)

[1] Lūdī Afghāns and their friends, including Bīban and Bāyazīd.

[2] *yūllūq tūrālīk*; *Memoirs*, p. 398, "should act in every respect in perfect conformity to his commands"; *Mémoires* ii, 379, "*chacun suivant son rang et sa dignité.*"

[3] *tawāchī*. Bābur's uses of this word support Erskine in saying that "the *tawāchī* is an officer who corresponds very nearly to the Turkish *chāwush*, or special messenger" (Zenker, p. 346, col. iii) "but he was also often employed to act as a commissary for providing men and stores, as a commissioner in superintending important affairs, as an aide-de-camp in carrying orders, *etc.*"

[4] Here the Ḥai. MS. has the full-vowelled form, *būljār*. Judging from what that Codex writes, *būljār* may be used for a rendezvous of troops, *m:ljār* or *b:ljār* for any other kind of tryst (f. 350, p. 628 n. 1; Index *s.nn.*), also for a shelter.

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(*ii. News of the loss of Bihār reaches Dhūlpūr.*)

(*Jan. 9th*) On the eve of Sunday the 28th of the month (*Rabīʿ II.*) we crossed the Jūn (Jumna) at the 6th *garī* of the 3rd watch (2.15 a.m.) and started for the Lotus-garden of Dūlpūr. The 3rd watch was near [1] (Sunday mid-day) when we reached it. Places were assigned on the border of the garden, where begs and the household might build or make camping-grounds for themselves.

(*Jan. 13th*) On Thursday the 3rd of the first Jumāda, a place was fixed in the s.e. of the garden for a Hot-bath; the ground was to be levelled; I ordered a plinth (?) (*kursī*) erected on the levelled ground, and a Bath to be arranged, in one room of which was to be a reservoir 10 × 10.

On this same day Khalīfa sent from Āgra dutiful letters of Qāẓī Jīā and Bīr-sing Deo, saying it had been heard said that Iskandar's son Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had taken Bihār (town). This news decided for getting the army to horse.

(*Jan. 14th*) On Friday (*Jumāda I. 4th*), we rode out from the Lotus-garden at the 6th *garī* (8.15 a.m.); at the Evening Prayer we reached Āgra. We met Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā on the road who would have gone to Dūlpūr, Chīn-tīmūr also who must have been coming into Āgra.[2]

(*Jan. 15th*) On Saturday (*5th*) the counselling begs having been summoned, it was settled to ride eastwards on Thursday the 10th of the month (*Jan. 21st*).

(*jj. News of Badakhshān.*)

On this same Saturday letters came from Kābul with news that Humāyūn, having mustered the army on that side (Tramontana), and joined Sl. Wais to himself, had set out with 40,000 men for Samarkand; [3] on this Sl. Wais' younger brother Fol. 356*b*.

[1] *yāwūshūb aīdī*, which I translate in accordance with other uses of the verb, as meaning approach, but is taken by some other workers to mean "near its end".

[2] Though it is not explicitly said, Chīn-tīmur may have been met with on the road; as the "also" (*ham*) suggests.

[3] To the above news the *Akbar-nāma* adds the important item reported by Humāyūn, that there was talk of peace. Bābur replied that, if the time for negotiation were not past, Humāyūn was to make peace until such time as the affairs of Hindūstān were cleared off. This is followed in the A.N. by a seeming quotation from Bābur's letter, saying in effect that he was about to leave Hindūstān, and that his followers in Kābul and Tramontana must prepare for the expedition against Samarkand which would be made on his own arrival. None of the above matter is now with the *Bābur-nāma*;

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Shāh-qūlī goes and enters Ḥiṣār, Tarsūn Muḥammad leaves Tirmiẓ, takes Qabādiān and asks for help; Humāyūn sends Tūlik Kūkūldāsh and Mīr Khwurd [1] with many of his men and what Mughūls there were, then follows himself.[2]

(*Here 4 days record is wanting.*)

(*kk. Bābur starts for the East.*)

(*Jan. 20th*) On Thursday the 10th of the first Jumāda, I set
Fol. 357. out for the East after the 3rd *garī* (*cir.* 7.10a.m.), crossed Jūn by boat a little above Jalīsīr, and went to the Gold-scattering-garden.[3] It was ordered that the standard (*tūgh*), drum, stable and all the army-folk should remain on the other side of the water, opposite to the garden, and that persons coming for an interview [4] should cross by boat.

(*ll. Arrivals.*)

(*Jan. 22nd*) On Saturday (*12th*) Ismā'īl Mītā, the Bengal envoy brought the Bengalī's offering (Naṣrat Shāh's), and waited on me in Hindūstān fashion, advancing to within an arrow's flight, making his reverence, and retiring. They then put on him the due dress of honour (*khi'lat*) which people call * * * * [5], and

either it was there once, was used by Abū'l-faẓl and lost before the Persian trss. were made; or Abū'l-faẓl used Bābur's original, or copied, letter itself. That desire for peace prevailed is shewn by several matters:—Ṭahmāsp, the victor, asked and obtained the hand of an Aūzbeg in marriage; Aūzbeg envoys came to Āgra, and with them Turk Khwājas having a mission likely to have been towards peace (f. 357*b*); Bābur's wish for peace is shewn above and on f. 359 in a summarized letter to Humāyūn. (Cf. Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-Turk* [*Histoire des Mongols*, Désmaisons' trs. p. 216]; *Akbar-nāma*, H. B.'s trs. i, 270.)

A here-useful slip of reference is made by the translator of the *Akbar-nāma* (*l.c.* n. 3) to the Fragment (*Mémoires* ii, 456) instead of to the *Bābur-nāma* translation (*Mémoires* ii, 381). The utility of the slip lies in its accompanying comment that de C.'s translation is in closer agreement with the *Akbar-nāma* than with Bābur's words. Thus the *Akbār-nāma* passage is brought into comparison with what it is now safe to regard as its off-shoot, through Turkī and French, in the Fragment. When the above comment on their resemblance was made, we were less assured than now as to the genesis of the Fragment (Index *s.n.* Fragment).

[1] Hind-āl's guardian (G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. p. 106, n. 1).

[2] Nothing more about Humāyūn's expedition is found in the B.N.; he left Badakhshān a few months later and arrived in Āgra, after his mother (f. 380*b*), at a date in August of which the record is wanting.

[3] under 6m. from Āgra. Gul-badan (f. 16) records a visit to the garden, during which her father said he was weary of sovereignty. Cf. f. 331*b*, p. 589 n. 2.

[4] *kūrnīsh kilkān kīshīlār.*

[5] MSS. vary or are indecisive as to the omitted word. I am unable to fill the gap. Erskine has "*Sir Māwineḳ* (or hair-twist)" (p. 399), De Courteille, *Sir-mouïneh* (ii, 382). *Mūīna* means ermine, sable and other fine fur (*Shamsu'l-lūghāt*, p 274, col. 1).

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brought him before me. He knelt thrice in our fashion, advanced, handed Naṣrat Shāh's letter, set before me the offering he had brought, and retired.

(*Jan. 24th*) On Monday (*14th*) the honoured Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq having arrived, I crossed the water by boat, went to his tents and waited on him.[1]

(*Jan. 25th*) On Tuesday (*15th*) Ḥasan *Chalabī* arrived and waited on me.[2]

(*mm. Incidents of the eastward march.*)

On account of our aims (*chāpdūq*) for the army,[3] some days were spent in the Chār-bāgh.

(*Jan. 27th*) On Thursday the 17th of the month, that ground was left after the 3rd *garī* (7.10 a.m.), I going by boat. It was dismounted 7 *kurohs* (14 m.) from Āgra, at the village of Anwār.[4]

(*Jan. 30th*) On Sunday (*Jumāda I. 20th*), the Aūzbeg envoys were given their leave. To Kūchūm Khān's envoy Amīn Mīrzā were presented a dagger with belt, cloth of gold,[5] and 70,000 *tankas*.[6] Abū-sa'īd's servant Mullā Ṭaghāī and the servants of Mihr-bān Khānim and her son Pūlād Sl. were made to put on dresses of honour with gold-embroidered jackets, and were presented also with money in accordance with their station. Fol. 357*b*.

(*Jan. 31st*?) Next morning[7] (*Monday 21st*?) leave was given to Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq for stay in Āgra and to Khwāja Yaḥyā's

[1] His brother Ḥaẓrat Makhdūmī Nūrā (Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd) is much celebrated by Ḥaidar Mīrzā, and Bābur describes his own visit in the words he uses of the visit of an inferior to himself. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. pp. 395, 478; *Akbar-nāma* trs., i, 356, 360.

[2] No record survives of the arrival of this envoy or of why he was later in coming than his brother who was at Bābur's entertainment. Cf. f. 361*b*.

[3] Presumably this refers to the appliances mentioned on f. 350*b*.

[4] f. 332, n. 3.

[5] *zarbaft m:l:k*. Amongst gold stuffs imported into Hindūstān, Abū'l-faẓl mentions *mīlak* which may be Bābur's cloth. It came from Turkistān (A.-i-A. Blochmann, p. 92 and n.).

[6] A *tang* is a small silver coin of the value of about a penny (Erskine).

[7] *tānglāsī*, lit. at its dawning. It is not always clear whether *tānglāsī* means, Anglicé, next dawn or day, which here would be Monday, or whether it stands for the dawn (daylight) of the Muḥammadan day which had begun at 6 p.m. on the previous evening, here Sunday. When Bābur records, *e.g.* a late audience, *tānglāsī*, following, will stand for the daylight of the day of audience. The point is of some importance as bearing on discrepancies of days, as these are stated in MSS., with European calendars; it is conspicuously so in Bābur's diary sections.

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grandson Khwāja Kalān for Samarkand, who had come by way of a mission from Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns.[1]

In congratulation on the birth of Humāyūn's son and Kāmrān's marriage, Mullā Tabrīzī and Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī[2] were sent with gifts (*sāchāq*) to each Mīrzā of 10,000 *shāhrukhīs*, a coat I had worn, and a belt with clasps. Through Mullā Bihishtī were sent to Hind-āl an inlaid dagger with belt, an inlaid ink-stand, a stool worked in mother-o'pearl, a tunic and a girdle,[3] together with the alphabet of the Bāburī script and fragments (*qiṭa'lār*) written in that script. To Humāyūn were sent the translation (*tarjuma*) and verses made in Hindūstān.[4] To Hind-āl and Khwāja Kalān also the translation and verses were sent. They were sent too to Kāmrān, through Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī, together with head-lines (*sar-khaṭ*) in the Bāburī script.[5]

(*Feb. 1st*) On Tuesday, after writing letters to be taken by those going to Kābul, the buildings in hand at Āgra and Dūlpūr
Fol. 358 were recalled to mind, and entrusted to the charge of Mullā Qāsim, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter, Mīrak, Mīr Ghiāṣ, Mīr Sang-tarāsh (stone-cutter) and Shāh Bābā the spadesman. Their leave was then given them.

(*Feb. 2nd*) The first watch (6a.m.) was near[6] when we rode out from Anwār (*Wednesday, Jumāda I. 23rd*); in the end,[7] we dismounted, at the Mid-day Prayer, in the village of Ābāpūr, one *kuroh* (2m.) from Chandawār.[8]

(*Feb. 3rd*) On the eve of Thursday (*24th*)[9] 'Abdu'l-malūk the armourer[10] was joined with Ḥasan *Chalabī* and sent as envoy

[1] *risālat ṭarīqī bīla*; their special mission may have been to work for peace (f. 359*b*, n. 1).

[2] He may well be Kāmrān's father-in-law Sl. 'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī *Begchīk*.

[3] *nīmcha u takband*. The *tak-band* is a silk or woollen girdle fastening with a "hook and eye" (Steingass), perhaps with a buckle.

[4] This description is that of the contents of the "*Rāmpūr Dīwān*"; the *tarjuma* being the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* (f. 361 and n.). What is said here shows that four copies went to Kābul or further north. Cf. Appendix Q.

[5] *Sar-khaṭ* may mean "copies" set for Kāmrān to imitate.

[6] *bīr pahr yāwūshūb aīdī*; I.O. 215 f. 221, *qarīb yak pās roz būd*.

[7] *ākhar*, a word which may reveal a bad start and uncertainty as to when and where to halt.

[8] This, and not Chandwār (f. 331*b*), appears the correct form. Neither this place nor Ābāpūr is mentioned in the G. of I.'s Index or shewn in the I.S. Map of 1900 (cf. f. 331*b* n. 3). Chandawār lies s.w. of Fīrūzābād, and near a village called Ṣufīpūr.

[9] Anglicé, Wednesday after 6p.m.

[10] or life-guardsman, body-guard.

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to the Shāh [1]; and Chāpūq [2] was joined with the Aūzbeg envoys and sent to the Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns.

We moved from Ābāpūr while 4 *garīs* of the night remained (4.30a.m.). After passing Chandawār at the top of the dawn, I got into a boat. I landed in front of Rāprī and at the Bed-time Prayer got to the camp which was at Fatḥpūr.[3]

(*Feb. 4th and 5th*) Having stayed one day (*Friday*) at Fatḥpūr, we got to horse on Saturday (*26th*) after making ablution (*wazū*) at dawn. We went through the Morning Prayer in assembly near Rāprī, Maulānā Muḥammad of Fārāb being the leader (*imām*). At sun-rise I got into a boat below the great crook [4] of Rāprī.

Today I put together a line-marker (*misṭar*) of eleven lines [5] in order to write the mixed hands of the translation.[6] Today

[1] This higher title for Ṭahmāsp, which first appears here in the B.N., may be an early slip in the Turkī text, since it occurs in many MSS. and also because "Shāh -zāda" reappears on f. 359.

[2] Slash-face, *balafré*; perhaps Ibrāhīm *Begchīk* (Index *s.n.*), but it is long since he was mentioned by Bābur, at least by name. He may however have come, at this time of reunion in Āgra, with Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī (his uncle or brother ?), father-in-law of Kāmrān.

[3] The army will have kept to the main road connecting the larger towns mentioned and avoiding the ravine district of the Jumna. What the boat-journey will have been between high banks and round remarkable bends can be learned from the G. of I. and Neave's *District Gazetteer of Mainpūrī*. Rāprī is on the road from Fīrūzābād to the ferry for Bateswar, where a large fair is held annually. (It is misplaced further east in the I.S. Map of 1900.) There are two Fatḥpūrs, n.e. of Rāprī.

[4] *aūlūgh tūghāīnīng tūbī*. Here it suits to take the Turkī word *tūghāī* to mean bend of a river, and as referring to the one shaped (on the map) like a soda-water bottle, its neck close to Rāprī. Bābur avoided it by taking boat below its mouth.—In neither Persian translation has *tūghāī* been read to mean a bend of a river; the first has *az pāyān rūīa Rāprī*, perhaps referring to the important ford (*pāyān*); the second has *az zīr bulandī kalān Rāprī*, perhaps referring to a height at the meeting of the bank of the ravine down which the road to the ford comes, with the high bank of the river. Three examples of *tūghāī* or *tūqāī* [a synonym given by Dictionaries], can be seen in Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajrat-i-Turk*, Fraehn's imprint, pp. 106, 107, 119 (Désmaisons' trs. pp. 204, 205, 230). In each instance Désmaisons renders it by *coude*, elbow, but one of the examples may need reconsideration, since the word has the further meanings of wood, dense forest by the side of a river (Vambéry), prairie (Zenker), and reedy plain (Shaw).

[5] Blochmann describes the apparatus for marking lines to guide writing (A.-i-A. trs. p. 52 n. 5):—On a card of the size of the page to be written on, two vertical lines are drawn within an inch of the edges; along these lines small holes are pierced at regular intervals, and through these a string is laced backwards and forwards, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. Over the lines of string the pages are placed and pressed down; the strings then mark the paper sufficiently to guide the writing.

[6] *tarkīb (nīng) khaṭī bīla tarjuma bītīr aūchūn*. The *Rāmpūr Dīwān* may supply the explanation of the uncertain words *tarkīb khaṭī*. The "translation" (*tarjuma*), mentioned in the passage quoted above, is the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*, the first item of the *Dīwān*, in which it is entered on crowded pages, specially insufficient for the larger hand of the chapter-headings. The number of lines per page is 13; Bābur now

the words of the honoured man-of-God admonished my heart.[1]

(*Feb. 6th*) Opposite Jākīn,[2] one of the Rāprī *parganas*, we
Fol. 358*b*. had the boats drawn to the bank and just spent the night in them. We had them moved on from that place before the dawn (*Sunday 27th*), after having gone through the Morning Prayer. When I was again on board, Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad came, bringing a servant of Khwāja Kalān, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad, from whose letters and information particulars about the affairs of Kābul became known.[3] Mahdī Khwāja also came when I was in the boat.[4] At the Mid-day Prayer I landed in a garden opposite Etāwa, there bathed (*ghusl*) in the Jūn, and fulfilled the duty of prayer. Moving nearer towards Etāwa, we sat down in that same garden under trees on a height over-looking the river, and there set the braves to amuse us.[5] Food ordered by Mahdī Khwāja, was set before us. At the Evening Prayer we crossed the river; at the bed-time one we reached camp.

There was a two or three days' delay on that ground both to collect the army, and to write letters in answer to those brought by Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad.

(*nn. Letters various.*)

(*Feb. 9th*) On Wednesday the last day (*30th*) of the 1st Jumāda, we marched from Etāwa, and after doing 8 *kurohs* (16m.), dismounted at Mūrī-and-Adūsa.[6]

fashions a line-marker for 11. He has already despatched 4 copies of the translation (f. 357*b*); he will have judged them unsatisfactory; hence to give space for the mixture of hands (*tarkīb khaṭī*), *i.e.* the smaller hand of the poem and the larger of the headings, he makes an 11 line marker.

[1] Perhaps Aḥrārī's in the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*, perhaps those of Muḥammad. A quatrain in the *Rāmpūr Dīwān* connects with this admonishment [Plate xiv*a*, 2nd quatrain].

[2] Jākhān (*G. of Mainpūrī*). The *G. of Etāwa* (Drake-Brockman) p. 213, gives this as some 18m. n.w. of Etāwa and as lying amongst the ravines of the Jumna.

[3] f. 359*b* allows some of the particulars to be known.

[4] Mahdī may have come to invite Bābur to the luncheon he served shortly afterwards. The Ḥai. MS. gives him the honorific plural; either a second caller was with him or an early scribe has made a slip, since Bābur never so-honours Mahdī. This small point touches the larger one of how Bābur regarded him, and this in connection with the singular story Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad tells in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* about Khalīfa's wish to supplant Humāyūn by Mahdī Khwāja (Index *s.nn.*).

[5] *yīgītlārnī shokhlūqgha sāldūq*, perhaps set them to make fun. Cf. f. 366, *yīgītlār bīr pāra shokhlūq qīldīlār*. Muḥ. *Shīrāzī* (p. 323 *foot*) makes the startling addition of *dar āb* (*andākhtīm*), *i.e.* he says that the royal party flung the braves into the river.

[6] The *Gazetteer of Etāwa* (Drake-Brockman) p. 186, *s.n.* Bāburpūr, writes of two village sites [which from their position are Mūrī-and-Adūsa], as known by the name

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Several remaining letters for Kābul were written on this same ground. One to Humāyūn was to this purport :—If the work have not yet been done satisfactorily, stop the raiders and thieves thyself; do not let them embroil the peace now descending amongst the peoples.[1] Again, there was this :—I have made Kābul a crown-domain, let no son of mine covet it. Again :—that I had summoned Hind-āl. Fol. 359.

Kāmrān, for his part, was written to about taking the best of care in intercourse with the Shāh-zāda,[2] about my bestowal on himself of Multān, making Kābul a crown-domain, and the coming of my family and train.[3]

As my letter to Khwāja Kalān makes several particulars known, it is copied in here without alteration :—[4]

[COPY OF A LETTER TO KHWĀJA KALĀN.]

"After saying 'Salutation to Khwāja Kalān', the first matter is that Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad has reached Etāwa, and that the particulars about Kābul are known."

"Boundless and infinite is my desire to go to those parts.[5] Matters are coming to some sort of settlement in Hindūstān; there is hope, through the Most High, that the work here will soon be arranged. This work brought to order, God willing! my start will be made at once."

"How should a person forget the pleasant things of those countries, especially one who has repented and vowed to sin no more? How should he banish from his mind the permitted flavours of melons and grapes? Taking this opportunity,[6]

Sarāī Bāburpūr from having been Bābur's halting-place. They are 24 m. to the s.e. of Etāwa, on the old road for Kālpī. Near the name Bāburpūr in the Gazetteer Map there is Muhurī (Mūrī ?); there is little or no doubt that Sarāī Bāburpūr represents the camping-ground Mūrī-and-Adūsa.

[1] This connects with Kītīn-qarā's complaints of the frontier-begs (f. 361), and with the talk of peace (f. 356*b*).

[2] This injunction may connect with the desired peace; it will have been prompted by at least a doubt in Bābur's mind as to Kāmrān's behaviour perhaps *e.g.* in manifested dislike for a Shīa'. Concerning the style Shāh-zāda *see* f. 358, p. 643, n. 1.

[3] Kāmrān's mother Gul-rukh *Begchīk* will have been of the party who will have tried in Kābul to forward her son's interests.

[4] f. 348, p. 624, n. 2.

[5] Kābul and Tramontana.

[6] Presumably that of Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad's mission. One of Bābur's couplets expresses longing for the fruits, and also for the "running waters", of lands other than Hindūstān, with conceits recalling those of his English contemporaries in verse, as indeed do several others of his short poems (*Rāmpūr Dīwān* Plate xvii A.).

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a melon was brought to me; to cut and eat it affected me strangely; I was all tears!"

"The unsettled state[1] of Kābul had already been written of
Fol. 359b. to me. After thinking matters over, my choice fell on this:—How should a country hold together and be strong (*marbūṭ u maẓbūṭ*), if it have seven or eight Governors? Under this aspect of the affair, I have summoned my elder sister (Khānzāda) and my wives to Hindūstān, have made Kābul and its neighbouring countries a crown-domain, and have written in this sense to both Humāyūn and Kāmrān. Let a capable person take those letters to the Mīrzās. As you may know already, I had written earlier to them with the same purport. About the safeguarding and prosperity of the country, there will now be no excuse, and not a word to say. Henceforth, if the town-wall[2] be not solid or subjects not thriving, if provisions be not in store or the Treasury not full, it will all be laid on the back of the inefficiency of the Pillar-of-the State."[3]

"The things that must be done are specified below; for some of them orders have gone already, one of these being, 'Let treasure accumulate.' The things which must be done are these:—First, the repair of the fort; again:—the provision of stores; again:—the daily allowance and lodging[4] of envoys going backwards and forwards[5]; again:—let money, taken legally from revenue,[6] be spent for building the Congregational Mosque; again:—the repairs of the Kārwan-sarā (Caravan-sarai) and the Hot-baths; again:—the completion of the unfinished building
Fol. 360. made of burnt-brick which Ūstād Ḥasan 'Alī was constructing in the citadel. Let this work be ordered after taking counsel with Ūstād Sl. Muḥammad; if a design exist, drawn earlier by Ūstād

[1] Ḥai. MS. *nā marbūṭlīghī*; so too the 2nd Pers. trs. but the 1st writes *wairānī u karābī* which suits the matter of defence.

[2] *qūrghān*, walled-town; from the *maẓbūt* following, the defences are meant.

[3] *viz.* Governor Khwāja Kalān, on whose want of dominance his sovereign makes good-natured reflection.

[4] *'alūfa u qūnāl*; cf. 364*b*.

[5] Following *aīlchī* (envoys) there is in the Ḥai. MS. and in I.O. 217 a doubtful word, *būmla, yūmla*; I.O. 215 (which contains a Persian trs. of the letter) is obscure, Ilminsky changes the wording slightly; Erskine has a free translation. Perhaps it is *yaumī*, daily, misplaced (*see* above).

[6] Perhaps, endow the Mosque so as to leave no right of property in its revenues to their donor, here Bābur. Cf. Hughes' *Dict. of Islām* s.nn. *sharī'*, *masjid* and *waqf*.

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Ḥasan 'Alī, let Ūstād Sl. Muḥammad finish the building precisely according to it; if not, let him do so, after making a gracious and harmonious design, and in such a way that its floor shall be level with that of the Audience-hall; again:—the Khwurd-Kābul dam which is to hold up the But-khāk-water at its exit from the Khwurd-Kābul narrows; again:—the repair of the Ghaznī dam[1]; again:—the Avenue-garden in which water is short and for which a one-mill stream must be diverted[2]; again:—I had water brought from Tūtūm-dara to rising ground south-west of Khwāja Basta, there made a reservoir and planted young trees. The place got the name of Belvedere,[3] because it faces the ford and gives a first-rate view. The best of young trees must be planted there, lawns arranged, and borders set with sweet-herbs and with flowers of beautiful colour and scent; again:—Sayyid Qāsim has been named to reinforce thee; again:—do not neglect the condition of matchlockmen and of Ūstād Muḥammad Amīn the armourer[4]; again:—directly this letter arrives, thou must get my elder sister (Khān-zāda Begīm) and my wives right out of Kābul, and escort them to Nīl-āb. However averse they may still be, they most certainly must start within a week of the arrival of this letter. For why? Both because the armies which have gone from Hindūstān to escort them are suffering hardship in a cramped place (*tār yīrdā*), and also because they[5] are ruining the country." Fol. 360*b*.

"Again:—I made it clear in a letter written to 'Abdu'l-lāh (*'asas*), that there had been very great confusion in my mind (*dúghdugha*), to counterbalance being in the oasis (*wādī*) of penitence. This quatrain was somewhat dissuading (*mānī'*):—[6]

[1] f. 139. Khwāja Kalān himself had taken from Hindūstān the money for repairing this dam.

[2] *sāpqūn ālīp*; the 2nd Pers. trs. as if from *sātqūn ālīp, kharīda*, purchasing.

[3] *nazar-gāh*, perhaps, theatre, as showing the play enacted at the ford. Cf. ff. 137, 236, 248*b*. Tūtūn-dara will be Masson's Tūtām-dara. Erskine locates Tūtūn-dara some 8 *kos* (16 m.) n.w. of Hūpīān (Ūpīān). Masson shews that it was a charming place (*Journeys in Biluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panj-āb*, vol. iii, cap. vi and vii).

[4] *jībachī*. Bābur's injunction seems to refer to the maintaining of the corps and the manufacture of armour rather than to care for the individual men involved.

[5] Either the armies in Nīl-āb, or the women in the Kābul-country (f. 375).

[6] Perhaps what Bābur means is, that both what he had said to 'Abdu'l-lāh and what the quatrain expresses, are dissuasive from repentance. Erskine writes (*Mems.* p. 403) but without textual warrant, "I had resolution enough to persevere"; de Courteille (*Mems.* ii, 390), "*Voici un quatrain qui exprime au juste les difficultés de ma position.*"

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Through renouncement of wine bewildered am I ;
How to work know I not, so distracted am I ;
While others repent and make vow to abstain,
I have vowed to abstain, and repentant am I.

A witticism of Banāī's came back to my mind:—One day when he had been joking in 'Alī-sher Beg's presence, who must have been wearing a jacket with buttons,[1] 'Alī-sher Beg said, 'Thou makest charming jokes ; but for the buttons, I would give thee the jacket; they are the hindrance (*māni'*).' Said Banāī, 'What hindrance are buttons ? It is button-holes (*mādagī*) that hinder.'[2] Let responsibility for this story lie on the teller! hold me excused for it ; for God's sake do not be offended by it.[3] Again :—that quatrain was made before last year, and in truth the longing and craving for a wine-party has been infinite and endless for two years past, so much so that sometimes the craving for wine brought me to the verge of tears. Thank God ! this year that trouble has passed from my mind, perhaps by virtue of the
Fol. 361. blessing and sustainment of versifying the translation.[4] Do thou also renounce wine ! If had with equal associates and boon-companions, wine and company are pleasant things ; but with whom canst thou now associate ? with whom drink wine ? If thy boon-companions are Sher-i-aḥmad and Ḥaidar-qulī, it should not be hard for thee to forswear wine. So much said, I salute thee and long to see thee." [5]

The above letter was written on Thursday the 1st of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 10th*). It affected me greatly to write concerning

[1] The surface retort seems connected with the jacket, perhaps with a request for the gift of it.

[2] Clearly what recalled this joke of Banāī's long-silent, caustic tongue was that its point lay ostensibly in a baffled wish—in 'Alī-sher's professed desire to be generous and a professed impediment, which linked in thought with Bābur's desire for wine, baffled by his abjuration. So much Banāī's smart verbal retort shows, but beneath this is the *double-entendre* which cuts at the Beg as miserly and as physically impotent, a defect which gave point to another jeer at his expense, one chronicled by Sām Mīrzā and translated in Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte von schönen Redekünste Persiens*, art. CLV. (Cf. f. 179–80.)—The word *mādagī* is used metaphorically for a button-hole ; like *nā-mardī*, it carries secondary meanings, miserliness, impotence, *etc.* (Cf. Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary s.n.* button-hole, where only we have found *mādagī* with this sense.)

[3] The 1st Pers. trs. expresses "all these jokes", thus including with the double-meanings of *mādagī*, the jests of the quatrain.

[4] The 1st Pers. trs. fills out Bābur's allusive phrase here with "of the *Wālidiyyah*". His wording allows the inference that what he versified was a prose Turkī translation of a probably Arabic original.

[5] Erskine comments here on the non-translation into Persian of Bābur's letters. Many MSS., however, contain a translation (f. 348, p. 624, n. 2 and E.'s n. f. 377*b*).

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those matters, with their mingling of counsel. The letters were entrusted to Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad on Friday night,[1] he was apprized of word-of-mouth messages and given leave to go.

(*oo. Complaints from Balkh.*)

(*Feb. 11th*) On Friday (*Jumāda II. 2nd*) we did 8 *kurohs* (16m.) and dismounted at Jumandnā.[2] Today a servant of Kītīn-qarā Sl. arrived whom the Sulṭān had sent to his retainer and envoy Kamālu'd-din *Qīāq*,[3] with things written concerning the behaviour of the begs of the (Balkh) border, their intercourse with himself, and complaints of theft and raid. Leave to go was given to *Qīāq*, and orders were issued to the begs of the border to put an end to raiding and thieving, to behave well and to maintain intercourse with Balkh. These orders were entrusted to Kītīn -qarā Sl.'s servant and he was dismissed from this ground.

A letter, accepting excuse for the belated arrival of Ḥasan *Chalabī*,[4] was sent to the Shāh today by one Shāh-qulī who had come to me from Ḥasan *Chalabī* and reported the details of the battle (of Jām).[5] Shāh-qulī was given his leave on this same day, the 2nd of the month. Fol. 361*b*.

(*pp. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*Feb. 12th*) On Saturday (*3rd*) we did 8 *kurohs* (16m.) and dismounted in the Kakūra and Chachāwalī[6] *parganas* of Kālpī.

(*Feb. 13th*) On Sunday the 4th of the month, we did 9 *kurohs* (18m.) and dismounted in Dīrapūr[7] a *pargana* of Kālpī. Here I shaved my head,[8] which I had not done for the past two months, and bathed in the Sīngar-water (Sengar).

[1] Anglicé, Thursday after 6 p.m.

[2] What would suit measurement on maps and also Bābur's route is "Jumoheen" which is marked where the Sarāī Bāburpūr-Atsu-Phaphand road turns south, east of Phaphand (I.S. Map of 1900, Sheet 68).

[3] var. *Qabāq*, *Qatāk*, *Qanāk*, to each of which a meaning might be attached. Bābur had written to Humāyūn about the frontier affair, as one touching the desired peace (f. 359).

[4] This will refer to the late arrival in Āgra of the envoy named, who was not with his younger brother at the feast of f. 351*b* (f. 357, p. 641, n. 2).—As to Ṭahmāsp's style, see f. 354, f. 358.

[5] Shāh-qulī may be the ill-informed narrator of f. 354.

[6] Both are marked on the southward road from Jumoheen (Jumandnā?) for Auraiya.

[7] The old Kālpī *pargana* having been sub-divided, Dīrapūr is now in the district of Cawnpore (Kānhpūr).

[8] That this operation was not hair-cutting but head-shaving is shewn by the verbs T. *qīrmāq* and its Pers. trs. *tarāsh kardan*. To shave the head frequently is common in Central Asia.

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(*Feb. 14th*) On Monday (*5th*) we did 14 *kurohs* (28 m.), and dismounted in Chaparkada [1] one of the *parganas* of Kālpī.

(*Feb. 15th*) At the dawn of Tuesday (*6th*), a Hindūstānī servant of Qarācha's arrived who had taken a command (*farmān*) from Māhīm to Qarācha from which it was understood that she was on the road. She had summoned escort from people in Lāhor, Bhīra and those parts in the fashion I formerly wrote orders (*parwānas*) with my own hand. Her command had been written in Kābul on the 7th of the 1st Jumāda (*Jan. 17th*).[2]

(*Feb. 16th*) On Wednesday (*7th*) we did 7 *kurohs* (14 m.), and dismounted in the Ādampūr *pargana*.[3] Today I mounted before dawn, took the road [4] alone, reached the Jūn (Jumna), and went on along its bank. When I came opposite to Ādampūr, I had awnings set up on an island (*ārāl*) near the camp and seated there, ate *ma'jūn*.

Fol. 362. Today we set Ṣādiq to wrestle with Kalāl who had come to Āgra with a challenge.[5] In Āgra he had asked respite for 20 days on the plea of fatigue from his journey; as now 40–50 days had passed since the end of his respite, he was obliged to wrestle. Ṣādiq did very well, throwing him easily. Ṣādiq was given 10,000 *tankas*, a saddled horse, a head-to-foot, and a jacket with buttons; while Kalāl, to save him from despair, was given 3000 *tankas*, spite of his fall.

[1] This will be Chaparghatta on the Dīrapūr-Bhognīpūr-Chaparghatta-Mūsanagar road, the affixes *kada* and *ghatta* both meaning house, temple, *etc.*

[2] Māhīm, and with her the child Gul-badan, came in advance of the main body of women. Bābur seems to refer again to her assumption of royal style by calling her Walī, Governor (f. 369 and n.). It is unusual that no march or halt is recorded on this day.

[3] or, Ārampūr. We have not succeeded in finding this place; it seems to have been on the west bank of the Jumna, since twice Bābur when on the east bank, writes of coming opposite to it (*supra* and f. 379). If no move was made on Tuesday, Jumāda II. 6th (cf. last note), the distance entered as done on Wednesday would locate the halting-place somewhere near the Akbarpūr of later name, which stands on a road and at a ferry. But if the army did a stage on Tuesday, of which Bābur omits mention, Wednesday's march might well bring him opposite to Hamirpūr and to the "Rampur"-ferry. The verbal approximation of Ārampūr and "Rampur" arrests attention.—Local encroachment by the river, which is recorded in the District Gazetteers, may have something to do with the disappearance from these most useful books and from maps, of *pargana* Ādampūr (or, Ārampūr).

[4] *tūshlāb*. It suits best here, since solitude is the speciality of the excursion, to read *tūshmāk* as meaning to take the road, Fr. *cheminer*.

[5] *da'wī bīla*; *Mems.* p. 404, challenge; *Mém.* ii, 391, *il avait fait des façons*, a truth probably, but one inferred only.

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The carts and mortar were ordered landed from the boats, and we spent 3 or 4 days on this same ground while the road was made ready, the ground levelled and the landing effected.

(*Feb. 21st*) On Monday the 12th of the month (*Jumāda II.*), we did 12 *kurohs* (24 m.) and dismounted at Kūrarah.[1] Today I travelled by litter.

(*Feb. 22nd–25th*) After marching 12 *kurohs* (24 m.) from Kūrarah (*13th*), we dismounted in Kūrīa [2] a *pargana* of Karrah. From Kūrīa we marched 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) and dismounted (*14th*) in Fathpūr–Aswa.[3] After 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) done from Fathpūr, we dismounted (*15th*) at Sarāī Munda.[4] . . . Today at the Bed-time Prayer (*Friday 16th, after dark*), Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn (*Sharqī*) [5] came with his two young sons to wait on me.

(*Feb. 26th*) Next day, Saturday the 17th of the month, we did 8 *kurohs* (16 m.), and dismounted at Dugdugī a Karrah *pargana* on the bank of the Gang.[6]

(*Feb. 27th*) On Sunday (*18th*) came to this ground Muḥammad Sl. M., Nī-khūb (or, Bī-khūb) Sl. and Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*, champion). Fol. 362*b*.

(*Feb. 28th*) On Monday (*19th*) 'Askarī also waited on me. They all came from the other side of Gang (Ganges). 'Askarī and his various forces were ordered to march along the other bank of the river keeping opposite the army on this side, and wherever our camp might be, to dismount just opposite it.

(*qq. News of the Afghāns.*)

While we were in these parts news came again and again that Sl. Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had collected 10,000 Afghāns; that he had

[1] This will be more to the south than Kūra Khaṣ, the headquarters of the large district; perhaps it is "Koora Khera" (? Kūra-khirāj) which suits the route (I.S. Map, Sheet 88).

[2] Perhaps Kunda Kanak, known also as "Kuria, Koria, Kura and Kunra Kanak" (*D.G. of Fathpūr*).

[3] Haswa or Hanswa. The conjoint name represents two villages some 6 m. apart, and is today that of their railway-station.

[4] almost due east of Fathpūr, on the old King's Highway (*Bādshāhī Sar-rāh*).

[5] His ancestors had ruled in Jūnpūr from 1394 to 1476 AD., his father Ḥusain Shāh having been conquered by Sl. Sikandar *Lūdī* at the latter date. He was one of three rivals for supremacy in the East (*Sharq*), the others being Jalālu'd-dīn *Nūḥānī* and Maḥmūd *Lūdī*,—Afghāns all three. Cf. Erskine's *History of India, Bābur*, i, 501.

[6] This name appears on the I.S. Map, Sheet 88, but too far north to suit Bābur's distances, and also off the Sarāī Munda-Kusâr-Karrah road. The position of Naubasta suits better.

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detached Shaikh Bāyazīd and Bīban with a mass of men towards Sarwār [Gorakhpūr]; that he himself with Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* was on his way along the river for Chunār; that Sher Khān *Sūr* whom I had favoured last year with the gift of several *parganas* and had left in charge of this neighbourhood,[1] had joined these Afghāns who thereupon had made him and a few other amīrs cross the water; that Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn's man in Benares had not been able to hold that place, had fled, and got away; what he was understood to have said being, that he had left soldiers (*sipahīlār*) in Benares-fort and gone along the river to fight Sl. Maḥmūd.[2]

(*rr. Incidents of the march resumed.*)

(*March 1st*) Marching from Dugdugī (*Tuesday, Jumāda II. 20th*) the army did 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) and dismounted at Kusār,[3] 3 or 4 *kurohs* from Karrah. I went by boat. We stayed here 3 or 4
Fol. 363. days because of hospitality offered by Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn.

(*March 4th*) On Friday (*23rd*), I dismounted at Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn's house inside Karrah-fort where, host-like, he served me a portion of cooked meat and other viands.[4] After the meal, he and his sons were dressed in unlined coats (*yaktāī jāmah*) and short tunics (*nīmcha*).[5] At his request his elder son was given the style Sl. Maḥmūd.[6] On leaving Karrah, I rode about one *kuroh* (2 m.) and dismounted on the bank of Gang.

Here letters were written and leave was given to Shahrak Beg who had come from Māhīm to our first camp on Gang (*i.e.* Dugdugī). As Khwāja Yaḥyā's grandson Khwāja Kalān

[1] Sher Khān was associated with Dūdū Bībī in the charge of her son's affairs. Bābur's favours to him, his son Humāyūn's future conqueror, will have been done during the Eastern campaign in 934 AH.; of which so much record is missing. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D.'s *History of India*, iv, 301 *et seq.* for particulars of Sher Khān (Farīd Khān *Sūr Afghān*).

[2] In writing "Sl. Maḥmūd", Bābur is reporting his informant's style, he himself calling Maḥmūd "Khān" only (f. 363 and f. 363*b*).

[3] This will be the more northerly of two Kusārs marked as in Karrah; even so, it is a very long 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) from the Dugdugī of the I.S. Map (cf. n. *supra*).

[4] *bīr pāra āsh u ta'ām*, words which suggest one of those complete meals served, each item on its separate small dish, and all dishes fitting like mosaic into one tray. T. *āsh* is cooked meat (f. 2 n. 1 and f. 343*b*); Ar. *ta'ām* will be sweets, fruit, bread, perhaps rice also.

[5] The *yaktāī*, one-fold coat, contrasts with the *dū-tāhī*, two-fold (A.-i-A. Bib. Ind. ed., p. 101, and Blochmann's trs. p. 88).

[6] This acknowledgement of right to the style Sulṭān recognized also supremacy of the Sharqī claim to rule over that of the Nūḥānī and Lūdī competitors.

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had been asking for the records I was writing,[1] I sent him by Shahrak a copy I had had made.

(*March 5th*) On Saturday move was made at dawn (*24th*), I going by boat direct, and after 4 *kurohs* done (8 m.), halt was made at Koh.[2] Our ground, being so near, was reached quite early. After awhile, we seated ourselves inside[3] a boat where we ate *ma'jūn*. We invited the honoured Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd[4] who was said to be in Nūr Beg's quarters (*awī*), invited also Mullā Maḥmūd (*Farābī*?), bringing him from Mullā 'Alī Khān's. After staying for some time on that spot, we crossed the river, and on the other side, set wrestlers to wrestle. In opposition to the rule of gripping the strongest first, Dost-i-yāsīn -khair was told not to grapple with Champion Ṣādiq, but with others; he did so very well with eight. Fol. 363*b*.

(*ss. News of the Afghān enemy.*)

At the Afternoon Prayer, Sl. Muḥammad the Pay-master came by boat from the other side of the river, bringing news that the army of Sl. Iskandar's son Maḥmūd Khān whom rebels style

[1] *mīndīn bītī tūrgān waqāī'*. This passage Teufel used to support his view that Bābur's title for his book was *Waqāī'*, and not *Bābur-nāma* which, indeed, Teufel describes as the *Kazaner Ausgabe adoptirte Titel*. *Bābur-nāma*, however, is the title [or perhaps, merely scribe's name] associated both with Kehr's text and with the Ḥaidarābād Codex.—I have found no indication of the selection by Bābur of any title; he makes no mention of the matter and where he uses the word *waqāī'* or its congeners, it can be read as a common noun. In his colophon to the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*, it is a parallel of *ash'ār*, poems. Judging from what is found in the *Mubīn*, it may be right to infer that, if he had lived to complete his book—now broken off *s.a.* 914 AH. (f. 216*b*)—he would have been explicit as to its title, perhaps also as to his grounds for choosing it. Such grounds would have found fitting mention in a preface to the now abrupt opening of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 1*b*), and if the *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* be Tīmūr's authentic autobiography, this book might have been named as an ancestral example influencing Bābur to write his own. Nothing against the authenticity of the *Malfūzāt* can be inferred from the circumstance that Bābur does not name it, because the preface in which such mention would be in harmony with *e.g.* his *Walidiyyah* preface, was never written. It might accredit the *Malfūzāt* to collate passages having common topics, as they appear in the *Bābur-nāma*, *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* and *Ẓafar-nāma* (cf. E. & D.'s H. of I. iv, 559 for a discussion by Dr. Sachau and Prof. Dowson on the *Malfūzāt*). (Cf. Z.D.M. xxxvii, p. 184, Teufel's art. *Bābur und Abū'l-faẓl*; Smirnow's Cat. of *Manuscrits Turcs*, p. 142; Index *in loco s.nn. Mubīn* and Title.)

[2] Koh-khirāj, Revenue-paying Koh (H. G. Nevill's *D. G. of Allāhābād*, p. 261).

[3] *kīma aīchīdā*, which suggests a boat with a cabin, a *bajrā* (*Hobson-Jobson s.n.* budgerow).

[4] He had stayed behind his kinsman Khwāja Kalān. Both, as Bābur has said, were descendants of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrārī*. Khwāja Kalān was a grandson of Aḥrārī's second son Yaḥyā; Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd was the son of his fifth, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-lāh (Khwājagān-khwāja). 'Abdu'sh-shahīd returned to India under Akbar, received a fief, maintained 2,000 poor persons, left after 20 years, and died in Samarkand in 982 AH.—1574–5 AD. (A.-i-A., Blochmann's trs. and notes, pp. 423, 539).

Sl. Maḥmūd,[1] had broken up. The same news was brought in by a spy who had gone out at the Mid-day Prayer from where we were; and a dutiful letter, agreeing with what the spy had reported, came from Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī* between the Afternoon and Evening Prayers. Sl. Muḥammad gave the following particulars:—that the rebels on reaching Chunār seemed to have laid siege to it and to have done a little fighting, but had risen in disorderly fashion when they heard of our approach; that Afghāns who had crossed the river for Benares, had turned back in like disorder; that two of their boats had sunk in crossing and a body of their men been drowned.

(*tt. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*March 6th*) After marching at Sunday's dawn (*25th*) and doing 6 *kurohs* (12 m.), Sīr-auliya,[2] a *pargana* of Pīāg *[3] was reached. I went direct by boat.

Aīsan-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. had dismounted halfway, and were waiting to see me.[4] I, for my part, invited them into the boat. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. must have wrought magic, for a bitter wind rose and rain began to fall. It became quite windy (?)[5] on which account I ate *ma'jūn*, although I had done so on the previous day. Having come to the encamping-ground . . .[6]

[1] f. 363, f. 363*b*.

[2] Not found on maps; OOjani or Ujahni about suits the measured distance.

[3] Prayāg, Ilāhābād, Allāhābād. Between the asterisk in my text (*supra*) and the one following "ford" before the foliation mark f. 364, the Ḥai. MS. has a lacuna which, as being preceded and followed by broken sentences, can hardly be due to a scribe's skip, but may result from the loss of a folio. What I have entered above between the asterisks is translated from the Kehr-Ilminsky text; it is in the two Persian translations also. Close scrutiny of it suggests that down to the end of the swimming episode it is not in order and that the account of the swim across the Ganges may be a survival of the now missing record of 934 AH. (f. 339). It is singular that the Pers. trss. make no mention of Pīāg or of Sīr-auliya; their omission arouses speculation, as to in which text, the Turkī or Persian, it was first tried to fill what remains a gap in the Ḥai. Codex. A second seeming sign of disorder is the incomplete sentence *yūrtgha kīlīb*, which is noted below. A third is the crowd of incidents now standing under "Tuesday". A fourth, and an important matter, is that on grounds noted at the end of the swimming passage (p. 655 n. 3) it is doubtful whether that passage is in its right place.—It may be that some-one, at an early date after Bābur's death, tried to fill the *lacuna* discovered in his manuscript, with help from loose folios or parts of them. Cf. Index *s.n.* swimming, and f. 377*b*, p. 680 n. 2.

[4] The Chaghatāī sulṭāns will have been with 'Askarī east of the Ganges.

[5] *tūr hawālīk*; *Mems.* p. 406, violence of the wind; *Mém.* ii, 398, *une température très agréable.*

[6] *yūrtgha kīlīb*, an incomplete sentence.

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(*March 7th*?) Next day (*Monday 26th*?) we remained on the same ground.

(*March 8th*?) On Tuesday (*27th*?) we marched on.

Opposite the camp was what may be an island,[1] large and verdant. I went over by boat to visit it, returning to the boat during the 1st watch (6–9a.m.). While I rode carelessly along the ravine (*jar*) of the river, my horse got to where it was fissured and had begun to give way. I leapt off at once and flung myself on the bank; even the horse did not go down; probably, however, if I had stayed on its back, it and I would have gone down together.

On this same day, I swam the Gang-river (Ganges), counting every stroke;[2] I crossed with 33, then, without resting, swam back. I had swum the other rivers, Gang had remained to do.[3]

We reached the meeting of the waters of Gang and Jūn at the Evening Prayer, had the boat drawn to the Pīāg side, and got to camp at 1 watch, 4 *garīs* (10.30p.m.).

(*March 9th*) On Wednesday (*Jumāda II. 28th*) from the 1st watch onwards, the army began to cross the river Jūn; there were 420 boats.[4]

(*March 11th*) On Friday, the 1st of the month of Rajab, I crossed the river.

(*March 14th*) On Monday, the 4th of the month, the march

[1] *ārāl bār aīkāndūr*, phrasing implying uncertainty; there may have been an island, or such a peninsula as a narrow-mouthed bend of a river forms, or a spit or bluff projecting into the river. The word *ārāl* represents *Aīkī-sū-ārāsī*, *Miyān-dū-āb*, *Entre-eaux*, Twixt-two-streams, Mesopotamia.

[2] *qūl*; Pers. trss. *dast andākhtan* and *dast*. Presumably the 33 strokes carried the swimmer across the deep channel, or the Ganges was crossed higher than Pīāg.

[3] The above account of Bābur's first swim across the Ganges which is entered under date Jumāda II. 27th, 935 AH. (March 8th, 1529AD.), appears misplaced, since he mentions under date Rajab 25th, 935AH. (April 4th, 1529AD. f. 366*b*), that he had swum the Ganges at Baksara (Buxar) a year before, *i.e.* on or close to Rajab 25th, 934AH. (April 15th, 1528AD.). Nothing in his writings shews that he was near Pīāg (Allāhābād) in 934AH.; nothing indisputably connects the swimming episode with the "Tuesday" below which it now stands; there is no help given by dates. One supposes Bābur would take his first chance to swim the Ganges; this was offered at Qanauj (f. 336), but nothing in the short record of that time touches the topic. The next chance would be after he was in Aūd, when, by an unascertained route, perhaps down the Ghogrā, he made his way to Baksara where he says (f. 366*b*) he swam the river. Taking into consideration the various testimony noted, [Index *s.n.* swimming] there seems warrant for supposing that this swimming passage is a survival of the missing record of 934AH. (f. 339). Cf. f. 377*b*, p. 680 and n. 2 for another surmised survival of 934AH.

[4] "Friday" here stands for Anglicé, Thursday after 6p.m.; this, only, suiting Bābur's next explicit date Sha'bān 1st, Saturday.

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for Bihār began along the bank of Jūn. After 5 *kurohs* (10m.) done, halt was made at Lawāīn.[1] I went by boat. The people of the army were crossing the Jūn up to today. They were ordered to put the culverin-carts[2] which had been landed at Ādampūr, into boats again and to bring them on by water from Pīāg.

On this ground we set wrestlers to wrestle. Dost-i-yāsīn -khair gripped the boatman Champion of Lāhor; the contest was stubborn; it was with great difficulty that Dost gave the throw. A head-to-foot was bestowed on each.

(*March 15th and 16th*) People said that ahead of us was a swampy, muddy, evil river called Tūs.[3] In order to examine the ford * [4] and repair the road, we waited two days (*Tuesday Ramzān 5th and Wednesday 6th*) on this ground. For the horses and camels a ford was found higher up, but people said laden carts could not get through it because of its uneven, stony bottom.
Fol. 364. They were just ordered to get them through.

(*March 17th*) On Thursday (*7th*) we marched on. I myself went by boat down to where the Tūs meets the Gang (Ganges), there landed, thence rode up the Tūs, and, at the Other Prayer,

[1] The march, beginning on the Jumna, is now along the united rivers.

[2] *ẓarb-zanlīk arābalār*. Here the carts are those carrying the guns.

[3] From the particulars Bābur gives about the Tūs (Tons) and Karmā-nāsā, it would seem that he had not passed them last year, an inference supported by what is known of his route in that year:—He came from Gūālīār to the Kanār-passage (f. 336), there crossed the Jumna and went direct to Qanauj (f. 335), above Qanauj bridged the Ganges, went on to Bangarmāu (f. 338), crossed the Gūmtī and went to near the junction of the Ghogrā and Sardā (f. 338*b*). The next indication of his route is that he is at Baksara, but whether he reached it by water down the Ghogrā, as his meeting with Muḥ. Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* suggests (f. 377), or by land, nothing shews. From Baksara (f. 366) he went up-stream to Chausa (f. 365*b*), on perhaps to Sayyidpūr, 2m. from the mouth of the Gūmtī, and there left the Ganges for Jūnpūr (f. 365). I have found nothing about his return route to Āgra; it seems improbable that he would go so far south as to near Pīāg; a more northerly and direct road to Fatḥpūr and Sarāī Bāburpūr may have been taken.—Concerning Bābur's acts in 934 AH. the following item, (met with since I was working on 934 AH.), continues his statement (f. 338*b*) that he spent a few days near Aūd (Ajōdhya) to settle its affairs. The *D. G. of Fyzābāa* (H. E. Nevill) p. 173 says "In 1528 AD. Bābur came to Ajodhya (Aūd) and halted a week. He destroyed the ancient temple" (marking the birth-place of Rāma) "and on its site built a mosque, still known as Bābur's Mosque . . . It has two inscriptions, one on the outside, one on the pulpit; both are in Persian; and bear the date 935 AH." This date may be that of the completion of the building.—(*Corrigendum*:—On f. 339 n. 1, I have too narrowly restricted the use of the name Sarjū. Bābur used it to describe what the maps of Arrowsmith and Johnson shew, and not only what the *Gazetteer of India* map of the United Provinces does. It applies to the Sardā (f. 339) as Bābur uses it when writing of the fords.)

[4] Here the lacuna of the Ḥai. Codex ends.

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reached where the army had encamped after crossing the ford. Today 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) were done.

(*March 18th*) Next day (*Friday 8th*), we stayed on that ground.

(*March 19th*) On Saturday (*9th*), we marched 12 *kurohs* and got to the bank of Gang again at Nulibā.[1]

(*March 20th*) Marching on (*Sunday 10th*), we did 6 *kurohs* of road, and dismounted at Kintit.[2]

(*March 21st*) Marching on (*Monday 11th*), we dismounted at Nānāpur.[3] Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī* came from Chunār to this ground with his two young sons, and waited on me.

In these days a dutiful letter came from Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad, saying that my family and train were understood to be really on their way from Kābul.[4]

(*March 23rd*) On Wednesday (*13th*) we marched from that ground. I visited the fort of Chunār, and dismounted about one *kuroh* beyond it.

During the days we were marching from Pīāg, painful boils had come out on my body. While we were on this ground, an Ottoman Türk (Rūmī) used a remedy which had been recently discovered in Rūm. He boiled pepper in a pipkin; I held the sores in the steam and, after steaming ceased, laved them with the hot water. The treatment lasted 2 sidereal hours.

While we were on this ground, a person said he had seen tiger and rhinoceros on an *ārāl*[5] by the side of the camp.

(*March 24th*?) In the morning (*14th*?), we made the hunting-circle[6] on that *ārāl*, elephants also being brought. Neither tiger nor rhino appeared; one wild buffalo came out at the end of the line. A bitter wind rising and the whirling dust being very troublesome, I went back to the boat and in it to the camp which was 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) above Banāras. Fol. 364*b*.

[1] Perhaps, where there is now the railway station of "Nulibai" (I.S. Map). The direct road on which the army moved, avoids the windings of the river.

[2] This has been read as T. *kīnt*, P. *dih*, Eng. village and Fr. *village*.

[3] "Nankunpur" lying to the north of Puhari railway-station suits the distance measured on maps.

[4] These will be the women-travellers.

[5] Perhaps jungle tracts lying in the curves of the river.

[6] *jīrga*, which here stands for the beaters' incurving line, witness the exit of the buffalo at the end. Cf. f. 367*b* for a *jīrga* of boats.

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(*uu. News of the Afghāns.*)

(*March 25th* (?) *and 26th*) Having heard there were many elephants in the Chunār jungles, I had left (Thursday's) ground thinking to hunt them, but Ṭāj Khān bringing the news (*Friday 15th* (?)) that Maḥmūd Khān (*Lūdī*) was near the Son-water, I summoned the begs and took counsel as to whether to fall upon him suddenly. In the end it was settled to march on continuously, fast[1] and far.

(*March 27th*) Marching on (*Sunday 17th*), we did 9 *kurohs* (18 m.), and dismounted at the Bilwah-ferry.[2]

(*March 28th*) On Monday night[3] the 18th of the month, Ṭāhir was started for Āgra from this camp (Bilwah-ferry), taking money-drafts for the customary gifts of allowance and lodging[4] to those on their way from Kābul.

Before dawn next morning (Monday) I went on by boat. When we came to where the Gūī-water (Gūmtī) which is the water of Jūnpūr, meets the Gang-water (Ganges), I went a little
Fol. 365. way up it and back. Narrower[5] though it is, it has no ford; the army-folk crossed it (last year) by boat, by raft, or by swimming their horses.

To look at our ground of a year ago,[6] from which we had started for Jūnpūr,[7] I went to about a *kuroh* lower than the mouth of the Jūnpūr-water (Gūmtī). A favourable wind getting up behind, our larger boat was tied to a smaller Bengalī one which, spreading its sail, made very quick going. Two *garīs* of day remained (5.15 p.m.) when we had reached that ground (Sayyidpur?), we went on without waiting there, and by the Bed-time Prayer had got to camp, which was a *kuroh* above Madan-Benāres,[8] long before the boats following us. Mughūl Beg had been ordered to

[1] *aūzūn aūzāgh*, many miles and many hours?

[2] Bulloa? (I.S. Map).

[3] Anglicé, Sunday after 6 p.m.

[4] *'alufa u qunal* (f. 359*b*).

[5] than the Ganges perhaps; or narrowish compared with other rivers, *e.g.* Ganges, Ghogrā, and Jūn.

[6] *yīl-tūrgī yūrt*, by which is meant, I think, close to the same day a year back, and not an indefinite reference to some time in the past year.

[7] Maps make the starting-place likely to be Sayyidpūr.

[8] re-named Zamānīa, after Akbar's officer 'Alī-qulī Khān Khān-i-zamān, and now the head-quarters of the Zamānīa *pargana* of Ghāzīpūr. Madan-Benāres was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Ghāzīpūr. (It was not identified by E. or by de C.) Cf. *D.G. of Ghāzīpūr.*

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measure all marches from Chunār on the direct road, Luṭfī Beg to measure the river's bank whenever I went by boat. The direct road today was said to be 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), the distance along the river, 18 (36 m.).

(*March 29th*) Next day (*Tuesday 19th*), we stayed on that ground.

(*March 30th*) On Wednesday (*20th*), we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 m.) below Ghāzīpūr, I going by boat.

(*March 31st*) On Thursday (*21st*) Maḥmūd Khān *Nuḥānī*[1] waited on me on that ground. On this same day dutiful letters[2] came from Bihār Khān *Bihārī's* son Jalāl Khān (*Nuḥānī*),[3] from Naṣīr Khān (*Nūḥānī*)'s son Farīd Khān,[4] from Sher Khān *Sūr*, from 'Alāūl Khān *Sūr* also, and from other Afghān amīrs. Today Fol. 365*b*. came also a dutiful letter from 'Abdu'l-'azīz *Master-of-the-horse*, which had been written in Lāhor on the 20th of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 29th*), the very day on which Qarācha's Hindūstānī servant whom we had started off from near Kālpī,[5] reached Lāhor. 'Abdu'l-'azīz wrote that he had gone with the others assigned to meet my family at Nīl-āb, had met them there on the 9th of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 18th*), had accompanied them to Chīn-āb (Chan-āb), left them there, and come ahead to Lāhor where he was writing his letter.

(*April 1st*) We moved on, I going by boat, on Friday (*Rajab 22nd*). I landed opposite Chausā to look at the ground of a year ago[6] where the Sun had been eclipsed and a fast kept.[7] After I got back to the boat, Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, coming up behind by boat, overtook me; at his suggestion *ma'jūn* was eaten.

The army had dismounted on the bank of the Karmā-nāśā-river, about the water of which Hindūs are understood to be extremely scrupulous. 'They do not cross it, but go past its

[1] In the earlier part of the Ḥai. Codex this Afghān tribal-name is written Nūḥānī, but in this latter portion a different scribe occasionally writes it Lūḥānī (Index *s.n.*).

[2] *'arza-dāsht, i.e.* phrased as from one of lower station to a superior.

[3] His letter may have announced his and his mother Dūdū Bībī's approach (f. 368–9).

[4] Naṣīr Khān had been an amīr of Sl. Sikandar *Lūdī*. Sher Khān *Sūr* married his widow "Guhar Kusāīn", bringing him a large dowry (A.N. trs. p. 327; and *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhi*, E. & D.'s *History of India* iv, 346).

[5] He started from Chaparghatta (f. 361*b*, p. 650 n. 1).

[6] *yīl-tūrgī yūrt*.

[7] "This must have been the Eclipse of the 10th of May 1528 AD.; a fast is enjoined on the day of an eclipse" (Erskine).

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mouth by boat along the Gang (Ganges). They firmly believe that, if its water touch a person, the merit of his works is destroyed; with this belief its name accords.[1] I went some way up it by
Fol. 366. boat, turned back, went over to the north bank of Gang, and tied up. There the braves made a little fun, some wrestling. Muḥsin the cup-bearer challenged, saying, "I will grapple with four or five." The first he gripped, he threw; the second, who was Shādmān (Joyous), threw him, to Muḥsin's shame and vexation. The (professional) wrestlers came also and set to.

(*April 2nd*) Next morning, Saturday (*23rd*) we moved, close to the 1st watch (6 a.m.), in order to get people off to look at the ford through the Karmā-nāśā-water. I rode up it for not less than a *kuroh* (2 m.), but the ford being still far on,[2] took boat and went to the camp below Chausā.

Today I used the pepper remedy again; it must have been somewhat hotter than before, for it blistered (*qāpārdī*) my body, giving me much pain.

(*April 3rd*) We waited a day for a road to be managed across a smallish, swampy rivulet heard to be ahead.[3]

(*April 4th*) On the eve of Monday (*25th*),[4] letters were written and sent off in answer to those brought by the Hindūstānī footman of 'Abdu'l-'azīz.

The boat I got into at Monday's dawn, had to be towed because of the wind. On reaching the ground opposite Baksara (Buxar)
Fol. 366*b*. where the army had been seated many days last year,[5] we went over to look at it. Between 40 and 50 landing-steps had been then made on the bank; of them the upper two only were left, the river having destroyed the rest. *Ma'jūn* was eaten after return to the boat. We tied up at an *ārāl*[6] above the camp, set the champions to wrestle, and went on at the Bed-time Prayer. A year ago (*yīl-tūr*), an excursion had been made to look at the ground on which the camp now was, I passing through Gang

[1] Karmā-nāśā means loss of the merit acquired by good works.
[2] The I.S. Map marks a main road leading to the mouth of the Karmā-nāśā and no other leading to the river for a considerable distance up-stream.
[3] Perhaps "Thora-nadee" (I.S. Map).
[4] Anglicé, Sunday after 6 p.m.
[5] *aūlkān yīl.*
[6] Perhaps the *dū-āba* between the Ganges and "Thora-nadee".

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swimming (? *dastak bīla*),[1] some coming mounted on horses, some on camels. That day I had eaten opium.

(*vv. Incidents of the military operations.*)

(*April 5th*) At Tuesday's dawn (*26th*), we sent out for news not under 200 effective braves led by Karīm-bīrdī and Ḥaidar the stirrup-holder's son Muḥammad 'Alī and Bābā Shaikh.

While we were on this ground, the Bengal envoy was commanded to set forth these three articles :—[2]

(*April 6th*) On Wednesday (*27th*) Yūnas-i-'alī who had been sent to gather Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā's objections to Bihār, brought back rather a weak answer.

Dutiful letters from the (Farmūlī) Shaikh-zādas of Bihār gave news that the enemy had abandoned the place and gone off.

(*April 7th*) On Thursday (*28th*) as many as 2000 men of the Turk and Hind amīrs and quiver-wearers were joined to Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang's* son Tardī-muḥammad, and he was Fol. 367. given leave to go; taking letters of royal encouragement to people in Bihār. He was joined also by Khwāja Murshid *'Irāqī* who had been made Dīwān of Bihār.

(*April 8th* (?)) Muḥammad-i-zamān M. who had consented to go to Bihār, made representation of several matters through

[1] *yīl-tūr . . . Gang-sūī-dīn mīn dastak bīla aūtūb, ba'ẓī āt, ba'ẓī tīwah mīnīb, kilīb, sair qīlīlīb aīdī.* Some uncertainty as to the meaning of the phrase *dastak bīla aūtūb* is caused by finding that while here de Courteille agrees with Erskine in taking it to mean swimming, he varies later (f. 373*b*) to *appuyés sur une pièce de bois.* Taking the Persian translations of three passages about crossing water into consideration (p. 655 after f. 363*b*, f. 366*b* (here), f. 373*b*), and also the circumstances that E. and de C. are once in agreement and that Erskine worked with the help of Oriental *munshīs*, I incline to think that *dastak bīla* does express swimming.—The question of its precise meaning bears on one concerning Bābur's first swim across the Ganges (p. 655, n. 3).—Perhaps I should say, however, that if the sentence quoted at the head of this note stood alone, without the extraneous circumstances supporting the reading of *dastak bīla* to mean swimming, I should incline to read it as stating that Bābur went on foot through the water, feeling his footing with a pole (*dastak*), and that his followers rode through the ford after him. Nothing in the quoted passage suggests that the horses and camels swam. But whether the Ganges was fordable at Baksara in Bābur's time, is beyond surmise.

[2] *faṣl soz*, which, manifestly, were to be laid before the envoy's master. The articles are nowhere specified ; one is summarized merely on f. 365. The incomplete sentence of the Turkī text (*supra*) needs their specification at this place, and an explicit statement of them would have made clearer the political relations of Bābur with Naṣrat Shāh.—A folio may have been lost from Bābur's manuscript ; it might have specified the articles, and also have said something leading to the next topic of the diary, now needing preliminaries, *viz.* that of the Mīrzā's discontent with his new appointment, a matter not mentioned earlier.

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Shaikh Zain and Yūnas-i-'alī. He asked for reinforcement; for this several braves were inscribed and several others were made his own retainers.

(*April 9th*).[1] On Saturday the 1st of the month of Sha'bān, we left that ground where we had been for 3 or 4 days. I rode to visit Bhūjpūr and Bihiya,[2] thence went to camp.

Muḥammad 'Alī and the others, who had been sent out for news, after beating a body of pagans as they went along, reached the place where Sl. Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had been with perhaps 2000 men. He had heard of our reconnaissance, had broken up, killed two elephants of his, and marched off. He seemed to have left braves and an elephant [3] scout-fashion; they made no stand when our men came up but took to flight. Ours unhorsed a few of his, cut one head off, brought in a few good men alive.

(*ww. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*April 10th*) We moved on next day (*Sunday 2nd*), I going by boat. From our today's ground Muḥammad-i-zamān M. crossed (his army) over the river (Son), leaving none behind. We spent 2 or 3 days on this ground in order to put his work through and
Fol. 367*b*. get him off.

(*April 13th*) On Wednesday the 4th[4] of the month, Muḥammad-i-zamān M. was presented with a royal head-to-foot, a sword and belt, a *tīpūchāq* horse and an umbrella.[5] He also was made to kneel (*yūkūndūrūldī*) for the Bihār country. Of the Bihār revenues one *krūr* and 25 *laks* were reserved for the Royal Treasury; its Dīwānī was entrusted to Murshid '*Irāqī*.

(*April 14th*) I left that ground by boat on Thursday (*6th*). I had already ordered the boats to wait, and on getting up with them, I had them fastened together abreast in line.[6] Though all

[1] This suits Bābur's series, but Gladwin and Wüstenfeld have 10th.

[2] The first is near, the second on the direct road from Buxar for Ārrah.

[3] The Ḥai. MS. makes an elephant be posted as the sole scout; others post a *sardār*, or post braves; none post man and beast.

[4] This should be 5th; perhaps the statement is confused through the gifts being given late, Anglicé, on Tuesday 4th, Islamicé on Wednesday night.

[5] The Mīrzā's Tīmūrid birth and a desire in Bābur to give high status to a representative he will have wished to leave in Bihār when he himself went to his western dominions, sufficiently explain the bestowal of this sign of sovereignty.

[6] *jīrgā*. This instance of its use shews that Bābur had in mind not a completed circle, but a line, or in sporting parlance, not a hunting-circle but a beaters'-line. [Cf. f. 251, f. 364*b* and *infra* of the crocodile.] The word is used also for a governing-circle, a tribal-council.

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were not collected there, those there were greatly exceeded the breadth of the river. They could not move on, however, so-arranged, because the water was here shallow, there deep, here swift, there still. A crocodile (*gharīāl*) shewing itself, a terrified fish leaped so high as to fall into a boat; it was caught and brought to me.

When we were nearing our ground, we gave the boats names:— Fol. 368.
a large[1] one, formerly the Bāburī,[2] which had been built in Āgra before the Holy-battle with Sangā, was named Asāīsh (Repose).[3] Another, which Arāīsh Khān had built and presented to me this year before our army got to horse, one in which I had had a platform set up on our way to this ground, was named Arāīsh (Ornament). Another, a good-sized one presented to me by Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*, was named the Gunjāīsh (Capacious); in it I had ordered a second platform set up, on the top of the one already in it. To a little skiff, having a *chaukandī*,[4] one used for every task (*har āīsh*) and duty, was given the name Farmāīsh (Commissioned).

(*April 15th*) Next day, Friday (*7th*), no move was made. Muḥammad-i-zamān M. who, his preparations for Bihār complete, had dismounted one or two *kurohs* from the camp, came today to take leave of me.[5]

(*xx. News of the army of Bengal.*)

Two spies, returned from the Bengal army, said that Bengalīs[6] under Makhdūm-i-'ālam were posted in 24 places on the Gandak and there raising defences; that they had hindered the Afghāns from carrying out their intention to get their families across the

[1] *aūlūgh* (*kīma*). Does *aūlūgh* (*aūlūq*, *ūlūq*) connect with the "bulky Oolak or baggage-boat of Bengal"? (*Hobson-Jobson s.n.* Woolock, oolock).

[2] De Courteille's reading of Ilminsky's "Bāburī" (p. 476) as Bāīrī, old servant, hardly suits the age of the boat.

[3] Bābur anticipated the custom followed *e.g.* by the White Star and Cunard lines, when he gave his boats names having the same terminal syllable; his is *āīsh*; on it he makes the quip of the *har āīsh* of the Farmāīsh.

[4] As Vullers makes Ar. *ghurfat* a synonym of *chaukandī*, the Farmāīsh seems likely to have had a cabin, open at the sides. De Courteille understood it to have a rounded stern. [Cf. E. & D.'s *History of India* v, 347, 503 n.; and Gul-badan's H.N. trs. p. 98, n. 2.]

[5] *mīndīn rukhṣat āldī*; phrasing which bespeaks admitted equality, that of Tīmūrid birth.

[6] *i.e.* subjects of the Afghān ruler of Bengal; many will have been Bihārīs and Pūrbiyas. Makhdūm-i-'ālam was Naṣrat Shāh's Governor in Ḥājīpūr.

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river (Ganges?), and had joined them to themselves.[1] This news making fighting probable, we detained Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, and sent Shāh Iskandar to Bihār with 3 or 400 men.

(*yy. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

Fol. 368*b*. (*April 16th*). On Saturday (*8th*) a person came in from Dūdū and her son Jalāl Khān (son) of Bihār Khān[2] whom the Bengalī (Naṣrat Shāh) must have held as if eye-bewitched.[3] After letting me know they were coming,[4] they had done some straight fighting to get away from the Bengalīs, had crossed the river,[5] reached Bihār, and were said now to be on their way to me.

This command was given today for the Bengal envoy Ismā'īl Mītā :—Concerning those three articles, about which letters have already been written and despatched, let him write that an answer is long in coming, and that if the honoured (Naṣrat Shāh) be loyal and of single-mind towards us, it ought to come soon.

(*April 17th*) In the night of Sunday (*9th*)[6] a man came in from Tardī-muḥammad *Jang-jang* to say that when, on Wednesday the 5th of the month Sha'bān, his scouts reached Bihār from this side, the Shiqdār of the place went off by a gate on the other side.

On Sunday morning we marched on and dismounted in the *pargana* of Ārī (Ārrah).[7]

(*zz. News and negociations.*)

To this ground came the news that the Kharīd[8] army, with 100–150 boats, was said to be on the far side of the Sarū near the

[1] This might imply that the Afghāns had been prevented from joining Maḥmūd Khān *Lūdī* near the Son.

[2] Sl. Muḥammad Shāh *Nūḥānī Afghān*, the former ruler of Bihār, dead within a year. He had trained Farīd Khān *Sūr* in the management of government affairs; had given him, for gallant encounter with a tiger, the title Sher Khān by which, or its higher form Sher Shāh, history knows him, and had made him his young son's "deputy", an office Sher Khān held after the father's death in conjunction with the boy's mother Dūdū Bībī (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D.'s *History of India* iv, 325 *et seq.*).

[3] *gūz bāghī yūsūnlūq*; by which I understand they were held fast from departure, as *e.g.* a mouse by the fascination of a snake.

[4] f. 365 mentions a letter which may have announced their intention.

[5] Ganges; they thus evaded the restriction made good on other Afghāns.

[6] Anglicé, Saturday 8th after 6 p.m.

[7] The *D. G. of Shāhābād* (pp. 20 and 127) mentions that "it is said Bābur marched to Ārrah after his victory over Maḥmūd *Lūdī*", and that "local tradition still points to a place near the Judge's Court as that on which he pitched his camp".

[8] Kharīd which is now a *pargana* of the Ballia district, lay formerly on both sides of the Ghogrā. When the army of Kharīd opposed Bābur's progress, it acted for Naṣrat Shāh, but this Bābur diplomatically ignored in assuming that there was peace between

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meeting of Sarū and Gang (Ghogrā and Ganges). As a sort of peace existed between us and the Bengalī (Naṣrat Shāh *Afghān*), and as, for the sake of a benediction, peace was our first endeavour whenever such work was toward as we were now on, we kept to our rule, notwithstanding his unmannerly conduct in setting himself on our road;[1] we associated Mullā Maẕhab with his envoy Ismā'īl Mītā, spoke once more about those three articles (*faṣl soz*), and decided to let the envoy go. Fol. 369.

(*April 18th*) On Monday (*10th*) when the Bengal envoy came to wait on me, he was let know that he had his leave, and what follows was mentioned:[2]—"We shall be going to this side and that side, in pursuit of our foe, but no hurt or harm will be done to any dependency of yours. As one of those three articles said,[3] when you have told the army of Kharīd to rise off our road and to go back to Kharīd, let a few Turks be joined with it to reassure these Kharīd people and to escort them to their own place.[4] If they quit not the ferry-head, if they cease not their unbecoming words, they must regard as their own act any ill that befalls them, must count any misfortune they confront as the fruit of their own words."

(*April 20th*) On Wednesday (*12th*) the usual dress of honour was put on the Bengal envoy, gifts were bestowed on him and his leave to go was given.

(*April 21st*) On Thursday (*13th*) Shaikh Jamālī was sent with royal letters of encouragement to Dūdū and her son Jalāl Khān.

Today a servant of Māhīm's came, who will have parted from the Wālī (?)[5] on the other side of the Bāgh-i-ṣafā.

Bengal and himself.—At this time Naṣrat Shāh held the riverain on the left bank of the Ghogrā but had lost Kharīd of the right bank, which had been taken from him by Jūnaid *Barlās*. A record of his occupation still survives in Kharīd-town, an inscription dated by his deputy as for 1529 AD. (*District Gazetteer of Ballia* (H. R. Nevill), and *D. G. of Sāran* (L. L. S. O'Malley), Historical Chapters).

[1] Bābur's opinion of Naṣrat Shāh's hostility is more clearly shewn here than in the verbal message of f. 369.

[2] This will be an unceremonious summary of a word-of-mouth message.

[3] Cf. f. 366*b*, p. 661 n. 2.

[4] This shews that Bābur did not recognize the Sāran riverain down to the Ganges as belonging to Kharīd. His offered escort of Turks would safe-guard the Kharīdīs if they returned to the right bank of the Ghogrā which was in Turk possession.

[5] The Ḥai. MS. has *wālī*, clearly written; which, as a word representing Māhīm would suit the sentence best, may make playful reference to her royal commands (f. 361*b*), by styling her the Governor (*wālī*). Erskine read the word as a place-name Dipālī, which I have not found; De Courteille omits Ilminsky's *w:ras* (p. 478). The MSS. vary and are uncertain.

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(*April 23rd*) On Saturday (*15th*) an envoy from 'Irāq, Murād *Qajar*[1] the life-guardsman, was seen.

(*April 24th*) On Sunday (*16th*) Mullā Maẕhab received his usual keepsakes (*yādgārlār*) and was given leave to go.

Fol. 369*b*. (*April 25th*) On Monday (*17th*) Khalīfa was sent, with several begs, to see where the river (Ganges) could be crossed.

(*April 27th*) On Wednesday, (*19th*) Khalīfa again was sent out, to look at the ground between the two rivers (Ganges and Ghogrā).

On this same day I rode southward in the Ārī (Ārrah) *pargana* to visit the sheets of lotus[2] near Ārī. During the excursion Shaikh Gūran brought me fresh-set lotus-seeds, first-rate little things just like pistachios. The flower, that is to say, the *nīlūfar* (lotus), Hindūstānīs call *kuwul-kikrī* (lotus-pistachio), and its seed *dūdah* (soot).

As people said, "The Son is near," we went to refresh ourselves on it. Masses of trees could be seen down-stream; "Munīr is there," said they, "where the tomb is of Shaikh Yaḥyā the father of Shaikh Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī*."[3] It being so close, I crossed the Son, went 2 or 3 *kuroh*s down it, traversed the Munīr orchards, made the circuit of the tomb, returned to the Son-bank, made ablution, went through the Mid-day Prayer before time, and made for camp. Some of our horses, being fat,[4] had fallen behind; some were worn out; a few people were left to gather them together, water them, rest them, and bring them on without pressure; but for this many would have been ruined.

Fol. 370. When we turned back from Munīr, I ordered that some-one should count a horse's steps between the Son-bank and the camp. They amounted to 23,100, which is 46,200 paces, which is 11½

[1] This is the "Kadjar" of Réclus' *L'Asie antérieure* and is the name of the Turkmān tribe to which the present ruling house of Persia belongs. "Turkmān" might be taken as applied to Shāh Ṭahmāsp by Dīv Sulṭān's servant on f. 354.

[2] *Nelumbium speciosum*, a water-bean of great beauty.

[3] Shaikh Yaḥyā had been the head of the Chishtī Order. His son (d. 782 AH. / 1380–1 AD.) was the author of works named by Abū'l-faẓl as read aloud to Akbar, a discursive detail which pleads in my excuse that those who know Bābur well cannot but see in his grandson's character and success the fruition of his mental characteristics and of his labours in Hindūstān. (For Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī*, cf. *Khazīnatu'l-aṣfiyā* ii, 390–92; and *Āyīn-i-akbarī s.n.*)

[4] Kostenko's *Turkistān Region* describes a regimen for horses which Bābur will have seen in practice in his native land, one which prevented the defect that hindered his at Munīr from accomplishing more than some 30 miles before mid-day.

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kurohs (23 m.).[1] It is about half a *kuroh* from Munīr to the Son; the return journey from Munīr to the camp was therefore 12 *kurohs* (24 m.). In addition to this were some 15–16 *kurohs* done in visiting this and that place; so that the whole excursion was one of some 30 *kurohs* (60 m.). Six *garīs* of the 1st night-watch had passed [8.15 p.m.] when we reached the camp.

(*April 28th*) At the dawn of Thursday (*Sha'bān 19th*) Sl. Junaid *Barlās* came in with the Jūnpūr braves from Jūnpūr. I let him know my blame and displeasure on account of his delay; I did not see him. Qāẓī Jīā I sent for and saw.

(*aaa. Plan of the approaching battle with the Bengal army.*)

On the same day the Turk and Hind amīrs were summoned for a consultation about crossing Gang (Ganges), and matters found settlement at this[2]:—that Ūstād 'Alī-qulī should collect mortar, *firingī*,[3] and culverin[4] to the point of rising ground between the rivers Sarū and Gang, and, having many matchlockmen with him, should incite to battle from that place;[5] that

[1] The distance from Munīr to the bank of the Ganges will have been considerably longer in Bābur's day than now because of the change of the river's course through its desertion of the Burh-gangā channel (cf. next note).

[2] In trying to locate the site of Bābur's coming battle with the forces of Naṣrat Shāh, it should be kept in mind that previous to the 18th century, and therefore, presumably, in his day, the Ganges flowed in the "Burh-ganga" (Old Ganges) channel which now is closely followed by the western boundary of the Ballia *pargana* of Dū-āba; that the Ganges and Ghogrā will have met where this old channel entered the bed of the latter river; and also, as is seen from Bābur's narrative, that above the confluence the Ghogrā will have been confined to a narrowed channel. When the Ganges flowed in the Burh-ganga channel, the now Ballia *pargana* of Dū-āba was a sub-division of Bihiya and continuous with Shāhābād. From it in Bihiya Bābur crossed the Ganges into Kharīd, doing this at a place his narrative locates as some 2 miles from the confluence. Cf. *D.G. of Ballia*, pp. 9, 192–3, 206, 213. It may be observed that the former northward extension of Bihiya to the Burh-ganga channel explains Bābur's estimate (f. 370) of the distance from Munīr to his camp on the Ganges; his 12 *k.* (24 m.) may then have been correct; it is now too high.

[3] De Courteille, *pierrier*, which may be a balista. Bābur's writings give no indication of other than stone-ammunition for any projectile-engine or fire-arm. Cf. R. W. F. Payne-Gallwey's *Projectile-throwing engines of the ancients*.

[4] Sir R. W. F. Payne-Gallwey writes in *The Cross-bow* (p. 40 and p. 41) what may apply to Bābur's *ẓarb-zan* (culverin?) and *tufang* (matchlock), when he describes the larger culverin as a heavy hand-gun of from 16–18 lb., as used by the foot-soldier and requiring the assistance of an attendant to work it; also when he says that it became the portable arquebus which was in extensive use in Europe by the Swiss in 1476 AD.; and that between 1510 and 1520 the arquebus described was superseded by what is still seen amongst remote tribes in India, a matchlock arquebus.

[5] The two positions Bābur selected for his guns would seem to have been opposite two ferry-heads, those, presumably, which were blocked against his pursuit of Bīban and Bāyazīd. 'Alī-qulī's emplacement will have been on the high bank of old alluvium of south-eastern Kharīd, overlooking the narrowed channel demanded by Bābur's

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Muṣṭafa, he also having many matchlockmen, should get his material and implements ready on the Bihār side of Gang, a little below the meeting of the waters and opposite to where on an island the Bengalīs had an elephant and a mass of boats tied up, and that he should engage battle from this place;[1] that Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and the others inscribed for the work should take post behind Muṣṭafa as his reserve; that both for Ūstād 'Alī-qulī and Muṣṭafa shelters (*muljār*) for the culverin-firers should be raised by a mass of spadesmen and coolies (*kahār*)
Fol. 370*b*. under appointed overseers; that as soon as these shelters were ready, 'Askarī and the sulṭāns inscribed for the work should cross quickly at the Haldī-passage[2] and come down on the enemy; that meantime, as Sl. Junaid and Qāẓī Jīā had given information about a crossing-place[3] 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) higher up,[4] Zard-rūī (Pale-face?) should go with a few raftsmen and some of the people of the Sulṭān, Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī* and Qāẓī Jīā to look at that crossing; and that, if crossing there were, they should go over at once, because it was rumoured that the Bengalīs were planning to post men at the Haldī-passage.

A dutiful letter from Maḥmūd Khān the Military-collector (*shiqdār*) of Sikandarpūr now came, saying that he had collected as many as 50 boats at the Haldī-passage and had given wages to the boatmen, but that these were much alarmed at the rumoured approach of the Bengalīs.

(*April 30th*) As time pressed[5] for crossing the Sarū, I did not wait for the return of those who had gone to look at the passage,

narrative, one pent in presumably by *kankar* reefs such as there are in the region. As illustrating what the channel might have been, the varying breadth of the Ghogrā along the 'Azamgarh District may be quoted, *viz.* from 10 miles to 2/5 m., the latter being where, as in Kharīd, there is old alluvium with *kankar* reefs preserving the banks. Cf. Reid's *Report of Settlement Operations in 'Azamgarh, Sikandarpur, and Bhadaon.*— Firishta gives Badrū as the name of one ferry (lith. ed. i. 210).

[1] Muṣṭafa, like 'Alī-qulī, was to take the offensive by gun-fire directed on the opposite bank. Judging from maps and also from the course taken by the Ganges through the Burh-ganga channel and from Bābur's narrative, there seems to have been a narrow reach of the Ghogrā just below the confluence, as well as above.

[2] This ferry, bearing the common name Haldī (turmeric), is located by the course of events as at no great distance above the enemy's encampment above the confluence. It cannot be the one of Sikandarpūr West.

[3] *guẓr*, which here may mean a casual ford through water low just before the Rains. As it was not found, it will have been temporary.

[4] *i.e.* above Bābur's positions.

[5] *sarwar* (or *dar*) *waqt*.

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but on Saturday (*21st*) summoned the begs for consultation and said, "As it has been reported that there are (no?) crossing-places (fords?) along the whole of the ground from Chatur-mūk in Sikandarpūr to Barāīch and Aūd,[1] let us, while seated here, assign the large force to cross at the Haldī-passage by boat and from there Fol. 371. to come down on the enemy; let Ūstād 'Alī-qulī and Muṣṭafa engage battle with gun (*top*), matchlock, culverin and *firingī*, and by this draw the enemy out before 'Askarī comes up.[2] Let us after crossing the river (Ganges) and assigning reinforcement to Ūstād 'Alī-qulī, take our stand ready for whatever comes; if 'Askarī's troops get near, let us fling attack from where we are, cross over and assault; let Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and those appointed to act with him, engage battle from near Muṣṭafa on the other side of Gang."

The matter having been left at this, the force for the north of the Gang was formed into four divisions to start under 'Askarī's command for the Haldī-passage. One division was of 'Askarī and his retainers; another was Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*; another was of the Aūzbeg sulṭāns Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān, Bī-khūb Sulṭān and Tāng-aītmīsh Sulṭān, together with Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī* of Ghāzīpūr, Bābā Qashqa's Kūkī, Tūlmīsh *Aūzbeg*, Qurbān of Chīrkh, and the Daryā-khānīs led by Ḥasan Khān; another was of Mūsā Sl. (*Farmūlī*) and Sl. Junaid with what-not of the Jūnpūr army, some 20,000 men. Officers were appointed to oversee the getting of the force to horse that very night, that is to say, the Fol. 371*b*. night of Sunday.[3]

(*May 1st*) The army began to cross Gang at the dawn of Sunday (*Sha'bān 22nd*); I went over by boat at the 1st watch (6a.m.). Zard-rūī and his party came in at mid-day; the ford itself they had not found but they brought news of boats and of having met on the road the army getting near them.[4]

[1] The preceding sentence is imperfect and varies in the MSS. The 1st Pers. trs., the wording of which is often explanatory, says that there were *no* passages, which, as there were many ferries, will mean fords. The Haldī-guẓr where 'Askarī was to cross, will have been far below the lowest Bābur mentions, *viz.* Chatur-mūk (Chaupāra).

[2] This passage presuppo ses that guns in Kharīd could hit the hostile camp in Sāran. If the river narrowed here as it does further north, the Ghāzī mortar, which seems to have been the only one Bābur had with him, would have carried across, since it threw a stone 1,600 paces (*qadam*, f. 309). Cf. Reid's *Report* quoted above.

[3] Anglicé, Saturday after 6p.m.

[4] *yaqīn būlghān fauj*, var. *ta'īn būlghān fauj*, the army appointed (to cross). The boats will be those collected at the Haldī-ferry, and the army 'Askarī's.

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(*May 3rd*) On Tuesday (*Sha'bān 24th*) we marched from where the river had been crossed, went on for nearly one *kuroh* (2 m.) and dismounted on the fighting-ground at the confluence.[1] I myself went to enjoy Ūstād 'Alī-qulī's firing of culverin and *firingī*; he hit two boats today with *firingī*-stones, broke them and sank them. Muṣtafa did the same from his side. I had the large mortar[2] taken to the fighting-ground, left Mullā Ghulām to superintend the making of its position, appointed a body of *yasāwals*[3] and active braves to help him, went to an island facing the camp and there ate *ma'jūn*.

Whilst still under the influence of the confection[4] I had the boat taken to near the tents and there slept. A strange thing happened in the night, a noise and disturbance arising about the 3rd watch (midnight) and the pages and others snatching up pieces of wood from the boat, and shouting "Strike! strike!" Fol. 372. What was said to have led to the disturbance was that a night-guard who was in the Farmāish along-side the Asāīsh in which I was sleeping,[5] opening his eyes from slumber, sees a man with his hand on the Asāīsh as if meaning to climb into her. They fall on him ;[6] he dives, comes up again, cuts at the night-guard's head, wounding it a little, then runs off at once towards the river.[7] Once before, on the night we returned from Munīr, one or two night-guards had chased several Hindūstānīs from near the boats, and had brought in two swords and a dagger of theirs. The Most High had me in His Keeping!

(*Persian*) Were the sword of the world to leap forth,
It would cut not a vein till God will.[8]

[1] *i.e.* near 'Alī-qulī's emplacement. [2] Cf. f. 303, f. 309, f. 337 and n. 4.

[3] "The *yasāwal* is an officer who carries the commands of the prince, and sees them enforced" (Erskine). Here he will have been the superintendent of coolies moving earth.

[4] *ma'jūn-nāk* which, in these days of Bābur's return to obedience, it may be right to translate in harmony with his psychical outlook of self-reproach, by *ma'jūn*-polluted. Though he had long ceased to drink wine, he still sought cheer and comfort, in his laborious days, from inspiriting and forbidden confections.

[5] Probably owing to the less precise phrasing of his Persian archetype, Erskine here has reversed the statement, made in the Turkī, that Bābur slept in the Asāīsh (not the Farmāish).

[6] *aūstīdā tāshlār*. An earlier reading of this, *viz.* that stones were thrown on the intruder is negatived by Bābur's mention of wood as the weapon used.

[7] *sū sārī* which, as the boats were between an island and the river's bank, seems likely to mean that the man went off towards the main stream. *Mems.* p. 415, "made his escape in the river"; *Mém.* ii, 418, *dans la direction du large.*

[8] This couplet is quoted by Jahāngīr also (*Tūzūk*, trs. Rogers & Beveridge, i, 348).

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(*May 4th*) At the dawn of Wednesday (*25th*), I went in the boat Gunjāīsh to near the stone-firing ground (*tāsh-ātār-yīr*) and there posted each soever to his work.

(*bbb. Details of the engagement.*)

Aūghān-bīrdī *Mughūl*, leading not less than 1,000 men, had been sent to get, in some way or other, across the river (Sarū) one, two, three *kurohs* (2, 4, 6 m.) higher up. A mass of foot-soldiers, crossing from opposite 'Askarī's camp,[1] landed from 20–30 boats on his road, presumably thinking to show their superiority, but Aūghān-bīrdī and his men charged them, put them to flight, took a few and cut their heads off, shot many with arrows, and got possession of 7 or 8 boats. Today also Bengalīs crossed in a few boats to Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā's side, there landed and Fol. 372*b*. provoked to fight. When attacked they fled, and three boat-loads of them were drowned. One boat was captured and brought to me. In this affair Bābā the Brave went forward and exerted himself excellently.

Orders were given that in the darkness of night the boats Aūghān-bīrdī had captured should be drawn[2] up-stream, and that in them there should cross Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Yakka Khwāja, Yūnas-i-'alī, Aūghān-bīrdī and those previously assigned to go with them.

Today came a man from 'Askarī to say that he had crossed the [Sarū]-water, leaving none behind, and that he would come down on the enemy at next day's dawn, that is to say, on Thursday's. Here-upon those already ordered to cross over were told to join 'Askarī and to advance upon the enemy with him.

At the Mid-day Prayer a person came from Ūstā, saying "The stone is ready; what is the order?" The order was, "Fire this stone off; keep the next till I come." Going at the Other Prayer in a very small Bengalī skiff to where shelter (*muljār*) had been raised, I saw Ūstā fire off one large stone and several

[1] This, taken with the positions of other crossing-parties, serves to locate 'Askarī's "Haldī-passage" at no great distance above 'Alī-qulī's emplacement at the confluence, and above the main Bengal force.

[2] perhaps, towed from the land. I have not found Bābur using any word which clearly means to row, unless indeed a later *rawān* does so. The force meant to cross in the boats taken up under cover of night was part of Bābur's own, no doubt.

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small *firingī* ones. Bengalīs have a reputation for fire-working;[1] we tested it now; they do not fire counting to hit a particular spot, but fire at random.

At this same Other Prayer orders were given to draw a few boats up-stream along the enemy's front. A few were got past without a "God forbid!"[2] from those who, all unprotected, drew them up. Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. were ordered to stay at the place those boats reached, and to keep watch over them. I got back to camp in the 1st night-watch of Thursday.[3]

Fol. 373.

Near midnight came news from (Aūghān-bīrdī's) boats which were being drawn up-stream, "The force appointed had gone somewhat ahead; we were following, drawing the boats, when the Bengalīs got to know where we were drawing them and attacked. A stone hit a boatman in the leg and broke it, we could not pass on."

(*May 5th*) At dawn on Thursday (*Sha'bān 26th*) came the news from those at the shelter, "All the boats have come from above.[4] The enemy's horse has ridden to meet our approaching army." On this, I got our men mounted quickly and rode out to above those boats[5] that had been drawn up in the night. A galloper was sent off with an order for Muḥammad Sl. M. and those appointed to cross with him, to do it at once and join 'Askarī. The order for Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. who were above these boats,[6] was that they should busy themselves to cross. Bābā Sl. was not at his post.[7]

[1] *ātīsh-bāzī* lit. fire-playing, if a purely Persian compound; if *ātīsh* be Turkī, it means discharge, shooting, The word "fire-working" is used above under the nearest to contemporary guidance known to me, *viz.* that of the list of persons who suffered in the Patna massacre "during the troubles of October 1763 AD.", in which list are the names of four Lieutenants fire-workers (*Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1884, and Jan. 1885, art. *The Patna Massacre*, H. Beveridge).

[2] *bī tahāshī*, without protest or demur.

[3] Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

[4] Perhaps those which had failed to pass in the darkness; perhaps those from Haldī-guzr, which had been used by 'Askarī's troops. There appear to be obvious reasons for their keeping abreast on the river with the troops in Sāran, in order to convey reinforcements or to provide retreat.

[5] *kīmalār aūstīdā*, which may mean that he came, on the high bank, to where the boats lay below.

[6] as in the previous note, *kīmalār aūstīdā*. These will have been the few drawn up-stream along the enemy's front.

[7] The reproach conveyed by Bābur's statement is borne out by the strictures of Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dūghlāt* on Bābā Sulṭān's neglect of duty (*Tārīkh-ī-rashīdī* trs. cap. lxxvii).

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Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. at once crosses, in one boat with 30–40 of his retainers who hold their horses by the mane at the boat-side. Fol. 373*b*. A second boat follows. The Bengalīs see them crossing and start off a mass of foot-soldiers for them. To meet these go 7 or 8 of Aīsān-tīmūr Sl.'s retainers, keeping together, shooting off arrows, drawing those foot-soldiers towards the Sulṭān who meantime is getting his men mounted; meantime also the second boat is moving (*rawān*). When his 30–35 horsemen charge those foot-soldiers, they put them well to flight. Aīsān-tīmūr did distinguished work, first in crossing before the rest, swift, steady, and without a "God forbid!", secondly in his excellent advance, with so few men, on such a mass of foot, and by putting these to flight. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. also crossed. Then boats followed one after another. Lāhorīs and Hindūstānīs began to cross from their usual posts [1] by swimming or on bundles of reeds.[2] Seeing how matters were going, the Bengalīs of the boats opposite the shelter (Muṣṭafa's), set their faces for flight down-stream.

Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*, Dost Lord-of-the-gate, Nūr Beg and several braves also went across the river. I made a man gallop off to the Sulṭāns to say, "Gather well together those who Fol. 374. cross, go close to the opposing army, take it in the flank, and get to grips." Accordingly the Sulṭāns collected those who crossed, formed up into 3 or 4 divisions, and started for the foe. As they draw near, the enemy-commander, without breaking his array, flings his foot-soldiers to the front and so comes on. Kūkī comes up with a troop from 'Askarī's force and gets to grips on his side; the Sulṭāns get to grips on theirs; they get the upper hand, unhorse man after man, and make the enemy scurry off. Kūkī's men bring down a Pagan of repute named Basant Rāō and cut off his head; 10 or 15 of his people fall on Kūkī's, and are instantly cut to pieces. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. gallops along the enemy's front and gets his sword well in. Mughūl 'Abdu'l-

[1] *yūsūnlūq tūshī*, Pers. trss. *ṭarf khūd*, i.e. their place in the array, a frequent phrase.

[2] *dastak bīla dosta-i-qāmīsh bīla.* Cf. f. 363*b* and f. 366*b*, for passages and notes connected with swimming and *dastak*. Erskine twice translates *dastak bīla* by swimming; but here de Courteille changes from his earlier *à la nage* (f. 366*b*) to *appuyés sur une pièce de bois*. Perhaps the swift current was crossed by swimming with the support of a bundle of reeds, perhaps on rafts made of such bundles (cf. *Illustrated London News*, Sep. 16th, 1916, for a picture of Indian soldiers so crossing on rafts).

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wahhāb and his younger brother gets theirs in well too. Mughūl though he did not know how to swim, had crossed the river holding to his horse's mane.

I sent for my own boats which were behind;[1] the Farmāish coming up first, I went over in it to visit the Bengalīs' encamping-grounds. I then went into the Gunjāīsh. "Is there a crossing-place higher up?" I asked. Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman represented that the Sarū was better to cross higher up;[2] accordingly the army-folk[3] were ordered to cross at the higher place he named.

While those led by Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā were crossing the
Fol. 374*b*. river,[4] the boat in which Yakka Khwāja was, sank and he went to God's mercy. His retainers and lands were bestowed on his younger brother Qāsim Khwāja.

The Sulṭāns arrived while I was making ablution for the Mid-day Prayer; I praised and thanked them and led them to expect guerdon and kindness. 'Askarī also came; this was the first affair he had seen; one well-omened for him!

As the camp had not yet crossed the river, I took my rest in the boat Gunjāīsh, near an island.

(*ccc. Various incidents of the days following the battle.*)

(*May 6th*) During the day of Friday (*Sha'bān 27th*) we landed at a village named Kūndīh[5] in the Nirhun *pargana* of Kharīd on the north side of the Sarū.[6]

(*May 8th*) On Sunday (*29th*) Kūkī was sent to Ḥājīpūr for news.

[1] perhaps they were in the Burh-ganga channel, out of gun-fire.

[2] If the Ghogrā flowed at this point in a narrow channel, it would be the swifter, and less easy to cross than where in an open bed.

[3] *chīrīk-aīlī*, a frequent compound, but one of which the use is better defined in the latter than the earlier part of Bābur's writings to represent what then answered to an Army Service Corps. This corps now crosses into Sāran and joins the fighting force.

[4] This appears to refer to the crossing effected before the fight.

[5] or Kūndbah. I have not succeeded in finding this name in the Nirhun *pargana*; it may have been at the southern end, near the "Domaigarh" of maps. In it was Tīr-mūhānī, perhaps a village (f. 377, f. 381).

[6] This passage justifies Erskine's surmise (*Memoirs*, p. 411, n. 4) that the Kharīd-country lay on both banks of the Ghogrā. His further surmise that, on the east bank of the Ghogrā, it extended to the Ganges would be correct also, since the Ganges flowed, in Bābur's day, through the Burh-ganga (Old Ganges) channel along the southern edge of the present Kharīd, and thus joined the Ghogrā higher than it now does.

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Shāh Muhammad (son) of Ma'rūf to whom in last year's campaign (934 AH.) I had shown great favour and had given the Sāran-country, had done well on several occasions, twice fighting and overcoming his father Ma'rūf.[1] At the time when Sl. Mahmūd *Lūdī* perfidiously took possession of Bihār and was opposed by Shaikh Bāyazīd and Bīban, Shāh Muhammad had no help for it, he had to join them; but even then, when people were saying wild words about him, he had written dutifully to me. When 'Askarī crossed at the Haldī-passage, Shāh Muhammad had come at once with a troop, seen him and with him gone against the Bengalīs. He now came to this ground and waited on me. Fol. 375.

During these days news came repeatedly that Bīban and Shaikh Bāyazīd were meaning to cross the Sarū-river.

In these days of respite came the surprising news from Sanbal (Sambhal) where 'Alī-i-yūsuf had stayed in order to bring the place into some sort of order, that he and a physician who was by way of being a friend of his, had gone to God's mercy on one and the same day. 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) was ordered to go and maintain order in Sanbal.

(*May 13th*) On Friday the 5th of the month Ramzān, 'Abdu'l-lāh was given leave for Sanbal.[2]

(*ddd. News from the westward.*)

In these same days came a dutiful letter from Chīn-tīmūr Sl. saying that on account of the journey of the family from Kābul, several of the begs who had been appointed to reinforce him, had not been able to join him;[3] also that he had gone out with Muhammadī and other begs and braves, not less than 100 *kurohs*

[1] Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* were brothers. Bāyazīd had taken service with Bābur in 932 AH. (1526 AD.), left him in 934 AH. (end of 1527 AD.) and opposed him near Qanūj. Ma'rūf, long a rebel against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī*, had never joined Bābur; two of his sons did so; of the two, Muhammad and Mūsa, the latter may be the one mentioned as at Qanūj, "Ma'rūf's son" (f. 336).—For an interesting sketch of Marūf's character and for the location in Hindūstān of the Farmūlī clan, *see* the *Wāqi'āt-i-mushtāqī*, E. & D.'s *History of India*, iv, 584.—In connection with Qanūj, the discursive remark may be allowable, that Bābur's halt during the construction of the bridge of boats across the Ganges in 934 AH. is still commemorated by the name Bādshāh-nagar of a village between Bangarmau and Nānāmau (Elliot's *Onau*, p. 45).

[2] On f. 381 'Abdu'l-lāh's starting-place is mentioned as Tīr-mūhānī.

[3] The failure to join would be one of the evils predicted by the dilatory start of the ladies from Kābul (f. 360*b*).

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(200 m.), attacked the Balūchīs and given them a good beating.[1] Orders were sent through 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) for the Sulṭān that he and Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, Muḥammadī, and some of the begs and braves of that country-side should assemble in Āgra and there remain ready to move to wherever an enemy appeared.

(*eee. Settlement with the Nūḥānī Afghāns.*)

Fol. 375*b*. (*May 16th*) On Monday the 8th of the month, Daryā Khān's grandson Jalāl Khān to whom Shaikh Jamālī had gone, came in with his chief amīrs and waited on me.[2] Yaḥyā *Nūḥānī* also came, who had already sent his younger brother in sign of submission and had received a royal letter accepting his service. Not to make vain the hope with which some 7 or 8,000 *Nūḥānī* Afghāns had come in to me, I bestowed 50 *laks* from Bihār on Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī*, after reserving one *krūr* for Government uses (*khalṣa*), and gave the remainder of the Bihār revenues in trust for the above-mentioned Jalāl Khān who for his part agreed to pay one *krūr* of tribute. Mullā Ghulām *yasāwal* was sent to collect this tribute.[3] Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā received the Jūnapūr-country.[4]

(*fff. Peace made with Naṣrat Shāh.*)

(*May 19th*) On the eve of Thursday (*11th*) that retainer of Khalīfa's, Ghulām-i-'alī by name, who in company with a retainer of the Shāh-zāda of Mungīr named Abū'l-fatḥ,[5] had gone earlier than Ismā'īl Mītā, to convey those three articles (*faṣl soz*), now returned, again in company with Abū'l-fatḥ, bringing letters for Khalīfa written by the Shāh-zāda and by Ḥusain Khān *Laskar*(?) *Wazīr*, who, in these letters, gave assent to those three conditions, took upon themselves to act for Naṣrat Shāh and interjected a word for peace. As the object of this campaign was to put

[1] The order for these operations is given on f. 355*b*.

[2] f. 369. The former Nūḥānī chiefs are now restored to Bihār as tributaries of Bābur.

[3] Erskine estimated the *krūr* at about £25,000, and the 50 *laks* at about £12,500.

[4] The Mīrzā thus supersedes Junaid *Barlās* in Jūnpūr.—The form Jūnapūr used above and elsewhere by Bābur and his Persian translators, supports the *Gazetteer of India* xlv, 74 as to the origin of the name Jūnpūr.

[5] a son of Naṣrat Shāh. No record of this earlier legation is with the *Bābur-nāma* manuscripts; probably it has been lost. The only article found specified is the one asking for the removal of the Kharīd army from a ferry-head Bābur wished to use; Naṣrat Shāh's assent to this is an anti-climax to Bābur's victory on the Ghogrā.

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down the rebel Afghāns of whom some had taken their heads and gone off, some had come in submissive and accepting my service, and the remaining few were in the hands of the Bengalī (Naṣrat Shāh) who had taken them in charge, and as, moreover, the Rains were near, we in our turn wrote and despatched words for peace on the conditions mentioned. Fol. 376.

(*ggg. Submissions and guerdon.*)

(*May 21st*) On Saturday (*13th*) Ismā'īl *Jālwānī*, 'Alāūl Khān *Nūḥānī*, Auliya Khān *Ashrāqī* (?) and 5 and 6 amīrs came in and waited on me.

Today guerdon was bestowed on Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl., of swords and daggers with belts, cuirasses, dresses of honour, and *tīpūchāq* horses; also they were made to kneel, Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. for the grant of 36 *laks* from the Nārnūl *pargana*, Tūkhta-bughā Sl. for 30 *laks* from that of Shamsābād.

(*hhh. Pursuit of Bāyazīd and Bīban.*)

(*May 23rd*) On Monday the 15th of the month (*Ramẓān*), we marched from our ground belonging to Kūndbah (or Kūndīh) on the Sarū-river, with easy mind about Bihār and Bengal, and resolute to crush the traitors Bīban and Shaikh Bāyazīd.

(*May 25th*) On Wednesday (*17th*) after making two night-halts by the way, we dismounted at a passage across the Sarū, called Chaupāra-Chatūrmūk of Sikandarpūr.[1] From today people were busy in crossing the river.

As news began to come again and again that the traitors, after crossing Sarū and Gogar,[2] were going toward Luknū,[3] the

[1] Chaupāra is at the Sāran end of the ferry, at the Sikandarpūr one is Chatur-mūk (Four-faces, an epithet of Brahma and Vishnu).

[2] It may be inferred from the earlier use of the phrase Gogar (or Gagar) and Sarū (Sirū or Sīrd), on f. 338–8*b*, that whereas the rebels were, earlier, for crossing Sarū only, *i.e.* the Ghogrā below its confluence with the Sarda, they had now changed for crossing above the confluence and further north. Such a change is explicable by desire to avoid encounter with Bābur's following, here perhaps the army of Aūd, and the same desire is manifested by their abandonment of a fort captured (f. 377*b*) some days before the rumour reached Bābur of their crossing Sarū and Gogar.—Since translating the passage on f. 338, I have been led, by enforced attention to the movement of the confluence of Ghogrā with Ganges (Sarū with Gang) to see that that translation, eased in obedience to distances shewn in maps, may be wrong and that Bābur's statement that he dismounted 2–3 *kurohs* (4–6 m.) above Aūd at the confluence of Gogar with Sarū, may have some geographical interest and indicate movement of the two affluents such *e.g.* as is indicated of the Ganges and Ghogrā by tradition and by the name Burh-ganga (cf. f. 370, p. 667, n. 2).

[3] or L: knūr, perhaps Liknū or Liknūr. The capricious variation in the MSS.

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following leaders were appointed to bar (their) crossing [1] :—The Turk and Hind amīrs Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*, 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī*; Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*), Nizām Khān of Bīāna, together with Tūlmīsh *Aūzbeg*, Qurbān of Chīrk and Daryā Khān (of Bhīra's
Fol. 376*b*. son) Ḥasan Khān. They were given leave to go on the night of Thursday.[2]

(*iii. Damage done to the Bābur-nāma writings.*)

That same night when 1 watch (*pās*), 5 *garīs* had passed (*cir.* 10.55 p.m.) and the *tarāwīḥ*-prayers were over,[3] such a storm burst, in the inside of a moment, from the up-piled clouds of the Rainy-season, and such a stiff gale rose, that few tents were left standing. I was in the Audience-tent, about to write (*kitābat qīlā dūr aīdīm*); before I could collect papers and sections,[4] the tent came down, with its porch, right on my head. The *tūnglūq* went to pieces.[5] God preserved me! no harm befell me! Sections and book [6] were drenched under water and gathered together with much difficulty. We laid them in the folds of a woollen throne-carpet,[7] put this on the throne and on it piled blankets. The storm quieted down in about 2 *garīs* (45 m.); the

between L:knū and L:knūr makes the movements of the rebels difficult to follow. Comment on these variants, tending to identify the places behind the words, is grouped in Appendix T, *On L:knū* (*Lakhnau*) and *L:knūr* (*Lakhnār*).

[1] Taking *guẕr* in the sense it has had hitherto in the *Bābur-nāma* of ferry or ford, the detachment may have been intended to block the river-crossings of "Sarū and Gogar". If so, however, the time for this was past, the rebels having taken a fort west of those rivers on Ramẕān 13th. Nothing further is heard of the detachment.—That news of the rebel-crossing of the rivers did not reach Bābur before the 18th and news of their capture of L:knū or L:knūr before the 19th may indicate that they had crossed a good deal to the north of the confluence, and that the fort taken was one more remote than Lakhnau (Oude). Cf. Appendix T.

[2] Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

[3] These are recited late in the night during Ramẕān.

[4] *kaghaz u ajzā'*, perhaps writing-paper and the various sections of the *Bābur-nāma* writings, *viz.* biographical notices, descriptions of places, detached lengths of diary, *farmāns* of Shaikh Zain. The *lacunae* of 934 AH., 935 AH., and perhaps earlier ones also may be attributed reasonably to this storm. It is easy to understand the loss of *e.g.* the conclusion of the Farghāna section, and the diary one of 934 AH., if they lay partly under water. The accident would be better realized in its disastrous results to the writings, if one knew whether Bābur wrote in a bound or unbound volume. From the minor losses of 935 AH., one guesses that the current diary at least had not reached the stage of binding.

[5] The *tūnglūq* is a flap in a tent-roof, allowing light and air to enter, or smoke to come out.

[6] *ajzā' u kitāb*. *See* last note but one. The *kitāb* (book) might well be Bābur's composed narrative on which he was now working, as far as it had then gone towards its untimely end (Hai. MS. f. 216*b*).

[7] *saqarlāṭ kut-zilūcha*, where *saqarlāṭ* will mean warm and woollen.

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bedding-tent was set up, a lamp lighted, and, after much trouble, a fire kindled. We, without sleep, were busy till shoot of day drying folios and sections.

(*jjj. Pursuit of Bîban and Bāyazīd resumed.*)

(*May 26th*) I crossed the water on Thursday morning (*Ramān 18th*).

(*May 27th*) On Friday (*19th*) I rode out to visit Sikandarpūr and Kharīd.[1] Today came matters written by 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) and Bāqī about the taking of Luknūr.[2]

(*May 28th*) On Saturday (*20th*) Kūkī was sent ahead, with a troop, to join Bāqī.[3]

(*May 29th*) That nothing falling to be done before my arrival might be neglected, leave to join Bāqī was given on Sunday (*21st*) to Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, Khalīfa's (son) Hasan, Mullā Apāq's retainers, and the elder and younger brethren of Mumin Ātāka. Fol. 377.

Today at the Other Prayer a special dress of honour and a *tîpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Shāh Muḥammad (son) of Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, and leave to go was given. As had been done last year (934 AH.), an allowance from Sāran and Kūndla[4] was bestowed on him for the maintenance of quiver-wearers. Today too an allowance of *72 laks*[5] from Sarwār and a *tîpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Ismā'īl *Jalwānī*, and his leave was given.

About the boats Gunjāīsh and Arāīsh it was settled with Bengalīs that they should take them to Ghāzīpūr by way of Tīr-mūhānī.[6] The boats Asāīsh and Farmāīsh were ordered taken up the Sarū with the camp.

(*May 30th*) On Monday (*Ramzān 22nd*) we marched from the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk passage along the Sarū, with mind at ease about Bihār and Sarwār,[7] and after doing as much as 10 *kurohs*

[1] Kharīd-town is some 4 m. s.e. of the town of Sikandarpūr.

[2] or L: knū. Cf. Appendix T. It is now 14 days since 'Abdu'l-lāh *kitābdār* had left Tīr-mūhānī (f. 380) for Saṃbhal; as he was in haste, there had been time for him to go beyond Aūd (where Bāqī was) and yet get the news to Bābur on the 19th.

[3] In a way not usual with him, Bābur seems to apply three epithets to this follower, *viz. mīng-begī*, *shaghāwal*, *Tāshkīndī* (Index *s.n.*).

[4] or Kandla; cf. Revenue list f. 293; is it now Sāran Khās?

[5] £18,000 (Erskine). For the total yield of Kūndla (or Kandla) and Sarwār, *see* Revenue list (f. 293).

[6] f. 375, p. 675 n. 2 and f. 381, p. 687 n. 3.

[7] A little earlier Bābur has recorded his ease of mind about Bihār and Bengal, the fruit doubtless of his victory over Maḥmūd *Lūdī* and Naṣrat Shāh; he now does the

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Fol. 377*b*. (20m.) dismounted on the Sarū in a village called Kilirah (?) dependent on Fathpūr.[1]

(*kkk. A surmised survival of the record of 934 A.H.*[2])

* After spending several days pleasantly in that place where there are gardens, running-waters, well-designed buildings, trees, particularly mango-trees, and various birds of coloured plumage, I ordered the march to be towards Ghāzīpūr.

Ismā'īl Khān *Jalwānī* and 'Alāūl Khān *Nūḥānī* had it represented to me that they would come to Āgra after seeing their native land (*watn*). On this the command was, "I will give an order in a month."* [3]

same about Bihār and Sarwār, no doubt because he has replaced in Bihār, as his tributaries, the Nūḥānī chiefs and has settled other Afghāns, Jalwānīs and Farmūlīs in a Sarwār cleared of the Jalwānī (?) rebel Bīban and the Farmūlī opponents Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf. The Farmūlī Shaikh-zādas, it may be recalled, belonged by descent to Bābur's Kābul district of Farmūl.—The *Wāqi'āt-i-mushtāqī* (E. & D.'s *H. of I.* iv, 548) details the position of the clan under Sikandar *Lūdī*.

[1] The MSS. write Fathpūr but Nathpūr suits the context, a *pargana* mentioned in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* and now in the 'Azamgarh district. There seems to be no Fathpūr within Bābur's limit of distance. The *D. G. of 'Azamgarh* mentions two now insignificant Fathpūrs, one as having a school, the other a market. The name G:l:r:h (K:l:r:h) I have not found.

[2] The passage contained in this section seems to be a survival of the lost record of 934 AH. (f. 339). I have found it only in the *Memoirs* p. 420, and in Mr. Erskine's own Codex of the *Wāqi'āt-i-bābarī* (now B.M. Add. 26,200), f. 371 where however several circumstances isolate it from the context. It may be a Persian translation of an authentic Turkī fragment, found, perhaps with other such fragments, in the Royal Library. Its wording disassociates it from the 'Abdu'r-rahīm text. The Codex (No. 26,200) breaks off at the foot of a page (*supra*, Fathpūr) with a completed sentence. The supposedly-misplaced passage is entered on the next folio as a sort of ending of the Bābur-nāma writings; in a rough script, inferior to that of the Codex, and is followed by *Tam, tam* (Finis), and an incomplete date 98–, in words. Beneath this a line is drawn, on which is subtended the triangle frequent with scribes; within this is what seems to be a completion of the date to 980 AH. and a pious wish, scrawled in an even rougher hand than the rest.—Not only in diction and in script but in contents also the passage is a misfit where it now stands; it can hardly describe a village on the Sarū; Bābur in 935 AH. did not march for Ghāzīpūr but may have done so in 934 AH. (p. 656, n. 3); Ismā'īl *Jalwānī* had had leave given already in 935 AH. (f. 377) under other conditions, ones bespeaking more trust and tried allegiance.—Possibly the place described as having fine buildings, gardens *etc.* is Aūd (Ajodhya) where Bābur spent some days in 934 AH. (cf. f. 363*b*, p. 655 n. 3).

[3] "Here my Persian manuscript closes" (This is B.M. Add. 26,200). "The two additional fragments are given from Mr. Metcalfe's manuscript alone" (now B.M. Add. 26,202) "and unluckily, it is extremely incorrect" (Erskine). This note will have been written perhaps a decade before 1826, in which year the *Memoirs of Bābur* was published, after long delay. Mr. Erskine's own Codex (No. 26,200) was made good at a later date, perhaps when he was working on his History of India (pub. 1854), by a well-written supplement which carries the diary to its usual end *s.a.* 936 AH. and also gives Persian translations of Bābur's letters to Humāyūn and Khwāja Kalān.

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(*lll. The westward march resumed.*)

(*May 31st*) Those who marched early (*Tuesday, Ramẓān 23rd*), having lost their way, went to the great lake of Fatḥpūr (?).[1] People were sent galloping off to fetch back such as were near and Kīchīk Khwāja was ordered to spend the night on the lake-shore and to bring the rest on next morning to join the camp. We marched at dawn ; I got into the Asāīsh half-way and had it towed to our ground higher up.

(*mmm. Details of the capture of a fort by Bīban and Bāyazīd.*)

On the way up, Khalīfa brought Shāh Muḥammad *dīwāna's* son who had come from Bāqī bringing this reliable news about Luknūr[2] :—They (*i.e.* Bīban and Bāyazīd) hurled their assault on Saturday the 13th of the month Ramẓān (*May 21st*) but could do nothing by fighting ; while the fighting was going on, a collection of wood-chips, hay, and thorns in the fort took fire, so that inside the walls it became as hot as an oven (*tanūrdīk tafsān*) ; the garrison could not move round the rampart ; the fort was lost. When the enemy heard, two or three days later, of our return (westwards), he fled towards Dalmau.[3]

Today after doing as much as 10 *kurohs* (20 m.), we dismounted beside a village called Jalisir,[4] on the Sarū-bank, in the Sagrī *pargāna.*

(*June 1st*) We stayed on the same ground through Wednesday (*24th*), in order to rest our cattle.

(*nnn. Dispositions against Bīban and Bāyazīd.*)

Some said they had heard that Bīban and Bāyazīd had crossed Gang, and thought of withdrawing themselves to their kinsfolk Fol. 378.

[1] Here, as earlier, Nathpūr suits the context better than Fatḥpūr. In the Nathpūr *pargana*, at a distance from Chaupāra approximately suiting Bābur's statement of distance, is the lake "Tal Ratoi", formerly larger and deeper than now. There is a second further west and now larger than Tal Ratoi ; through this the Ghogrā once flowed, and through it has tried within the last half-century to break back. These changes in Tal Ratoi and in the course of the Ghogrā dictate caution in attempting to locate places which were on it in Bābur's day *e.g.* K:l:r:h (*supra*).

[2] Appendix T.

[3] This name has the following variants in the Ḥai. MS. and in Kehr's :—Dalm-ū-ūū -ūr-ūd-ūṭ. The place was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Mānikpūr and is now in the Rai Bareilly district.

[4] Perhaps Chaksar, which was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Jūnpūr, and is now in the 'Azamgarh district.

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(*nisbahsīlār*) by way of . . . . . .[1] Here-upon the begs were summoned for a consultation and it was settled that Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and Sl. Junaid *Barlās* who in place of Jūnpūr had been given Chunār with several *parganas*, Maḥmud Khān *Nūḥānī*, Qāẓī Jīā, and Tāj Khān *Sarāng-khānī* should block the enemy's road at Chunār.[2]

(*June 2nd*) Marching early in the morning of Thursday (*25th*), we left the Sarū-river, did 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), crossed the Parsarū (Sarjū) and dismounted on its bank.

Here the begs were summoned, discussion was had, and the leaders named below were appointed to go detached from the army, in rapid pursuit of Bīban and Bāyazīd towards Dalmūṭ (Dalmau):—Aīsān-tīmūr Sl., Muḥammad Sl. M., Tūkhta-būghā Sl., Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sl., Bī-khūb (Nī-khūb) Sl., Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain Sl., Qāsim Khwāja, Ja'far Khwāja, Zahid Khwāja, Jānī Beg, 'Askarī's retainer Kīchīk Khwāja, and, of Hind amīrs, 'Ālam Khān of Kālpī, Malik-dād *Kararānī*, and Rāo (Rāwūī) *Sarwānī*.

(*ooo. The march continued.*)

When I went at night to make ablution in the Parsarū, people were catching a mass of fish that had gathered round a lamp on the surface of the water. I like others took fish in my hands.[3]

[1] Ḥai. MS. *J: nāra khūnd tawābī sī bīla* (perhaps *tawābī'sī* but not so written). The obscurity of these words is indicated by their variation in the manuscripts. Most scribes have them as Chunār and Jūnpūr, guided presumably by the despatch of a force to Chunār on receipt of the news, but another force was sent to Dalmau at the same time. The rebels were defeated s.w. of Dalmau and thence went to Mahūba; it is not certain that they had crossed the Ganges at Dalmau; there are difficulties in supposing the fort they captured and abandoned was Lakhnau (Oude); they might have gone south to near Kālpī and Ādampūr, which are at no great distance from where they were defeated by Bāqī *shaghāwal*, if Lakhnūr (now Shahābād in Rāmpūr) were the fort. (Cf. Appendix T.)—To take up the interpretation of the words quoted above, at another point, that of the kinsfolk or fellow-Afghāns the rebels planned to join:—these kinsfolk may have been, of Bāyazīd, the Farmūlīs in Sarwār, and of Bīban, the Jalwānīs of the same place. The two may have trusted to relationship for harbourage during the Rains, disloyal though they were to their kinsmen's accepted suzerain. Therefore if they were once across Ganges and Jumna, as they were in Mahūba, they may have thought of working eastwards south of the Ganges and of getting north into Sarwār through territory belonging to the Chunār and Jūnpūr governments. This however is not expressed by the words quoted above; perhaps Bābur's record was hastily and incompletely written.—Another reading may be Chunār and Jaund (in Akbar's *sarkār* of Rohtās).

[2] *yūlinī tūshqāīlār*. It may be observed concerning the despatch of Muḥammad-i-zamān M. and of Junaid *Barlās* that they went to their new appointments Jūnpūr and Chunār respectively; that their doing so was an orderly part of the winding-up of Bābur's Eastern operations; that they remained as part of the Eastern garrison, on duty apart from that of blocking the road of Bīban and Bāyazīd.

[3] This mode of fishing is still practised in India (Erskine).

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(*June 3rd*) On Friday (*26th*) we dismounted on a very slender stream, the head-water of a branch of the Parsarū. In order not to be disturbed by the comings and goings of the army-folk, Fol. 378*b*. I had it dammed higher up and had a place, 10 by 10, made for ablution. The night of the 27th [1] was spent on this ground.

(*June 4th*) At the dawn of the same day (*Saturday 27th*) we left that water, crossed the Tūs and dismounted on its bank.[2]

(*June 5th*) On Sunday (*28th*) we dismounted on the bank of the same water.

(*June 6th*) On Monday the 29th of the month (*Ramẓān*), our station was on the bank of the same Tūs-water. Though tonight the sky was not quite clear, a few people saw the Moon, and so testifying to the Qāẓī, fixed the end of the month (*Ramẓān*).

(*June 7th*) On Tuesday (*Shawwāl 1st*) we made the Prayer of the Festival, at dawn rode on, did 10 *kurohs* (20 m.), and dismounted on the bank of the Gūī (Gūmtī), a *kuroh* (2 m.) from Māīng.[3] The sin of *ma'jūn* was committed (*irtikāb qīlīldī*) near the Mid-day Prayer; I had sent this little couplet of invitation to Shaikh Zain, Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr :—

(*Turkī*) Shaikh and Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr,
Come all three, or two, or one.

Darwīsh-i-muḥammad (*Sārbān*), Yūnas-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-lāh (*'asas*)[4] were also there. At the Other Prayer the wrestlers set to.

(*June 8th*) On Wednesday (*2nd*) we stayed on the same ground. Near breakfast-time *ma'jūn* was eaten. Today Malik Sharq came in who had been to get Tāj Khān out of Chunār.[5] When the wrestlers set to today, the Champion of Aūd who had come earlier, grappled with and threw a Hindūstānī wrestler who had Fol. 379. come in the interval.

Today Yaḥyā *Nuḥānī* was granted an allowance of 15 *laks*

[1] Islāmicé, Saturday night; Anglicé, Friday after 6 p.m.

[2] This Tūs, "Tousin, or Tons, is a branch from the Ghogrā coming off above Faizābād and joining the Sarju or Parsarū below 'Azamgarh" (Erskine).

[3] Kehr's MS. p. 1132, Māng (or Mānk); Ḥai. MS. Tāīk; I.O. 218 f. 328 Bā:k; I.O. 217 f. 236*b*, Bīāk. Māīng in the Sulṭānpūr district seems suitably located (*D. G. of Sulṭānpūr*, p. 162).

[4] This will be the night-guard (*'asas*); the librarian (*kitābdār*) is in Saṃbhal. I.O. 218 f. 325 inserts *kitābdār* after 'Abdu'l-lāh's name where he is recorded as sent to Saṃbhal (f. 375).

[5] He will have announced to Tāj Khān the transfer of the fort to Junaid *Barlās*.

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from Parsarūr,[1] made to put on a dress of honour, and given his leave.

(*June 9th*) Next day (*Thursday 3rd*) we did 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), crossed the Gūī-water (Gūmtī), and dismounted on its bank.

(*ppp. Concerning the pursuit of Bīban and Bāyazīd.*)

News came in about the sulṭāns and begs of the advance that they had reached Dalmūd (Dalmau), but were said not yet to have crossed the water (Ganges). Angered by this (delay), I sent orders, "Cross the water at once; follow the track of the rebels; cross Jūn (Jumna) also; join 'Ālam Khān to yourselves; be energetic and get to grips with the adversary."

(*qqq. The march continued.*)

(*June 10th*) After leaving this water (*Gūmtī, Friday 4th*) we made two night-halts and reached Dalmūd (Dalmau), where most of the army-folk crossed Gang, there and then, by a ford. While the camp was being got over, *ma'jūn* was eaten on an island (*ārāl*) below the ford.

(*June 13th*) After crossing, we waited one day (*Monday 7th*) for all the army-folk to get across. Today Bāqī *Tāshkīndī* came in with the army of Aūd (Ajodhya) and waited on me.

(*June 14th*) Leaving the Gang-water (Ganges, *Tuesday 8th*), we made one night-halt, then dismounted (*June 15th–Shawwāl 9th*) beside Kūrarah (Kūra Khās) on the Arind-water. The distance from Dalmūd (Dalmau) to Kūrarah came out at *22 kurohs* (44 m.).[2]

(*June 16th*) On Thursday (10*th*) we marched early from that ground and dismounted opposite the Ādampūr *pargana*.[3]

To enable us to cross (Jūn) in pursuit of our adversaries, a few
Fol. 379*b*. raftsmen had been sent forward to collect at Kālpī what boats were to be had; some boats arrived the night we dismounted, moreover a ford was found through the Jūn-river.

As the encamping-place was full of dust, we settled ourselves

[1] £3750. Parsarūr was in Akbar's *ṣūbah* of Lāhor; G. of I. xx, 23, Pasrūr.

[2] The estimate may have been made by measurement (f. 356) or by counting a horse's steps (f. 370). Here the Ḥai. MS. and Kehr's have D:lmūd, but I.O. 218 f. 328*b* (D:lmūū).

[3] As on f. 361*b*, so here, Bābur's wording tends to locate Ādampūr on the right (west) bank of the Jumna.

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on an island and there stayed the several days we were on that ground.

(*rrr. Concerning Bīban and Bāyazīd.*)

Not getting reliable news about the enemy, we sent Bāqī *shaghāwal* with a few braves of the interior[1] to get information about him.

(*June 17th*) Next day (*Friday 11th*) at the Other Prayer, one of Bāqī Beg's retainers came in. Bāqī had beaten scouts of Bīban and Bāyazīd, killed one of their good men, Mubārak Khān *Jalwānī*, and some others, sent in several heads, and one man alive.

(*June 18th*) At dawn (*Saturday 12th*) Paymaster Shāh Ḥusain came in, told the story of the beating of the scouts, and gave various news.

Tonight, that is to say, the night of Sunday the 13th of the month,[2] the river Jūn came down in flood, so that by the dawn, the whole of the island on which I was settled, was under water. I moved to another an arrow's-flight down-stream, there had a tent set up and settled down.

(*June 20th*) On Monday (*14th*) Jalāl *Tāshkīndī* came from the begs and sulṭāns of the advance. Shaikh Bāyazīd and Bīban, on hearing of their expedition, had fled to the *pargana* of Mahūba.[3] Fol. 380.

As the Rains had set in and as after 5 or 6 months of active service, horses and cattle in the army were worn out, the sulṭāns and begs of the expedition were ordered to remain where they were till they received fresh supplies from Āgra and those parts. At the Other Prayer of the same day, leave was given to Bāqī and the army of Aūd (Ajodhya). Also an allowance of 30 *lāks*[4] from Amrohā was assigned to Mūsa (son) of Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, who had waited on me at the time the returning army was crossing the Sarū-water,[5] a special head-to-foot and saddled horse were bestowed on him, and he was given his leave.

[1] Ḥai. MS. *aūta*, presumably for *aūrta*; Kehr's p. 1133, Aūd-dāghī, which, as Bāqī led the Aūd army, is *ben trovato*; both Persian translations, *mīāngānī*, central, inner, *i.e. aūrta*, perhaps household troops of the Centre.

[2] Anglicé, Saturday 12th after 6 p.m.

[3] In Akbar's *sarkār* of Kālanjar, now in the Hamirpūr district.

[4] £7500 (Erskine). Amrohā is in the Morādābād district.

[5] At the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk ferry (f. 376).—*Corrigendum*:—In the Index of the *Bābur-nāma Facsimile*, Mūsa *Farmūlī* and Mūsa Sl. are erroneously entered as if one man.

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(*sss. Bābur returns to Āgra.*)

(*June 21st*) With an easy mind about these parts, we set out for Āgra, raid-fashion,[1] when 3*pās* 1*garī* of Tuesday night were past.[2] In the morning (*Tuesday 15th*) we did 16*kurohs* (32 m.), near mid-day made our nooning in the *pargana* of Balādar, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, there gave our horses barley, at the Evening Prayer rode on, did 13*kurohs* (26 m.) in the night, at the 3rd night-watch (*mid-night, Shawwāl 15–16th*) dismounted at Bahādur Khān *Sarwānī's* tomb at Sūgandpūr, a *pargana* of Kālpī, slept a little, went through the Morning Prayer and hurried on. After doing 16*kurohs* (32 m.), we reached Etāwa at the fall of day, where Mahdī Khwāja came out to meet us.[3] Riding
Fol. 380*b*. on after the 1st night-watch (9 p.m.), we slept a little on the way, did 16*kurohs* (32 m.), took our nooning at Fathpūr of Rāprī, rode on soon after the Mid-day Prayer (*Thursday Shawwāl 17th*), did 17*kurohs* (34 m.), and in the 2nd night-watch[4] dismounted in the Garden-of-eight-paradises at Āgra.

(*June 24th*) At the dawn of Friday (*18th*) Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad came with several more to wait on me. Towards the Mid-day Prayer, having crossed Jūn, I waited on Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq, went into the Fort and saw the begīms my paternal-aunts.

(*ttt. Indian-grown fruits.*)

A Balkhī melon-grower had been set to raise melons; he now brought a few first-rate small ones; on one or two bush-vines (*būta-tāk*) I had had planted in the Garden-of-eight-paradises very good grapes had grown; Shaikh Gūran sent me a basket of grapes which too were not bad. To have grapes and melons grown in this way in Hindūstān filled my measure of content.

(*uuu. Arrival of Māhīm Begīm.*)

(*June 26th*) Māhīm arrived while yet two watches of Sunday night (*Shawwāl 20th*)[5] remained. By a singular agreement

[1] *i.e.* riding light and fast. The distance done between Ādampūr and Āgra was some 157 miles, the time was from 12 a.m. on Tuesday morning to about 9 p.m. of Thursday. This exploit serves to show that three years of continuous activity in the plains of Hindūstān had not destroyed Bābur's capacity for sustained effort, spite of several attacks of (malarial?) fever.

[2] Anglicé, Tuesday 12.25 a.m.

[3] He was governor of Etāwa.

[4] Islamicé, Friday, Shawwāl 18th, Anglicé, Thursday, June 24th, soon after 9 p.m.

[5] Anglicé, she arrived at mid-night of Saturday.—Gul-badan writes of Māhīm's arrival as unexpected and of Bābur's hurrying off on foot to meet her (*Humāyūn-nāma* f. 14, trs. p. 100).

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of things they had left Kābul on the very day, the 10th of the 1st Jumāda (*Jan. 21st 1529*) on which I rode out to the army.[1]

(*Here the record of 11 days is wanting.*)

(*July 7th*) On Thursday the 1st of Ẕū'l-qa'da the offerings made by Humāyūn and Māhīm were set out while I sat in the large Hall of Audience.

Today also wages were given to 150 porters (*kahār*) and they were started off under a servant of Faghfūr *Dīwān* to fetch melons, grapes, and other fruits from Kābul. Fol. 381.

(*vvv. Concerning Saṃbhal.*)

(*July 9th*) On Saturday the 3rd of the month, Hindū Beg who had come as escort from Kābul and must have been sent to Saṃbhal on account of the death of 'Alī-i-yūsuf, came and waited on me.[2] Khalīfa's (son) Ḥusāmu'd-dīn came also today from Alwār and waited on me.

(*July 10th*) On Sunday morning (*4th*) came 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*), who from Tīr-mūhānī[3] had been sent to Saṃbhal on account of the death of 'Alī-i-yūsuf.

(*Here the record of 7 days is wanting.*)

(*www. Sedition in Lāhor.*)

People from Kābul were saying that Shaikh Sharaf of Qarā-bāgh, either incited by 'Abdu'l-'azīz or out of liking for him, had written an attestation which attributed to me oppression I had not done, and outrage that had not happened; that he

[1] Māhīm's journey from Kābul to Āgra had occupied over 5 months.

[2] Hindū Beg *qūchīn* had been made Humāyūn's retainer in 932 AH. (f. 297), and had taken possession of Saṃbhal for him. Hence, as it seems, he was ordered, while escorting the ladies from Kābul, to go to Saṃbhal. He seems to have gone before waiting on Bābur, probably not coming into Āgra till now.—It may be noted here that in 933 AH. he transformed a Hindū temple into a Mosque in Saṃbhal; it was done by Bābur's orders and is commemorated by an inscription still existing on the Mosque, one seeming not to be of his own composition, judging by its praise of himself. (JASB. *Proceedings*, May 1873, p. 98, Blochmann's art. where the inscription is given and translated; and *Archæological Survey Reports*, xii, p. 24–27, with Plates showing the Mosque).

[3] Cf. f. 375, f. 377, with notes concerning 'Abdu'l-lāh and Tīr-mūhānī. I have not found the name Tīr-mūhānī on maps; its position can be inferred from Bābur's statement (f. 375) that he had sent 'Abdu'l-lāh to Saṃbhal, he being then at Kunba or Kuṇia in the Nurhun *pargana*.—The name Tīr-mūhānī occurs also in Gorakhpūr.—It was at Tīr-mūhānī (Three-mouths) that Khwānd-amīr completed the *Ḥabību's-siyar* (lith. ed. i, 83; Rieu's *Pers. Cat.* p. 1079). If the name imply three water-mouths, they might be those of Ganges, Ghogrā and Dāhā.

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had extorted the signatures of the Prayer-leaders (*imāmlār*) of Lāhor to this accusation, and had sent copies of it to the various towns; that 'Abdu'l-'azīz himself had failed to give ear to several royal orders, had spoken unseemly words, and done acts which ought to have been left undone. On account of these matters Qambar-i-'alī *Arghūn* was started off on Sunday the 11th of the month (*Ẕū'l-qa'da*), to arrest Shaikh Sharaf, the Lāhor *imāms* with their associates, and 'Abdu'l-'azīz, and to bring them all to Court.

(*xxx. Varia.*)

(*July 22nd*) On Thursday the 15th of the month Chīn-tīmūr Sl. came in from Tijāra and waited on me. Today Champion
Fol. 381*b*. Ṣādiq and the great champion-wrestler of Aūd wrestled. Ṣādiq gave a half-throw[1]; he was much vexed.

(*July 28th*) On Monday the 19th of the month (*Ẕū'l-qa'da*) the Qīzīl-bāsh envoy Murād the life-guardsman was made to put on an inlaid dagger with belt, and a befitting dress of honour, was presented with 2 *laks* of *tankas* and given leave to go.

(*Here the record of 15 days is wanting.*)

(*yyy. Sedition in Gūālīār.*)

(*August 11th*) Sayyid Mashhadī who had come from Gūālīār in these days, represented that Raḥīm-dād was stirring up sedition.[2] On account of this, Khalīfa's servant Shāh Muḥammad the seal-bearer was sent to convey to Raḥīm-dād matters written with commingling of good counsel. He went; and in a few days came back bringing Raḥīm-dād's son, but, though the son came, Raḥīm-dād himself had no thought of coming. On Wednesday the 5th of *Ẕū'l-ḥijja*, Nūr Beg was sent to Gūālīār

[1] *nīm-kāra*. E. and de C. however reverse the *rôles*.

[2] The *Tārīkh-i-gūālīārī* (B.M. Add. 16,709, p. 18) supplements the fragmentary accounts which, above and *s.a.* 936 AH., are all that the *Bābur-nāma* now preserves concerning Khwāja Rāḥīm-dād's misconduct. It has several mistakes but the gist of its information is useful. It mentions that the Khwāja and his paternal-uncle Mahdī Khwāja had displeased Bābur; that Raḥīm-dād resolved to take refuge with the ruler of Mālwā (Muḥammad *Khiljī*) and to make over Gūālīār to a Rājpūt landholder of that country; that upon this Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ* went to Āgra and interceded with Bābur and obtained his forgiveness for Raḥīm-dād. Gūālīār was given back to Raḥīm-dād but after a time he was superseded by Abū'l-fatḥ [Shaikh Gūran]. For particulars about Mahdī Khwāja and a singular story told about him by Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, *vide* Gul-badan's *Ḥumāyūn-nāma*, Appendix B, and *Translator's Note* p. 702, Section *f*.

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to allay Raḥīm-dād's fears, came back in a few days, and laid requests from Raḥīm-dād before us. Orders in accordance with those requests had been written and were on the point of despatch when one of Raḥīm-dād's servants arriving, represented that he had come to effect the escape of the son and that Raḥīm-dād himself had no thought of coming in. I was for riding out at once to Gūālīār, but Khalīfa set it forth to me, "Let me write one more letter commingled with good counsel; he may even yet come peacefully." On this mission Khusrau's (son?) Shihābu'd-dīn was despatched.

(*August 12th*) On Thursday the 6th of the month mentioned (*Ẕū'l-ḥijja*) Mahdī Khwāja came in from Etāwa.[1] Fol. 382.

(*August 16th*) On the Festival-day[2] (*Monday 10th*) Hindū Beg was presented with a special head-to-foot, an inlaid dagger with belt; also a *pargana* worth *7 laks*[3] was bestowed on Ḥasan-i-'alī, well-known among the Turkmāns[4] for a Chaghatāī.[5]

[1] He may have come about the misconduct of his nephew Raḥīm-dād.

[2] The 'Īdu'l-kabīr, the Great Festival of 10th Ẕū'l-ḥijja.

[3] About £1750 (Erskine).

[4] Perhaps he was from the tract in Persia still called Chaghatāī Mountains. One Ibrāhīm *Chaghatāī* is mentioned by Bābur (f. 175*b*) with Turkmān begs who joined Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*. This Ḥasan-i-'alī *Chaghatāī* may have come in like manner, with Murād the Turkmān envoy from 'Irāq (f. 369 and n. 1).

[5] Several incidents recorded by Gul-badan (writing half a century later) as following Māhīm's arrival in Āgra, will belong to the record of 935 AH. because they preceded Humāyūn's arrival from Badakhshān. Their omission from Bābur's diary is explicable by its minor *lacunæ*. Such are :—(1) a visit to Dhūlpūr and Sīkrī the interest of which lies in its showing that Bībī Mubārika had accompanied Māhīm Begīm to Āgra from Kābul, and that there was in Sīkrī a quiet retreat, a *chaukandī*, where Bābur "used to write his book";—(2) the arrival of the main caravan of ladies from Kābul, which led Bābur to go four miles out, to Naugrām, in order to give honouring reception to his sister Khān-ẓāda Begīm;—(3) an excursion to the Gold-scattering garden (*Bāgh-i-zar-afshān*), where seated among his own people, Bābur said he was "bowed down by ruling and reigning", longed to retire to that garden with a single attendant, and wished to make over his sovereignty to Humāyūn;—(4) the death of Dil-dār's son Alwār (var. Anwār) whose birth may be assigned to the gap preceding 932 AH. because not chronicled later by Bābur, as is Farūq's. As a distraction from the sorrow for this loss, a journey was "pleasantly made by water" to Dhūlpūr.

MUGHAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

936 AH.—SEP. 5TH 1529 to AUGUST 25TH 1530 AD.

(*a. Raḥīm-dād's affairs.*)

(*Sep. 7th*) On Wednesday the 3rd of Muḥarram, Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ* [1] came in from Gūālīār with Khusrau's (son) Shihābu'd-dīn to plead for Raḥīm-dād. As Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ* was a pious and excellent person, Raḥīm-dād's faults were forgiven for his sake. Shaikh Gūran and Nūr Beg were sent off for Gūālīār, so that the place having been made over to their charge . . .[2]

[1] Cf. f. 381*b* n. 2. For his earlier help to Raḥīm-dād *see* f. 304. For Biographies of him *see* Blochmann's A.-i-A. trs. p. 446, and Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh* (Ranking's and Lowe's trss.).

[2] Beyond this broken passage, one presumably at the foot of a page in Bābur's own manuscript, nothing of his diary is now known to survive. What is missing seems likely to have been written and lost. It is known from a remark of Gul-badan's (H.N. p. 103) that he "used to write his book" after Māhīm's arrival in Āgra, the place coming into her anecdote being Sīkrī.

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON 936 TO 937 AH.—1529 TO 1530 AD.

It is difficult to find material for filling the *lacuna* of some 15 months, which occurs in Bābur's diary after the broken passage of Muḥarram 3rd 936 AH. (Sept. 7th 1529 AD.) and down to the date of his death on Jumāda I. 6th 937 AH. (Dec. 26th 1530 AD.). The known original sources are few, their historical matter scant, their contents mainly biographical. Gleanings may yet be made, however, in unexpected places, such gleanings as are provided by Aḥmad-i-yādgār's interpolation of Tīmūrid history amongst his lives of Afghān Sulṭāns.

The earliest original source which helps to fill the gap of 936 AH. is Ḥaidar Mīrzā's *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, finished as to its Second Part which contains Bābur's biography, in 948 AH. (1541 AD.), 12 years therefore after the year of the gap 936 AH. It gives valuable information about the affairs of Badakhshān, based on its author's personal experience at 30 years of age, and was Abū'l-faẓl's authority for the *Akbar-nāma*.

The next in date of the original sources is Gul-badan Begīm's *Humāyūn-nāma*, a chronicle of family affairs, which she wrote in obedience to her nephew Akbar's command, given in about 995 AH. (1587 AD.), some 57 years after her Father's death, that whatever any person knew of his father (Humāyūn) and grandfather (Bābur) should be written down for Abū'l-faẓl's use. It embodies family memories and traditions, and presumably gives the recollections of several ladies of the royal circle.[1]

[1] Jauhar's *Humāyūn-nāma* and Bāyazīd *Bīyāt's* work of the same title were written under the same royal command as the Begīm's. They contribute nothing towards filling the gap of 936 AH. ; their authors, being Humāyūn's servants, write about him. It may be observed that criticism of these books, as recording trivialities, is disarmed if they were commanded because they would obey an order to set down whatever was known, selection amongst their contents resting with Abū'l-faẓl. Even more completely must they be excluded from a verdict on the literary standard of their day.—Abū'l-faẓl must have had a source of Bāburiana which has not found its way into European libraries. A man likely to have contributed his recollections, directly or transmitted, is Khwāja Muqīm *Harāwī*. The date of Muqīm's death is conjectural only, but he lived long enough to impress the worth of historical writing on his son Niẓāmu'-d-dīn Aḥmad. (Cf. E. and D.'s H. of I. art. *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* v, 177 and 187; Ṭ.-i-A. lith. ed. p. 193; and for Bāyazīd *Bīyāt's* work, JASB. 1898, p. 296.)

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The *Akbar-nāma* derives much of its narrative for 936–937 AH. from Ḥaidar Mīrzā and Gul-badan Begīm, but its accounts of Bābur's self-surrender and of his dying address to his chiefs presuppose the help of information from a contemporary witness. It is noticeable that the *Akbar-nāma* records no public events as occurring in Hindūstān during 936–937 AH., nothing of the sequel of rebellion by Raḥīm-dād [1] and 'Abdu'l-'azīz, nothing of the untiring Bīban and Bāyazīd. That something could have been told is shown by what Aḥmad-i-yādgār has preserved (*vide post*); but 50 years had passed since Bābur's death and, manifestly, interest in filling the *lacunæ* in his diary was then less keen than it is over 300 years later. What in the *Akbar-nāma* concerns Bābur is likely to have been written somewhat early in the *cir.* 15 years of its author's labours on it,[2] but, even so, the elder women of the royal circle had had rest after the miseries Humāyūn had wrought, the forgiveness of family affection would veil his past, and certainly has provided Abū'l-faẓl with an over-mellowed estimate of him, one ill-assorting with what is justified by his Bābur-nāma record.

The contribution made towards filling the gap of 936–937 AH. in the body of Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* is limited to a curious and doubtfully acceptable anecdote about a plan for the supersession of Humāyūn as Pādshāh, and about the part played by Khwāja Muqīm *Harāwī* in its abandonment. A further contribution is made, however, in Book VII which contains the history of the Muḥammadan Kings of Kashmīr, namely, that Bābur despatched an expedition into that country. As no such expedition is recorded or referred to in surviving Bābur-nāma writings, it is likely to have been sent in 936 AH. during Bābur's tour to and from Lāhor. If it were made with the aim of extending Tīmūrid authority in the Himālayan borderlands, a hint of similar policy elsewhere may be given by the ceremonious visit of the Rāja of Kahlūr to Bābur,

[1] Ibn Batuta (Lee's trs. p. 133) mentions that after his appointment to Gūāliār, Raḥīm-dād fell from favour . . . but was restored later, on the representation of Muḥammad Ghauṣ; held Gūāliār again for a short time, (he went to Bahādur Shāh in Gujrāt) and was succeeded by Abū'l-fatḥ (*i.e.* Shaikh Gūran) who held it till Bābur's death.

[2] Its translation and explanatory noting have filled two decades of hard-working years. *Tanti labores auctoris et traductoris!*

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mentioned by Aḥmad-i-yādgār (*vide post*).[1] The Ṭ.-i-A. was written within the term of Abū'l-faẓl's work on the *Akbar-nāma*, being begun later, and ended about 9 years earlier, in 1002 AH.—1593 AD. It appears to have been Abū'-l-faẓl's authority for his account of the campaign carried on in Kashmīr by Bābur's chiefs (*Āyīn-i-akbarī* vol. ii, part i, Jarrett's trs. p. 389).

An important contribution, seeming to be authentic, is found interpolated in Aḥmad-i-yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana*, one which outlines a journey made by Bābur to Lāhor in 936 AH. and gives circumstantial details of a punitive expedition sent by him from Sihrind at the complaint of the Qāẓī of Samāna against a certain Mundāhir Rājpūt. The whole contribution dovetails into matters found elsewhere. Its precision of detail bespeaks a closely-contemporary written source.[2] As its fullest passage concerns the Samāna Qāẓī's affair, its basis of record may have been found in Samāna. Some considerations about the date of Aḥmad-i-yādgār's own book and what Niamatu'l-lāh says of Haibat Khān of Samāna, his own generous helper in the *Tārīkh-i-Khan-i-jahān Lūdī*, point towards Haibat Khān as providing the details of the Qāẓī's wrongs and avenging. The indication is strengthened by the circumstance that what precedes and what follows the account of the punitive expedition is outlined only.[3] Aḥmad-i-yādgār interpolates an account of Humāyūn also, which is a frank plagiarism from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*. He tells too a story purporting to explain why Bābur "selected" Humāyūn to succeed him, one parallel with Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's about what led Khalīfa to abandon his plan of setting the Mīrzā aside. Its sole value lies in its testimony to a belief, held by its first narrator whoever he was, that choice was exercised in the matter by Bābur. Reasons for thinking Niẓāmu'd-dīn's story, as it stands, highly improbable, will be found later in this note.

[1] I am indebted to my husband for acquaintance with Niẓāmu'-d-dīn Aḥmad's record about Bābur and Kashmīr.

[2] In view of the vicissitudes to which under Humāyūn the royal library was subjected, it would be difficult to assert that this source was not the missing continuation of Bābur's diary.

[3] E. and D.'s H. of I. art. *Tārīkh-i Khān-i-jahān Lūdī* v, 67. For Aḥmad-i-yādgār's book and its special features *vide l.c.* v, 2, 24, with notes; Rieu's *Persian Catalogue* iii, 922*a*; JASB. 1916, H. Beveridge's art. *Note on the Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana.*

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Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh *Firishta's Tārīkh-i-firishta* contains an interesting account of Bābur but contributes towards filling the gap in the events of 936–937 AH. little that is not in the earlier sources. In M. Jules Mohl's opinion it was under revision as late as 1623 AD. (1032–3 AH.).

a. Humāyūn and Badakhshān.

An occurrence which had important results, was the arrival of Humāyūn in Āgra, unsummoned by his Father, from the outpost station of Badakhshān. It will have occurred early in 936 AH. (autumn 1529 AD.), because he was in Kābul in the first ten days of the last month of 935 AH. (*vide post*). Curiously enough his half-sister Gul-badan does not mention his coming, whether through avoidance of the topic or from inadvertence; the omission may be due however to the loss of a folio from the only known MS. of her book (that now owned by the British Museum), and this is the more likely that Abū'l-faẓl writes, at some length, about the arrival and its motive, what the Begīm might have provided, this especially by his attribution of filial affection as Humāyūn's reason for coming to Āgra.

Ḥaidar Mīrzā is the authority for the Akbar-nāma account of Humāyūn's departure from Qila'-i-ẓafar and its political and military sequel. He explains the departure by saying that when Bābur had subdued Hindūstān, his sons Humāyūn and Kāmrān were grown-up; and that wishing to have one of them at hand in case of his own death, he summoned Humāyūn, leaving Kāmrān in Qandahār. No doubt these were the contemporary impressions conveyed to Ḥaidar, and strengthened by the accomplished fact before he wrote some 12 years later; nevertheless there are two clear indications that there was no royal order for Humāyūn to leave Qila'-i-ẓafar, *viz.* that no-one had been appointed to relieve him even when he reached Āgra, and that Abū'l-faẓl mentions no summons but attributes the Mīrzā's departure from his post to an overwhelming desire to see his Father. What appears probable is that Māhīm wrote to her son urging his coming to Āgra, and that this was represented as Bābur's wish. However little weight may be due to the rumour, preserved in anecdotes recorded long after 935 AH., that any-one, Bābur or Khalīfa,

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inclined against Humāyūn's succession, that rumour she would set herself to falsify by reconciliation.[1]

When the Mīrzā's intention to leave Qila'-i-ẓafar became known there, the chiefs represented that they should not be able to withstand the Aūzbeg on their frontier without him (his troops implied).[2] With this he agreed, said that still he must go, and that he would send a Mīrzā in his place as soon as possible. He then rode, in one day, to Kābul, an item of rapid travel preserved by Abū'l-faẓl.

Humāyūn's departure caused such anxiety in Qila'-i-ẓafar that some (if not all) of the Badakhshī chiefs hurried off an invitation to Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāī*, the then ruler in Kāshghar in whose service Ḥaidar Mīrzā was, to come at once and occupy the fort. They said that Faqīr-i-'alī who had been left in charge, was not strong enough to cope with the Aūzbeg, begged Sa'īd to come, and strengthened their petition by reminding him of his hereditary right to Badakhshān, derived from Shāh Begīm *Badakhshī*. Their urgency convincing the Khān that risk threatened the country, he started from Kāshghar in Muḥarram 936 AH. (Sept.–Oct. 1529 AD.). On reaching Sārīgh-chūpān which by the annexation of Abā-bakr Mīrzā *Dūghlāt* was now his own most western territory [3] but which formerly was one of the upper districts of Badakhshān, he waited while Ḥaidar went on towards Qila'-i-ẓafar only to learn on his road, that Hind-āl (*æt.* 10) had been sent from Kābul by Humāyūn and had entered the fort 12 days before.

The Kāshgharīs were thus placed in the difficulty that the fort was occupied by Bābur's representative, and that the snows would prevent their return home across the mountains till winter was past. Winter-quarters were needed and asked for by Ḥaidar, certain districts being specified in which to await the re-opening of the Pāmīr routes. He failed in his request, "They did not trust us," he writes, "indeed suspected us of deceit." His own account of Sa'īd's earlier invasion of Badakhshān (925 AH.—1519 AD.) during Khān Mīrzā's rule, serves to explain Badakhshī

[1] Humāyūn's last recorded act in Hindūstān was that of 933 AH. (f. 329*b*) when he took unauthorized possession of treasure in Dihlī.

[2] *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. p. 387.

[3] T.-i-R. trs. p. 353 *et seq.* and Mr. Ney Elias' notes.

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distrust of Kāshgharīs. Failing in his negotiations, he scoured and pillaged the country round the fort, and when a few days later the Khān arrived, his men took what Ḥaidar's had left.

Sa'īd Khān is recorded to have besieged the fort for three months, but nothing serious seems to have been attempted since no mention of fighting is made, none of assault or sally, and towards the end of the winter he was waited on by those who had invited his presence, with apology for not having admitted him into the fort, which they said they would have done but for the arrival of Hind-āl Mīrzā. To this the Khān replied that for him to oppose Bābur Pādshāh was impossible; he reminded the chiefs that he was there by request, that it would be as hurtful for the Pādshāh as for himself to have the Aūzbeg in Badakhshān and, finally, he gave it as his opinion that, as matters stood, every man should go home. His view of the general duty may include that of Badakhshī auxiliaries such as Sulṭān Wais of Kūl-āb who had reinforced the garrison. So saying, he himself set out for Kāshghar, and at the beginning of Spring reached Yārkand.

b. Humāyūn's further action.

Humāyūn will have reached Kābul before Ẕū'l-ḥijja 10th 935 AH. (Aug. 26th 1529 AD.) because it is on record that he met Kāmrān on the Kābul 'Īd-gāh, and both will have been there to keep the 'Īdu'l-kabīr, the Great Festival of Gifts, which is held on that day. Kāmrān had come from Qandahār, whether to keep the Feast, or because he had heard of Humāyūn's intended movement from Badakhshān, or because changes were foreseen and he coveted Kābul, as the *Bābur-nāma* and later records allow to be inferred. He asked Humāyūn, says Abū'l-faẓl, why he was there and was told of his brother's impending journey to Āgra under overwhelming desire to see their Father.[1] Presumably the two Mīrzās discussed the position in which Badakhshān had been left; in the end Hind-āl was sent to Qila'-i-ẓafar, notwithstanding that he was under orders for Hindūstān.

Humāyūn may have stayed some weeks in Kābul, how many those familiar with the seasons and the routes between Yārkand

[1] Abū'l-faẓl's record of Humāyūn's sayings and minor doings at this early date in his career, can hardly be anything more accurate than family-tradition.

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and Qila'-i-ẓafar, might be able to surmise if the date of Hind-āl's start northward for which Humāyūn is likely to have waited, were found by dovetailing the Muḥarram of Sa'īd's start, the approximate length of his journey to Sārīgh-chūpān, and Ḥaidar's reception of news that Hind-āl had been 12 days in the fort.

Humāyūn's arrival in Āgra is said by Abū'l-faẓl to have been cheering to the royal family in their sadness for the death of Alwar (end of 935 AH.) and to have given pleasure to his Father. But the time is all too near the date of Bābur's letter (f. 348) to Humāyūn, that of a dissatisfied parent, to allow the supposition that his desertion of his post would fail to displease.

That it was a desertion and not an act of obedience seems clear from the circumstance that the post had yet to be filled. Khalīfa is said to have been asked to take it and to have refused ;[1] Humāyūn to have been sounded as to return and to have expressed unwillingness. Bābur then did what was an honourable sequel to his acceptance in 926 AH. of the charge of the fatherless child Sulaimān, by sending him, now about 16, to take charge where his father Khān Mīrzā had ruled, and by still keeping him under his own protection.

Sulaimān's start from Āgra will not have been delayed, and (accepting Aḥmad-i-yādgār's record,) Bābur himself will have gone as far as Lāhor either with him or shortly after him, an expedition supporting Sulaimān, and menacing Sa'īd in his winter leaguer round Qila'-i-ẓafar. Meantime Humāyūn was ordered to his fief of Saṃbhal.

After Sulaimān's appointment Bābur wrote to Sa'īd a letter of which Ḥaidar gives the gist :—It expresses surprise at Sa'īd's doings in Badakhshān, says that Hind-āl has been recalled and Sulaimān sent, that if Sa'īd regard hereditary right, he will

[1] The statement that Khalīfa was asked to go so far from where he was of the first importance as an administrator, leads to consideration of why it was done. So little is known explicitly of Bābur's intentions about his territories after his death that it is possible only to put that little together and read between its lines. It may be that he was now planning an immediate retirement to Kābul and an apportionment during life of his dominions, such as Abū-sa'īd had made of his own. If so, it would be desirable to have Badakhshān held in strength such as Khalīfa's family could command, and especially desirable because as Barlās Turks, that family would be one with Bābur in desire to regain Transoxiana. Such a political motive would worthily explain the offer of the appointment.

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leave "Sulaimān Shāh Mīrzā"[1] in possession, who is as a son to them both,[2] that this would be well, that otherwise he (Bābur) will make over responsibility to the heir (Sulaimān);[3] and, "The rest you know."[4]

c. Bābur visits Lāhor.

If Aḥmad-i-yādgār's account of a journey made by Bābur to Lāhor and the Panj-āb be accepted, the *lacuna* of 936 AH. is appropriately filled. He places the expedition in the 3rd year of Bābur's rule in Hindūstān, which, counting from the first reading of the *khuṭba* for Bābur in Dihlī (f. 286), began on Rajab 15th 935 AH. (March 26th 1529 AD.). But as Bābur's diary-record for 935 AH. is complete down to end of the year, (minor *lacunæ* excepted), the time of his leaving Āgra for Lāhor is relegated to 936 AH. He must have left early in the year, (1) to allow time, before the occurrence of the known events preceding his own death, for the long expedition Aḥmad-i-yādgār calls one of a year, and (2) because an early start after Humāyūn's arrival and Sulaimān's departure would suit the position of affairs and the dates mentioned or implied by Ḥaidar's and by Aḥmad-i-yādgār's narratives.

Two reasons of policy are discernible, in the known events of the time, to recommend a journey in force towards the North-west; first, the sedition of 'Abdu'l-'azīz in Lāhor (f. 381), and secondly, the invasion of Badakhshān by Sa'īd Khān with its resulting need of supporting Sulaimān by a menace of armed intervention.[5]

[1] The "Shāh" of this style is derived from Sulaimān's Badakhshī descent through Shāh Begīm; the "Mīrzā" from his Mīrān-shāhī descent through his father Wais Khān Mīrzā. The title Khān Mīrzā or Mīrzā Khān, presumably according to the outlook of the speaker, was similarly derived from forbears, as would be also Shāh Begīm's; (her personal name is not mentioned in the sources).

[2] Sa'īd, on the father's, and Bābur, on the mother's side, were of the same generation in descent from Yūnas Khān; Sulaimān was of a younger one, hence his pseudo-filial relation to the men of the elder one.

[3] Sa'īd was Shāh Begīm's grandson through her son Aḥmad, Sulaimān her great-grandson through her daughter Sulṭān-Nigār, but Sulaimān could claim also as the heir of his father who was nominated to rule by Shāh Begīm; moreover, he could claim by right of conquest on the father's side, through Abū-sa'īd the conqueror, his son Maḥmūd long the ruler, and so through Maḥmūd's son Wais Khān Mīrzā.

[4] The menace conveyed by these words would be made the more forceful by Bābur's move to Lāhor, narrated by Aḥmad-i-yādgār. Some ill-result to Sa'īd of independent rule by Sulaimān seems foreshadowed; was it that if Bābur's restraining hand were withdrawn, the Badakhshīs would try to regain their lost districts and would have help in so-doing from Bābur?

[5] It is open to conjecture that if affairs in Hindūstān had allowed it, Bābur would now have returned to Kābul. Aḥmad-i-yādgār makes the expedition to be one for

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In Sihrind the Rāja of Kahlūr, a place which may be one of the Simla hill-states, waited on Bābur, made offering of 7 falcons and 3 *mans*[1] of gold, and was confirmed in his fief.[2]

In Lāhor Kāmrān is said to have received his Father, in a garden of his own creation, and to have introduced the local chiefs as though he were the Governor of Lāhor some writers describe him as then being. The best sources, however, leave him still posted in Qandahār. He had been appointed to Multān (f. 359) when 'Askarī was summoned to Āgra (f. 339), but whether he actually went there is not assured; some months later (Ẕū'l-ḥijja 10th 935 AH.) he is described by Abū'l-faẓl as coming to Kābul from Qandahār. He took both Multān[3] and Lāhor by force from his (half-)brother Humāyūn in 935 AH. (1531 AD.) the year after their Father's death. That he should wait upon his Father in Lāhor would be natural, Hind-āl did so, coming from Kābul. Hind-āl will have come to Lāhor after making over charge of Qila'-i-ẓafar to Sulaimān, and he went back at the end of the cold season, going perhaps just before his Father started from Lāhor on his return journey, the gifts he received before leaving being 2 elephants, 4 horses, belts and jewelled daggers.[4]

Bābur is said to have left Lāhor on Rajab 4th (936 AH.)—March 4th, 1530 AD.). From Aḥmad-i-yādgār's outline of Bābur's doings in Lāhor, he, or his original, must be taken as ill-informed

pleasure only, and describes Bābur as hunting and sight-seeing for a year in Lāhor, the Panj-āb and near Dihlī. This appears a mere flourish of words, in view of the purposes the expedition served, and of the difficulties which had arisen in Lāhor itself and with Sa'īd Khān. Part of the work effected may have been the despatch of an expedition to Kashmīr.

[1] This appears a large amount.

[2] The precision with which the Rāja's gifts are stated, points to a closely-contemporary and written source. A second such indication occurs later where gifts made to Hind-āl are mentioned.

[3] An account of the events in Multān after its occupation by Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* is found in the latter part of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and in Erskine's H. of I. i, 393 *et seq.*—It may be noted here that several instances of confusion amongst Bābur's sons occur in the extracts made by Sir H. Elliot and Professor Dowson in their *History of India* from the less authoritative sources [*e.g.* v, 35 Kāmrān for Humāyūn, 'Askarī said to be in Kābul (pp. 36 and 37); Hind-āl for Humāyūn *etc.*] and that these errors have slipped into several of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces.

[4] As was said of the offering made by the Rāja of Kahlūr, the precision of statement as to what was given to Hind-āl, bespeaks a closely-contemporary written source. So too does the mention (text, *infra*) of the day on which Bābur began his return journey from Lāhor.

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or indifferent about them. His interest becomes greater when he writes of Samāna.

d. Punishment of the Mundāhirs.

When Bābur, on his return journey, reached Sihrind, he received a complaint from the Qāẓī of Samāna against one Mohan *Mundāhir* (or *Mundhār*)[1] *Rājpūt* who had attacked his estates, burning and plundering, and killed his son. Here-upon 'Alī-qulī of Hamadān[2] was sent with 3000 horse to avenge the Qāẓī's wrongs, and reached Mohan's village, in the Kaithal *pargana*, early in the morning when the cold was such that the archers "could not pull their bows."[3] A marriage had been celebrated over-night; the villagers, issuing from warm houses, shot such flights of arrows that the royal troops could make no stand; many were killed and nothing was effected; they retired into the jungle, lit fires, warmed themselves (?), renewed the attack and were again repulsed. On hearing of their failure, Bābur sent off, perhaps again from Sihrind, Tarsam-Bahādur and Naurang Beg with 6000 horse and many elephants. This force reached the village at night and when marriage festivities were in progress. Towards morning it was formed into three divisions,[4] one of which was ordered to go to the west of the village and show itself. This having been done, the villagers advanced towards it, in the pride of their recent success. The royal troops, as ordered beforehand, turned their backs and fled, the Mundāhirs pursuing them some two miles. Meantime Tarsam Bahādur had attacked and fired the village, killing many of its inhabitants. The pursuers on the west saw the flames of their burning homes, ran back and were intercepted on their way. About 1000 men, women and children were made prisoner; there

[1] Cf. G. of I. xvi, 55; Ibbetson's *Report on Karnāl.*

[2] It is noticeable that no one of the three royal officers named as sent against Mohan *Mundāhir*, is recognizable as mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma.* They may all have had local commands, and not have served further east. Perhaps this, their first appearance, points to the origin of the information as independent of Bābur, but he might have been found to name them, if his diary were complete for 936 AH.

[3] The E. and D. translation writes twice as though the inability to "pull" the bows were due to feebleness in the men, but an appropriate reading would refer the difficulty to the hardening of sinews in the composite Turkish bows, which prevented the archers from bending the bows for stringing.

[4] One infers that fires were burned all night in the bivouac.

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was also great slaughter, and a pillar of heads was raised. Mohan was captured and later on was buried to the waist and shot to death with arrows.[1] News of the affair was sent to the Pādshāh.[2]

As after being in Sihrind, Bābur is said to have spent two months hunting near Dihlī, it may be that he followed up the punitive expedition sent into the Kaithal *pargana* of the Karnāl District, by hunting in Nardak, a favourite ground of the Tīmūrids, which lies in that district.

Thus the gap of 936 AH. with also perhaps a month of 937 AH. is filled by the "year's" travel west of Dihlī. The record is a mere outline and in it are periods of months without mention of where Bābur was or what affairs of government were brought before him. At some time, on his return journey presumably, he will have despatched to Kashmīr the expedition referred to in the opening section of this appendix. Something further may yet be gleaned from local chronicles, from unwritten tradition, or from the witness of place-names commemorating his visit.

e. Bābur's self-surrender to save Humāyūn.

The few months, perhaps 4 to 5, between Bābur's return to Āgra from his expedition towards the North-west, and the time of his death are filled by Gul-badan and Abū'l-faẓl with matters concerning family interests only.

The first such matter these authors mention is an illness of Humāyūn during which Bābur devoted his own life to save his son's.[3] Of this the particulars are, briefly :—That Humāyūn, while still in Saṃbhal, had had a violent attack of fever; that he was brought by water to Āgra, his mother meeting him in

[1] At this point the A.S.B. copy (No. 137) of the *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana* has a remark which may have been a marginal note originally, and which cannot be supposed made by Aḥmad-i-yādgār himself because this would allot him too long a spell of life. It may show however that the interpolations about the two Tīmūrids were not inserted in his book by him. Its purport is that the Mundāhir village destroyed by Bābur's troops in 936 AH.—1530 AD. was still in ruins at the time it was written 160 (lunar) years later (*i.e.* in 1096 AH.—1684–85 AD.). The better Codex (No. 3887) of the Imperial Library of Calcutta has the same passage.—Both that remark and its context show acquaintance with Samāna and Kaithal.—The writings now grouped under the title *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana* present difficulties both as to date and contents (cf. Ṛieu's *Persian Catalogue s.n.*).

[2] Presumably in Tihrind.

[3] Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. and the *Akbar-nāma* Bib. Ind. ed. and trs., Index *s.nn.* ; Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām s.n.* Intercession.

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Muttra; and that when the disease baffled medical skill, Bābur resolved to practise the rite believed then and now in the East to be valid, of intercession and devotion of a suppliant's most valued possession in exchange for a sick man's life. Rejecting counsel to offer the Koh-i-nūr for pious uses, he resolved to supplicate for the acceptance of his life. He made intercession through a saint his daughter names, and moved thrice round Humāyūn's bed, praying, in effect, "O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Bābur, give my life and my being for Humāyūn." During the rite fever surged over him, and, convinced that his prayer and offering had prevailed, he cried out, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!"[1] Gul-badan says that he himself fell ill on that very day, while Humāyūn poured water on his head, came out and gave audience; and that they carried her Father within on account of his illness, where he kept his bed for 2 or 3 months.

There can be no doubt as to Bābur's faith in the rite he had practised, or as to his belief that his offering of life was accepted; moreover actual facts would sustain his faith and belief. On-lookers also must have believed his prayer and offering to have prevailed, since Humāyūn went back to Saṃbhal,[2] while Bābur fell ill at once and died in a few weeks.[3]

f. A plan to set Bābur's sons aside from the succession.

Reading the *Akbar-nāma* alone, there would seem to be no question about whether Bābur ever intended to give Hindūstān, at any rate, to Humāyūn, but, by piecing together various contributory matters, an opposite opinion is reached, *viz.* that not Khalīfa only whom Abū'l-faẓl names perhaps on Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's warrant, but Bābur also, with some considerable number of chiefs, wished another ruler for Hindūstān. The starting-point of this opinion is a story in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and,

[1] A closer translation would be, "I have taken up the burden." The verb is *bardāshtan* (cf. f. 349, p. 626 n. 1).

[2] *See* Erskine's *History of India* ii, 9.

[3] At this point attention is asked to the value of the Aḥmad-i-yādgār interpolation which allows Bābur a year of active life before Humāyūn's illness and his own which followed. With no chronicle known of 936 AH. Bābur had been supposed ill all through the year, a supposition which destroys the worth of his self-sacrifice. Moreover several inferences have been drawn from the supposed year of illness which are disproved by the activities recorded in that interpolation.

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with less detail, in the *Akbar-nāma*, of which the gist is that Khalīfa planned to supersede Humāyūn and his three brothers in their Father's succession.[1]

The story, in brief, is as follows:—At the time of Bābur's death Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's father Khwāja Muḥammad Muqīm *Harāwī* was in the service of the Office of Works.[2] Amīr Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, the Chief of the Administration, had dread and suspicion about Humāyūn and did not favour his succession as Pādshāh. Nor did he favour that of Bābur's other sons. He promised "Bābur Pādshāh's son-in-law (*dāmād*)" Mahdī Khwāja who was a generous young man, very friendly to himself, that he would make him Pādshāh. This promise becoming known, others made their *salām* to the Khwāja who put on airs and accepted the position. One day when Khalīfa, accompanied by Muqīm, went to see Mahdī Khwāja in his tent, no-one else being present, Bābur, in the pangs of his disease, sent for him[3] when he had been seated a few minutes only. When Khalīfa had gone out, Mahdī Khwāja remained standing in such a way that Muqīm could not follow but, the Khwāja unaware, waited respectfully behind him. The Khwāja, who was noted for the wildness of youth, said, stroking his beard, "Please God! first, I will flay thee!" turned round and saw Muqīm, took him by the ear, repeated a proverb of menace, "The red tongue gives the green head to the wind," and let him go. Muqīm hurried to Khalīfa, repeated the Khwāja's threat against him, and remonstrated about the plan to set all Bābur's sons aside in favour of a stranger-house.[4] Here-upon Khalīfa sent for Humāyūn,[5] and despatched an officer with orders to the Khwāja to retire to his house, who found him about to dine and hurried him off without ceremony. Khalīfa also issued a proclamation forbidding intercourse with him, excluded him from Court, and when Bābur died, supported Humāyūn.

[1] E. and D.'s *History of India* v, 187; G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. p. 28.

[2] *dar khidmat-i-dīwānī-i-buyūtāt*; perhaps he was a Barrack-officer. His appointment explains his attendance on Khalīfa.

[3] Khalīfa prescribed for the sick Bābur.

[4] *khānwāda-i-bīgānah*, perhaps, foreign dynasty.

[5] From Sambhal; Gul-badan, by an anachronism made some 60 years later, writes Kālanjar, to which place Humāyūn moved 5 months after his accession.

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As Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad was not born till 20 years after Bābur died, the story will have been old before he could appreciate it, and it was some 60 years old when it found way into the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and, with less detail, into the *Akbar-nāma*.

Taken as it stands, it is incredible, because it represents Khalīfa, and him alone, planning to subject the four sons of Bābur to the suzerainty of Mahdī Khwāja who was not a Tīmūrid, who, so far as well-known sources show, was not of a ruling dynasty or personally illustrious,[1] and who had been associated, so lately as the autumn of 1529 AD., with his nephew Raḥīm-dād in seditious action which had so angered Bābur that, whatever the punishment actually ordered, rumour had it both men were to die.[2] In two particulars the only Mahdī Khwāja then of Bābur's following, does not suit the story; he was not a young man in 1530 AD.,[3] and was not a *dāmād* of Bābur, if that word be taken in its usual sense of son-in-law, but he was a *yazna*, husband of a Pādshāh's sister, in his case, of Khān-zāda Begīm.[4] Some writers style him Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, a double title which may indicate descent on both sides from religious houses; one is suggested to be that of Tirmiẓ by the circumstance that in his and Khān-zāda Begīm's mausoleum was buried a Tirmiẓ sayyid

[1] I am indebted to my husband's perusal of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's *Aṯār-i-ṣanādīd* (Dihlī ed. 1854 p. 37, and Lakhnau ed. 1895 pp. 40, 41) for information that, perhaps in 935 AH., Mahdī Khwāja set up a tall slab of white marble near Amīr Khusrau's tomb in Dihlī, which bears an inscription in praise of the poet, composed by that Shihābu'd-dīn the Enigmatist who reached Āgra with Khwānd-amīr in Muḥarram 935 AH. (f. 339*b*). The inscription gives two chronograms of Khusrau's death (725 AH.), mentions that Mahdī Khwāja was the creator of the memorial, and gives its date in the words, "The beautiful effort of Mahdī Khwāja."—The Dihlī ed. of the *Aṯār-i-ṣanādīd* depicts the slab with its inscription; the Lakhnau ed. depicts the tomb, may show the slab *in situ*, and contains interesting matter by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. The slab is mentioned without particulars in Murray's *Hand-book to Bengal*, p. 329.

[2] Lee's *Ibn Batuta* p. 133 and Hirāman's *Tārīkh-i-gūālīārī*. Cf. G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. (1902 AD.), Appendix B.—*Mahdī Khwāja*.

[3] In an anonymous *Life of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī*, Mahdī Khwāja [who may be a son of the Mūsa Khwāja mentioned by Bābur on f. 216] is described as being, in what will be 916–7 AH., Bābur's *Dīwān-begī* and as sent towards Bukhārā with 10,000 men. This was 29 years before the story calls him a young man. Even if the word *jawān* (young man) be read, as T. *yīgīt* is frequently to be read, in the sense of "efficient fighting man", Mahdī was over-age. Other details of the story, besides the word *jawān*, bespeak a younger man.

[4] G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 126; *Ḥabību's-siyar*, B.M. Add. 16,679 f. 370, l. 16, lith. ed. Sec. III. iii, 372 (where a clerical error makes Bābur give Māhdī *two* of his full-sisters in marriage).—Another *yazna* of Bābur was Khalīfā's brother Junaid *Barlās*, the husband of Shahr-bānū, a half-sister of Bābur.

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of later date, Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī. But though he were of Tirmiẓ, it is doubtful if that religious house would be described by the word *khānwāda* which so frequently denotes a ruling dynasty.

His name may have found its way into Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's story as a gloss mistakenly amplifying the word *dāmād*, taken in its less usual sense of brother-in-law. To Bābur's contemporaries the expression "Bābur Pādshāh's *dāmād*" (son-in-law) would be explicit, because for some 11 years before he lay on his death-bed, he had one son-in-law only, *viz.* Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā*,[1] the husband of Ma'ṣūma Sulṭān Begīm. If that Mīrzā's name were where Mahdī Khwāja's is entered, the story of an exclusion of Bābur's sons from rule might have a core of truth.

It is incredible however that Khālīfa, with or without Bābur's concurrence, made the plan attributed to him of placing any man not a Tīmūrid in the position of Pādshāh over all Bābur's territory. I suggest that the plan concerned Hindūstān only and was one considered in connection with Bābur's intended return to Kābul, when he must have left that difficult country, hardly yet a possession, in charge of some man giving promise of power to hold it. Such a man Humāyūn was not. My suggestion rests on the following considerations :—

(1) Bābur's outlook was not that of those in Āgra in 1587 AD. who gave Abū'l-faẓl his Bāburiana material, because at that date Dihlī had become the pivot of Tīmūrid power, so that not to hold Hindūstān would imply not to be Pādshāh. Bābur's outlook on his smaller Hindūstān was different ; his position in it was precarious, Kābul, not Dihlī, was his chosen centre, and from Kābul his eyes looked northwards as well as to the East. If he had lost the Hindūstān which was approximately the modern United Provinces, he might still have held what lay west of it to the Indus, as well as Qandahār.

(2) For several years before his death he had wished to return to Kābul. Ample evidence of this wish is given by his diary, his letters, and some poems in his second *Dīwān* (that found in the Rāmpūr MS.). As he told his sons more than once, he kept Kābul

[1] Bābur, shortly before his death, married Gul-rang to Aīsān-tīmūr and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā *Chaghatāī*. Cf. *post*, Section *h*, *Bābur's wives and children* ; and G. B.'s H. N. trs. Biographical Appendix *s. nn.* Dil-dār Begīm and Salīma Sulṭān Begīm *Mirān-shāhi*.

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for himself.[1] If, instead of dying in Āgra, he had returned to Kābul, had pushed his way on from Badakhshān, whether as far as Samarkand or less, had given Humāyūn a seat in those parts, —action foreshadowed by the records—a reasonable interpretation of the story that Humāyūn and his brothers were not to govern Hindūstān, is that he had considered with Khalīfa the apportionment of his territories according to the example of his ancestors Chīngīz Khān, Tīmūr and Abū-sa'īd; that by his plan of apportionment Humāyūn was not to have Hindūstān but something Tramontane; Kāmrān had already Qandahār; Sulaimān, if Humāyūn had moved beyond the out-post of Badakhshān, would have replaced him there; and Hindūstān would have gone to "Bābur Pādshāh's *dāmād*".

(3) Muḥammad-i-zamān had much to recommend him for Hindūstān :—Tīmūrid-born, grandson and heir of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, husband of Ma'ṣūma who was a Tīmūrid by double descent,[2] protected by Bābur after the Bāī-qarā *débacle* in Herāt, a landless man leading such other exiles as Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,[3] 'Ādil Sulṭān, and Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān, half-Tīmūrids all, who with their Khurāsānī following, had been Bābur's guests in Kābul, had pressed on its poor resources, and thus had helped in 932 AH. (1525 AD.) to drive him across the Indus. This Bāī-qarā group needed a location; Muḥammad-i-zamān's future had to be cared for and with his, Ma'ṣūma's.

(4) It is significant of intention to give Muḥammad-i-zamān ruling status that in April 1529 AD. (Sha'bān 935 AH.) Bābur bestowed on him royal insignia, including the umbrella-symbol of sovereignty.[4] This was done after the Mīrzā had raised

[1] Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 147.

[2] She is the only adult daughter of a Tīmūrid mother named as being such by Bābur or Gul-badan, but various considerations incline to the opinion that Dil-dār Begīm also was a Tīmūrid, hence her three daughters, all named from the Rose, were so too. Cf. references of penultimate note.

[3] It attaches interest to the Mīrzā that he can be taken reasonably as once the owner of the Elphinstone Codex (cf. JRAS. 1907, pp. 136 and 137).

[4] Death did not threaten when this gift was made; life in Kābul was planned for.—Here attention is asked again to the value of Aḥmad-i-yādgār's Bāburiana for removing the impression set on many writers by the blank year 936 AH. that it was one of illness, instead of being one of travel, hunting and sight-seeing. The details of the activities of that year have the further value that they enhance the worth of Bābur's sacrifice of life.—Ḥaidar Mīrzā also fixes the date of the beginning of illness as 937 AH.

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objections, unspecified now in the *Bābur-nāma* against Bihār; they were overcome, the insignia were given and, though for military reasons he was withheld from taking up that appointment, the recognition of his royal rank had been made. His next appointment was to Jūnpūr, the capital of the fallen Sharqī dynasty. No other chief is mentioned by Bābur as receiving the insignia of royalty.

(4) It appears to have been within a Pādshāh's competence to select his successor; and it may be inferred that choice was made between Humāyūn and another from the wording of more than one writer that Khalīfa "supported" Humāyūn, and from the word "selected" used in Aḥmad-i-yādgār's anecdote.[1] Much more would there be freedom of choice in a division of territory such as there is a good deal to suggest was the basis of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's story. Whatever the extent of power proposed for the *dāmād*, whether, as it is difficult to believe, the Pādshāh's whole supremacy, or whether the limited sovereignty of Hindūstān, it must have been known to Bābur as well as to Khalīfa. Whatever their earlier plan however, it was changed by the sequel of Humāyūn's illness which led to his becoming Pādshāh. The *dāmād* was dropped, on grounds it is safe to believe more impressive than his threat to flay Khalīfa or than the remonstrance of that high official's subordinate Muqīm of Herāt.

Humāyūn's arrival and continued stay in Hindūstān modified earlier dispositions which included his remaining in Badakhshān. His actions may explain why Bābur, when in 936 AH. he went as far as Lāhor, did not go on to Kābul. Nothing in the sources excludes the surmise that Māhīm knew of the bestowal of royal insignia on the Bāī-qarā Mīrzā, that she summoned her son to Āgra and there kept him, that she would do this the more resolutely if the *dāmād* of the plan she must have heard of were that Bāī-qarā, and that but for Humāyūn's presence in Āgra and its attendant difficulties, Bābur would have gone to Kābul, leaving his *dāmād* in charge of Hindūstān.

Bābur, however, turned back from Lāhor for Āgra, and there

[1] The author, or embroiderer, of that anonymous story did not know the *Bābur-nāma* well, or he would not have described Bābur as a wine-drinker after 933 AH. The anecdote is parallel with Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's, the one explaining why the Mirzā was selected, the other why the *dāmād* was dropped.

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he made the self-surrender which, resulting in Humāyūn's "selection" as Pādshāh, became a turning point in history.

Humāyūn's recovery and Bābur's immediate illness will have made the son's life seem Divinely preserved, the father's as a debt to be paid. Bābur's impressive personal experience will have dignified Humāyūn as one whom God willed should live. Such distinction would dictate the bestowal on him of all that fatherly generosity had yet to give. The imminence of death defeating all plans made for life, Humāyūn was nominated to supreme power as Pādshāh.

g. Bābur's death.

Amongst other family matters mentioned by Gul-badan as occurring shortly before her Father's death, was his arrangement of marriages for Gul-rang with Aīsān-tīmūr and for Gul-chihra with Tūkhta-būghā *Chaghatāī*. She also writes of his anxiety to see Hind-āl who had been sent for from Kābul but did not arrive till the day after the death.

When no remedies availed, Humāyūn was summoned from Saṃbhal. He reached Āgra four days before the death; on the morrow Bābur gathered his chiefs together for the last of many times, addressed them, nominated Humāyūn his successor and bespoke their allegiance for him. Abū'l-faẓl thus summarizes his words, "Lofty counsels and weighty mandates were imparted. Advice was given (to Humāyūn) to be munificent and just, to acquire God's favour, to cherish and protect subjects, to accept apologies from such as had failed in duty, and to pardon transgressors. And, he (Bābur) exclaimed, the cream of my testamentary dispositions is this, 'Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.' In truth," continues the historian, "it was through obedience to this mandate that his Majesty Jannat-ashiyānī suffered so many injuries from his brothers without avenging himself." Gul-badan's account of her Father's last address is simple:—"He spoke in this wise, 'For years it has been in my heart to make over the throne to Humāyūn and to retire to the Gold-scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained in health of body everything but the fulfilment of this wish. Now that illness has laid me low,

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I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty towards him. Be of one heart and mind towards him. I hope to God that he, for his part, will bear himself well towards men. Moreover, Humāyūn, I commit you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people to God's keeping, and entrust them all to you.' "

It was on Monday Jumāda I. 5th 937 AH. (Dec. 26th 1530 AD.) that Bābur made answer to his summons with the *Adsum* of the Musalmān, " Lord ! I am here for Thee."

" Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all," writes his daughter ;

> " Alas ! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee ;
> Alas ! and Alas ! that time should remain and thou shouldst be gone ;"

mourns Khwāja Kalān in the funeral ode from which Badāyūnī quoted these lines.[1]

The body was laid in the Garden-of-rest (*Ārām-bāgh*) which is opposite to where the Tāj-i-maḥāll now stands. Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī *'asas*[2] was made the guardian of the tomb, and many well-voiced readers and reciters were appointed to conduct the five daily Prayers and to offer supplication for the soul of the dead. The revenues of Sīkrī and 5 *laks* from Bīāna were set aside for the endowment of the tomb, and Māhīm Begīm, during the two and a half years of her remaining life, sent twice daily from her own estate, an allowance of food towards the support of its attendants.

In accordance with the directions of his will, Bābur's body was to be conveyed to Kābul and there to be laid in the garden of his choice, in a grave open to the sky, with no building over it, no need of a door-keeper.

Precisely when it was removed from Āgra we have not found stated. It is known from Gul-badan that Kāmrān visited his Father's tomb in Āgra in 1539 AD. (946 AH.) after the battle of Chausa ; and it is known from Jauhar that the body had been brought to Kābul before 1544 AD. (952 AH.), at which date Humāyūn, in Kābul, spoke with displeasure of Kāmrān's incivility to " Bega Begīm ", the " Bībī " who had conveyed their

[1] *Bib. Ind.* i, 341 ; Ranking's trs. p. 448.
[2] The night-guard ; perhaps Māhīm Begīm's brother (G. B.'s H. N. trs. pp. 27–8).

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Father's body to that place.[1] That the widow who performed this duty was the Afghān Lady, Bībī Mubārika[2] is made probable by Gul-badan's details of the movements of the royal ladies. Bābur's family left Āgra under Hind-āl's escort, after the defeat at Chausa (June 7th, 1539 AD.); whoever took charge of the body on its journey to Kābul must have returned at some later date to fetch it. It would be in harmony with Sher Shāh's generous character if he safe-guarded her in her task.

The terraced garden Bābur chose for his burial-place lies on the slope of the hill Shāh-i-Kābul, the Sher-darwāza of European writers.[3] It has been described as perhaps the most beautiful of the Kābul gardens, and as looking towards an unsurpassable view over the Chār-dih plain towards the snows of Paghmān and the barren, rocky hills which have been the hunting-grounds of rulers in Kābul. Several of Bābur's descendants coming to Kābul from Āgra have visited and embellished his burial-garden. Shāh-i-jahān built the beautiful mosque which stands near the grave; Jahāngīr seems to have been, if not the author, at least the prompter of the well-cut inscription adorning the upright slab of white marble of Māidān, which now stands at the grave-head. The tomb-stone itself is a low grave-covering, not less simple than those of relations and kin whose remains have been placed near Bābur's. In the thirties of the last century [the later Sir] Alexander Burnes visited and admirably described the garden and the tomb. With him was Munshī Mohan Lāl who added to his own account of the beauties of the spot, copies of the inscriptions on the monumental slab and on the portal of the Mosque.[4] As is shown by the descriptions these two visitors give, and by Daniel's drawings of the garden and the tomb, there were in their time two upright slabs, one behind the other, near the head of the grave. Mr. H. H. Hayden who visited the garden in the first decade of the present century, shows in his photograph of the grave, one upright stone only, the place of

[1] G. B.'s H. N. trs. f. 34*b*, p. 138; Jauhar's *Memoirs of Humāyūn*, Stewart's trs. p. 82.

[2] Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 216, Bio. App. *s.n.* Bega Begam.

[3] f. 128, p. 200 n. 3. Cf. Appendix IV.—*Bābur's Gardens in and near Kābul.*

[4] Cf. H. H. Hayden's *Notes on some monuments in Afghānistān*, [*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* ii, 344]; and *Journal asiatique* 1888, M. J. Darmesteter's art. *Inscriptions de Caboul.*

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one of the former two having been taken by a white-washed lamp holder (*chirāghdān*).

The purport of the verses inscribed on the standing-slab is as follows :—

A ruler from whose brow shone the Light of God was that [1] Back-bone of the Faith (*ẓahīru'd-dīn*) Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh. Together with majesty, dominion, fortune, rectitude, the open-hand and the firm Faith, he had share in prosperity, abundance and the triumph of victorious arms. He won the material world and became a moving light; for his every conquest he looked, as for Light, towards the world of souls. When Paradise became his dwelling and Ruẓwān [2] asked me the date, I gave him for answer, "Paradise is forever Bābur Pādshāh's abode."

h. Bābur's wives and children.[3]

Bābur himself mentions several of his wives by name, but Gul-badan is the authority for complete lists of them and their children.

1. 'Āyisha Sulṭān Begīm, daughter of Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* was betrothed, when Bābur was *cir.* 5 years old, in 894 AH. (1488–89 AD.), bore Fakhru'n-nisa' in 906 AH. [who died in about one month], left Bābur before 909 AH. (1503 AD.).

2. Zainab Sl. Begīm, daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, was married in 910 AH. (1504–5 AD.), died childless two or three years later.

3. Māhīm Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was married in 912 AH. (1506 AD.), bore Bār-būd, Mihr-jān, Āīsān-daulat, Farūq [who all died in infancy], and Humāyūn.

4. Ma'ṣūma Sl. Begīm, daughter of Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, was married in 913 AH. (1507 AD.), bore Ma'ṣūma and died at her birth, presumably early in the *lacuna* of 914–925 AH. (1508–19 AD.).

[1] *ān*, a demonstrative suggesting that it refers to an original inscription on the second, but now absent, upright slab, which presumably would bear Bābur's name.

[2] Ruẓwān is the door-keeper of Paradise.

[3] Particulars of the women mentioned by Bābur, Ḥaidar, Gul-badan and other writers of their time, can be seen in my Biographical Appendix to the Begīm's *Humāyūn-nāma*. As the Appendix was published in 1902, variants from it occurring in this work are corrections superseding earlier and less-informed statements.

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5. Gul-rukh Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was perhaps a Begchīk Mughūl, was married between 914AH. and 925AH. (1508–19AD.), probably early in the period, bore Shāh-rukh, Aḥmad [who both died young], Gul'iẓār [who also may have died young], Kamrān and 'Askarī.

6. Dil-dār Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was married in the same period as Gul-rukh, bore Gul-rang, Gul-chihra, Hind-āl, Gul-badan and Alwar, [who died in childhood].

7. The Afghān Lady (Afghānī Āghācha), Bībī Mubārika *Yūsuf-zāī*, was married in 925AH. (1519AD.), and died childless.

The two Circassian slaves Gul-nār Āghācha and Nār-gul Āghācha of whom Ṭahmāsp made gift to Bābur in 933AH. (f.305), became recognized ladies of the royal household. They are mentioned several times by Gul-badan as taking part in festivities and in family conferences under Humāyūn. Gul-nār is said by Abū'l-faẓl to have been one of Gul-badan's pilgrim band in 983AH. (1575AD.).

The above list contains the names of three wives whose parentage is not given or is vaguely given by the well-known sources,—namely, Māhīm, Gul-rukh and Dil-dār. What would sufficiently explain the absence of mention by Bābur of the parentage of Gul-rukh and Dil-dār is that his record of the years within which the two Begīms were married is not now with the *Bābur-nāma*. Presumably it has been lost, whether in diary or narrative form, in the *lacuna* of 914–25 AH. (1508–19 AD.). Gul-rukh appears to have belonged to the family of Begchīk Mughūls described by Ḥaidar Mīrzā[1]; her brothers are styled Mīrzā; she was of good but not royal birth. Dil-dār's case is less simple. Nothing in her daughter Gul-badan's book suggests that she and her children were other than of the highest rank; numerous details and shades of expression show their ease of equality with royal personages. It is consistent with Gul-badan's method of enumerating her father's wives that she should not state her own mother's descent; she states it of none of her "mothers". There is this interest in trying to trace Dil-dār's parentage, that she may have been the third daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Pasha Begīm, and a daughter of hers may have been the mother of

[1] *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. Ney Elias and Ross p. 308.

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Salīma Sulṭān Begīm who was given in marriage by Humāyūn to Bairām Khān, later was married by Akbar, and was a woman of charm and literary accomplishments. Later historians, Abū'l-faẓl amongst their number, say that Salīma's mother was a daughter of Bābur's wife Sālḥa Sulṭān Begīm, and vary that daughter's name as Gul-rang-rukh-barg or -'iẓār (the last form being an equivalent of *chihra*, face). As there cannot have been a wife with her daughter growing up in Bābur's household, who does not appear in some way in Gul-badan's chronicle, and as Salīma's descent from Bābur need not be questioned, the knot is most readily loosened by surmising that "Sālḥa" is the real name of Gul-badan's "Dildār". Instances of double names are frequent, *e.g.* Māhīm, Māh-chīchām, Qarā-gūz, Āq, (My Moon, My Moon sister, Black-eyed, Fair). "Heart-holding" (Dil-dār) sounds like a home-name of affection. It is the *Ma'āsir-ī-raḥīmī* which gives Sālḥa as the name of Bābur's wife, Pasha's third daughter. Its author may be wrong, writing so late as he did (1025 AH.—1616 AD.), or may have been unaware that Sālḥa was (if she were) known as Dil-dār. It would not war against seeming facts to take Pasha's third daughter to be Bābur's wife Dil-dār, and Dil-dār's daughter Gul-chihra to be Salīma's mother. Gul-chihra was born in about 1516 AD., married to Tūkhta-būghā in 1530 AD., widowed in *cir.* 1533 AD., might have remarried with Nūru'd-dīn *Chaqānīānī* (Sayyid Amīr), and in 945 AH. might have borne him Salīma; she was married in 1547 AD. (954 AH.) to 'Abbās Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*.[1] Two matters, neither having much weight, make against taking Dil-dār to be a *Mīrān-shāhī*; the first being that the anonymous annotator who added to the archetype of Kehr's Codex what is entered in Appendix L.-*On Māhīm's adoption of Hind-āl*, styles her Dil-dār Āghācha; he, however, may have known no more than others knew of her descent; the second, that Māhīm forcibly took Dil-dār's child Hind-āl to rear; she was the older wife and the mother of the heir, but could she have taken the upper hand over a Mīrān-shāhī? A circumstance complicating the question of Salīma's maternal descent is, that historians searching the *Bābur-nāma* or its Persian translation the *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* for information about the three daughters of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī*

[1] Bio. App. *s.n.* Gul-chihra.

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and Pasha *Bahārlū Turkmān*, would find an incomplete record, one in which the husbands of the first and second daughters are mentioned and nothing is said about the third who was Bābur's wife and the grandmother of Salīma. Bābur himself appears to have left the record as it is, meaning to fill it in later; presumably he waited for the names of the elder two sisters to complete his details of the three. In the Ḥaidarabad Codex, which there is good ground for supposing a copy of his original manuscript, about three lines are left blank (f. 27) as if awaiting information; in most manuscripts, however, this indication of intention is destroyed by running the defective passage on to join the next sentence. Some chance remark of a less well-known writer, may clear up the obscurity and show that Sālḥa was Dil-dār.

Māhīm's case seems one having a different cause for silence about her parentage. When she was married in Herāt, shortly after the death of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, Bābur had neither wife nor child. What Abū'l-faẓl tells about her is vague; her father's name is not told; she is said to have belonged to a noble Khurāsān family, to have been related (*nisbat-i-khwesh*) to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā and to have traced her descent to Shaikh Aḥmad of Jām. If her birth had been high, even though not royal, it is strange that it is not stated by Bābur when he records the birth of her son Humāyūn, incidentally by Gul-badan, or more precisely by Abū'l-faẓl. Her brothers belonged to Khost, and to judge from a considerable number of small records, seem to have been quiet, unwarlike Khwājas. Her marriage took place in a year of which a full record survives; it is one in the composed narrative, not in the diary. In the following year, this also being one included in the composed narrative, Bābur writes of his meeting with Ma'ṣūma *Mīrān-shāhī* in Herāt, of their mutual attraction, and of their marriage. If the marriage with Humāyūn's mother had been an equal alliance, it would agree with Bābur's custom to mention its occurrence, and to give particulars about Māhīm's descent.[1]

[1] The story of the later uprisings against Māhīm's son Humāyūn by his brothers, by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* and others of the same royal blood, and this in spite of Humāyūn's being his father's nominated successor, stirs surmise as to whether the rebels were not tempted by more than his defects of character to disregard his claim to supremacy; perhaps pride of higher maternal descent, this particularly amongst the Bāī-qarā group, may have deepened a disregard created by antagonisms of temperament.

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i. Mr. William Erskine's estimate of Bābur.

"Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnacled ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received full development. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and before he had attained his twentieth year, had shared every variety of fortune; he had not only been the ruler of subject provinces but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart; he had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of Farghāna as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him strong feelings of affection for his early friends and early enjoyments. * * * He had been taught betimes, by the voice of events that cannot lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in his dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association. * * * The native benevolence and gaiety of his disposition seems ever to overflow on all around him; * * * of his companions in arms he speaks with the frank gaiety of a soldier. * * * Ambitious he was and fond of conquest and glory in all its shapes; the enterprise in which he was for a season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture, and few who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or more decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life. Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history

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of Asia, we find few princes entitled to rank higher than Bābur in genius and accomplishments. * * *. In activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, in his love of letters and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him."

THE END.

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THE HISTORY OF BABUR.

OR BABUR-NAMA

Index I. Personal

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'Abbās, a slave—murderer of Aūlūgh (Ūlūgh) Beg *Shāh-rukhī* (853) 85.

'Abbās Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*—marries Gul-chihra *Mīrān-shāhī,* Bābur's daughter (954) 713.

'Abdu'l-'alī Tarkhān *Arghūn Chīngīz-Khānid*—particulars 38, 39; [†cir. 899 AH.–1494 AD.].

'Abdu'l-'azīz *mīr-akhwur*—ordered to catch pheasants (925) 404; ☞[1] posted in Lāhor (930) 442; sent into Milwat (932) 460; on service 465–6, 471, 530; the reserve at Pānīpat 472–3; reinforces the right 473; surprised and defeated by Sangā (933) 549, 550; in the left wing at Kānwā 567, 570; pursues Sangā 576; ordered against Balūchīs (935) 638; writes from Lāhor about the journey of Bābur's family 659, 660; arrested 688; ☞ sequel to his sedition not given in the *Akbar-nāma* 692; ☞ reference to his sedition 698.

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'Abdu'l-bāqī—surrenders Qandahār to Bābur (928) 436, 437.

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'Abdu'l-ghaffār *tawāchī*—conveys military orders (935) 638.

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[1] The fist indicates Translator's matter.

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Khwāja **'Abdu'l-ḥaqq**, brother of Khwāja Makhdūmī Nūrā—waited upon by Bābur (935) 641, 686; has leave to stay in Āgra 641.

'Abdu'l-karīm *Ushrit* (var.) *Aūighūr*[1] (var.)—serving Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī* 40; captured by an Aūzbeg (902) 65.

'Abdu'l-khalīq Beg *Isfarāyini*—particulars 273–4 (where read *Isfarāyinī* for "*Isfārayinī*").

Shaikh **'Abdu'l-lāh** *aīshīk-āghā*—with Jahāngīr (899) 32; leaves Bābur for home (902) 191.

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Khwāja **'Abdu'l-lāh** *Anṣārī*—his tomb visited by Bābur (912) 305; a surmised attendant on it 145 n. 1; [†481 AH.–1088 AD.].

Shaikh **'Abdu'l-lāh** *bakāwal*—with the Bāī-qarā families (913) 328.

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Khwāja **'Abdu'l-lāh** *Marwārīd*—particulars 278–9: pre-eminent on the dulcimer 291; [†922 AH.–1516 AD.].

'Abdu'l-lāh Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—succeeds his father, Ibrāhīm, in Shīrāz (838) 20, and his

[1] See Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-turkī* on the origin and characteristics of the tribe (Désmaisons trs. Index *s.n.* Oūighūr, especially pp. 16, 37, 39).

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cousin 'Abdu'l-laṭīf in Transoxiana (854) 85–6; Yūnas Khān his retainer *q.v.*; [† Jumāda I. 22, 855 AH.–1450 AD.].[1]

Khwāja **'Abdu'l-lāh Qāẓī,** see Khwāja Maulānā-i-qāẓī.

'Abdu'l-lāh Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*—particulars 267; serving Bābur in Hindūstān (after 933?) 267.

'Abdu'l-laṭīf *bakhshī*—serving Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 57; acts for Bābur from Qūndūz (932–3) 546.

'Abdu'l-laṭīf Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid Barlās Turk*—murders and succeeds his father Aūlūgh Beg (853) 15; a couplet on his parricide 85[2]; [† Rabī' I. 26, 854 AH.–1450 AD.[3]].

'Abdul'-laṭīf Sulṭān *Aūzbeg, Shaibānī Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Ḥamza—Bābur's half-sister Yādgār (*æt. cir.* 8) his share of spoil (908) 18.

Mullā **'Abdu'l-malūk** *Khwāstī* (var. malik)—at Bajaur (925) 368; sent ahead into Bhīra 381, and to Kābul 415; returns from an embassy to 'Irāq (932) 446 (here *qūrchī*); sent again (935) 642; on service (933) 576, 582.

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'Abdu'l-qadūs Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī*—with Bābur at Māḍū (Māẓū) (905) 109 (where for "qāsim" read qadūs); one of the eight fugitives from Akhsī (908) 177.

Mīrak **'Abdu'r-raḥīm** *Ṣadr*—his servant Badru'd-dīn *q.v.*

'Abdu'r-raḥīm *shaghāwal*—sent to speak the Bhīra people fair for Bābur (925) 381; given charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* mother (933) 543; fetches a hostage to Court 578, who escapes 581.

Maulānā **'Abdu'r-raḥīm** *Turkistānī*—fleeces Khwānd-amīr 328.

Mulla **'Abdu'r-raḥmān** *Ghaznawī* — particulars 218; [† 921 AH.–1515 AD.].

Maulānā **'Abdu'r-raḥmān** *Jāmī*—his letters imitated by Nawā'ī 271; his sarcasm on Shaikhīm's verse 277; his

[1] This date is misplaced in my text and should be transferred from p. 83, l. 3 fr. ft. to p. 86, l. 1, there to follow "two years".

[2] A fuller reference to the H.S. than is given on p. 85 n. 2, is ii, 44 and iii, 167.

[3] Cf. *s.n.* 'Abdu'l-lāh Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī* for a date misplaced in my text.

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tomb visited by Bābur (912) 285, 305; Bābur's reverential mention of him 283, 286, his example followed by production of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* (935) 620; his birth-place 623 n. 8; his disciple 'Abdu'l-ghafūr 284; [898 AH.–1492 AD.].

'Abdu'r-raḥmān Khān *Barak-zāī Afghān*, Amīr of Afghānistān—mentioned in connection with Jāmī's tomb 305 n. 6; [†1319 AH.–1901 AD.].

'Abdu'r-razzāk Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*—loses Kābul (910) 195, 365; out with Bābur 234; surmised part-vendor of Bābur's mother's burial-ground 246 n. 2; in Herāt (912) 298; escapes Shaibānī and joins Bābur (913) 331; in the left wing at Qandahār 334; his loot 337–8; deserts Qalāt in fear of Shaibānī 340; left in charge of Kābul *ib.*; given Nīngnahār 344; rebels (914) 345; his position stated 345 n. 6; [†915 AH.–1509 AD.?].

Khwāja **'Abdu'sh-shahīd**, son of Aḥrārī's fifth son Khwājagān-khwāja ('Abdu'l-lāh)—placed on Bābur's right-hand (935) 631; gifts made to him 632; invited to a *ma'jūn*-party 653; particulars 653 n. 4; a likely recipient of the *Mubīn* 438, 631 n. 3; [†982 AH.–1574 AD.].

'Abdu'sh-shukūr *Mughūl*, son of Qambar-i-'alī *Silākh*—serving Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī* (after 910) 192; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

'Abdu'l-wahhāb *Mughūl*—given Shaikh Pūrān to loot (913) 328.

'Abdu'l-wahhāb *shaghāwal*, servant of 'Umar-shaikh and Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—forwards news (899) 25; gives Khujand to Bābur 54; his son Mīr Mughūl *q.v.*

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Imām **Abū Ḥanīfa**—his followers' respect for the *Hidāyat* 76; his ruling that peacock-meat is lawful food 493.

Khwāja **Abū'l-barka** *Farāqī*—criticizes Banā'ī's verse (906) 137.

Shaikh **Abū'l-fatḥ**, servant of the Shāh-zāda of Mungīr—envoy from Bengal to Bābur (934, 935) 676; placed on Bābur's right-hand (935) 631.

Abū'l-fatḥ Sa'īd Khān, see Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāī*.

Abū'l-fatḥ *Turkmān*, son of 'Umar—his joining Bābur from 'Irāq 280; made military-collector of Dhūlpūr (933) 540; Bābur visits his *hammām* (935) 615.

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Abū'l-faẓl, see *Akbar-nāma.*

Abū'l-ḥasan *qūr-begī*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; does well (925) 404; his brother Muḥammad Ḥusain *q.v.*

Abū'l-ḥasan *qūrchī*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Abū'l-hāshim, servant of Sl. 'Ali [Ṭaghāī *Begchīk*]—overtakes Bābur with ill news (925) 412.

Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tirmīẓī*—☞ his burial-place has significance as to Mahdī Khwāja's family 705; [†971 AH.–1564 AD.].

Khwāja **Abū'l-makāram**—supports Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (901) 62, (902) 65; acts for peace (903) 91; meets Bābur, both exiles (904) 99; at Bābur's capture of Samarkand (906) 132, 141; leaves it with him 147 n. 2; speaks for him (908) 157–8; fails to recognize him 161; ☞ at Archiān 184; [†908 AH.–1502 AD.].

Shaikh **Abū'l-manṣūr** *Mātarīdī*—his birthplace Samarkand 75, 76; [†333 AH.–944 AD.].

Abū'l-muḥammad *neza-bāz*—in the *tūlghuma* of the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 473; on service (933) 582, (934) 589, 598.

Abū'l-muḥammad *Khujandī*—his sextant 74 n. 4.

Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Laṭīf—particulars 262 (where for "ḥusain" read muḥsin), 269; serving his father (901) 58; defeats his brother Badī'u'z-zamān (902) 69, 70; defeated by his father at Halwā-spring (904) 260; his men take Qarākūl from Aūzbegs (906) 135; co-operates against Shaibānī (912) 296; rides out to meet Bābur 297; they share a divan 298; presses him to winter in Herī 300; returns to his district (Merv) 301; his later action and death 329–30, 331; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh—brings an Arghūn gift to Bābur (925) 401, 402.

Abū'l-qāsim *Jalāīr*—tells Bābur a parrot story (935)[1] 494.

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Shaikh **Abū'l-wajd** *Fārighī*, maternal-uncle of Zain *Khawāfī*—makes verse on the Kābul-river (932) 448; his chronogram on Al-amān's birth (935) 621; [†940 AH.–1533 AD.[2]].

[1] The date 935 AH. is inferred from p. 483.

[2] Cf. Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* and Ranking's trs. i, 616 and n. 4, 617.

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Abū-sa'īd Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Kūchūm—☛ at Ghaj-davān (918) 360; at Jām (935) 622, 636; sends an envoy to Bābur 631, 632, 641; [†940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Shaikh **Abū-sa'īd Tarkhān** (var. Bū-sa'īd)—his house Mīrzā Khān's loot in Qandahār (913) 338.

Abū-turāb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 262, 269; his son Sohrab *q.v.*; [† before 911 AH.–1505–6 AD.].

Adīk Sulṭān *Qazzāq, Jūjī Chīngīz-khānid* (var. Aūng Sulṭān), son of Jānī Beg Khān (T.R. trs. 373)—husband of Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī q.v.*

'Ādil Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān* (?), *Chingīz-khānid* (?), son of Mahdī and a Bāī-qarā begīm—marries Shād *Bāī-qarā* 263; suggestions as to his descent 264 n. 1; waits on Bābur at Kalānūr (932) 458; on Bābur's service 468, 471, 475, 530; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472, and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; ordered against Balūchīs (935) 638; ☛ mentioned as a landless man 706.

Sayyida **Afāq,** a legendary wife of Bābūr 358 n. 2; her son and grandson *ib.*

[1] Ferté translates this sobriquet by *le dévoué* (*Vie de Sl. Hossein Baikara* p. 40 n. 3).

[2] At p. 22 n. 8 fill out to Cf. f. 6*b* (p. 13) n. 5.

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Afghānī Āghāchā, see Mubārika.

Sayyid **Afẓal Beg**, son of 'Alī *Khwāb-bīn*—conveys Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* summons to Bābur for help against Shaibānī (911) 255; particulars 282; takes news to Herāt of Bābur's start from Kābul (912) 294; sends him news of Ḥusain's death 295; [†921 AH.–1516 AD.].

Āghā Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—parentage and marriage (or betrothal, Ḥ.S. iii, 327) 266; [† died in childhood].

Āghā-sulṭān, *ghūnchachi* of 'Umar Shaikh—her daughter Yādgār-i-sulṭān *q.v.*

Āhī—his feet frost-bitten (912) 311.

Āhī, a poet—particulars 289; [†907 AH.–1501–2].

Ahlī, a poet—particulars 290; (for 4 writers using *Āhlī* as their pen-name see 290 n. 6).

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *Aīlchī-būghā, Mughūl*—one of four daring much (912) 315; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Pīr **Aḥmad**—leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139.

Aḥmad *Afshār Turk*—a letter to him endorsed by Bābur (935) 617.

Mīrzā **Aḥmad 'Alī** *Farsī, Barlās*—particulars 273.

Aḥmad 'Alī Tarkhān *Arghūn*, brother of Qulī Beg—favours Bābur and admits him to Qandahār (913) 337.

Mullā **Aḥmad** *Balkhī*—conveys treasure to Balkh (932) 446.

Mirzā Sayyidī **Aḥmad** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrān-shāh—particulars 257 n. 5; named in a line of descent 280 n. 1; his son Aḥmad and grandson 'Abdu'l-bāqī *q.v.*

Mīr **Aḥmad Beg** *Itārajī Mughūl*, paternal-uncle of Taṃbal—guardian of a son of The Khān (Maḥmūd) 115; reinforces Bābur (903) 92; acts against him (905) 115, 116; acts against 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* 112; makes a contemptuous speech about Taṃbal (906) 145.

Aḥmad Beg *Ṣafawī*—☞ leads a reinforcement to help Bābur (917) 353.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *Chār-shaṃba'ī*, see Chār-shaṃba.

Aḥmad *chāshnīgīr*—helps in poisoning Bābur (933) 541; [†933 AH.–1526 AD.].

Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg *Dūldāī, Barlās Turk*—particulars 25, 37, 38; his pen-name Wafā'ī and a couplet of his 38; his

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hospitality to 'Alī-sher *Nawāī* 38, 271; drives Khusrau Shāh from Samarkand (900) 51; supports Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62, 63; his death at the hands of slaves and slave-women 63–4; [†901 AH.–1496 AD.].

Aḥmadī *parwānchī*—on service (925) 377, (932) 458, 460, (933) 540; sent to surprise Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 468 (his name is omitted in my text); in the left centre at Pānīpat 472, 473; his ill-behaviour in the heats 524.

Sulṭan **Aḥmad Khān—Alacha Khān**—*Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Yūnas and Shāh Begīm—particulars 23, 160; meaning of his sobriquet Alacha Khān 23; younger Khān-dādā, Bābur's name for him 129; considered as a refuge for Bābur (899) 29, (903) 92, (906) 129, (908) 158; visits Tāshkīnt (908) 159; ceremonies of meeting 160–1, 171–2; moves with his elder brother Maḥmūd against Tambal 161, 168, 171; his kindness to Bābur 159, 166–7, 169, 171; is given Bābur's lands and why 168; retires from Andijān in fear of Shaibānī 172; defeated by Shaibānī at Archīān (908 or 909) 7, 23, ☞ 182–3; his death (909) reported to Bābur (911) 246 and n. 4: his sons Manṣūr, Sa'īd, Bābā (T.R. trs. 160, Bābājāk), Chīn-tīmūr, Tūkhtā-būghā, and Aīsan-tīmūr *q.v.*; his grandson Bābā *q.v.*; ☞ followers of his return from forced migration (908) when Shaibānī is killed (916) 351; [† end of 909 AH.–1504 AD.].

Aḥmad Khān *Ḥājī-tarkhānī* (*Astrakhānī*)—marries Badī'u'l-jamāl (Badka) *Bāī-qarā* (899?) 257, 258; their sons (Maḥmūd and Bahādur) 258; their daughter Khān-zāda *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Aḥmad Mīrzā** *Dūghlāt*—sent by The Khān (Māḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Abū-sa'īd—the lands his father gave him 35, 86; his brother Maḥmūd taken to his care (873 or 4) 46; his disaster on the Chīr (895) 17, 25, 31, 34; a swift courier to him 25; defeats 'Umar Shaikh 17, 34; 12 n. 2; 53; invades Farghāna (899) 13, 30; given Aūrā-tīpā 27; dreaded for Bābur 29; retires and dies 31, 33; particulars 33, 40; referred to by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (910) 190; his wives and children 35–6; an honoured Beg Nūyān *Tīrmīẕī* q.v.; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Sulṭān **Aḥmād Mīrzā**, *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrzā Sayyidī Aḥmad—particulars 257 n. 5; his wife Ākā Begīm *Bāī-qarā* and their son Kīchīk Mīrzā *q.v.*; 266 n. 6; a building of his at Herī 305.

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Aḥmād *mushtāq, Turkmān*—takes Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* to Ḥiṣār (873 or 4) 46–7.

Sulṭān **Aḥmad** *qarāwal*, father of Qūch (Qūj) Beg, Tardī Beg and Sher-afgān Beg *q.v.*—defends Ḥiṣār (901) 58; enters Bābur's service (905) 112; in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; holds Marghīnān 123.

Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Ḥaidar-i-qāsim—with Bābur (906) 133; invited to a disastrous entertainment (907) 152; joins Jahāngīr and Tambal 156; in Akhsī (908) 171; defeats an Aūzbeg raider (910) 195; helps to hold Kābul for Bābur (912) 313; pursues Mīrzā Khān 317, 320; holding Tāshkīnt against Aūzbegs (918) 356, 358, 396, 397; a Kābulī servant of his 351.

Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Qībchāq Turk*, (grand-?) son of Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* and a sister of Khusrau Shāh, perhaps son of Bāqī's son Muḥammad-i-qāsim (189 n. 3)—holding Kāhmard and Bāmīān (910) 189; given charge of the families of Bābur's expeditionary force 189; ill-treats them and is forced to flee 197, 243; goes to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā ib.*; killed at Qūndūz 244; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Sultan **Aḥmad Qāẓī** *Qīlīch*—particulars 29; his son Khwāja Maulānā-i-qaẓī *q.v.*

Aḥmad *qūshchī*—seen by the fugitive Bābur (908) 180.

Khwāja **Aḥmad** *Sajāwandī*—his birthplace 217.

Aḥmad Shāh *Khīljī Turk* — dispossessed of Chandīrī by Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 593; restored by Bābur (934) 598.

Aḥmad Shāh *Durrānī, Abdālī Afghān*—his victory at Pānīpat (1174) 472; [†1182 AH.–1772 AD.].

Ahmad Tarkhān *Arghūn Chīngīz-khānid* (?)—joins Bābur in Samarkand (906) 133; loses Dabūsī to Shaibānī 137; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Aḥmad (son of) Tawakkal *Barlās*, amir of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 272.

Aḥmad *yāsāwal*—conveys a message from Bābur to the begs of Kābul Fort (912) 314.

Khwāja **Aḥmad** *Yasawī*—**Sayyid Ātā**—Shaibānī's vow at his shrine 348, 356; [†514 AH.–1120–1 AD.].[1]

Aḥmad-i-yūsuf Beg *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Ḥasan, nephew of Yūsuf—managing Yār-yīlāq for 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (904) 98; dismissed on suspicion of favouring Bāḥur 98; probably

[1] For an account of his tomb see Schuyler's *Turkistān*, 1, 70–72.

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joins Bābur with his uncle (910) 196; remonstrated with him for fighting unmailed (911) 252; helping loyalists in Kābul (912) 313; saves Bābur a blow 315, 316; at Bājaur (925) 369, 401 (here Aḥmad Beg); joins Bābur in Hindūstān (933) 550; in the right wing at Kānwa 566 (where in n. 1 for "may" read is), 569; governor of Siālkot 98.

Malik **Aḥmad** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, nephew of Sulaimān *q.v.*—particulars App. K.

Aī Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda II.—betrothed to Jahāngīr. (*cir.* 895) 48; married (910) 189; their daughter 48.

Aīkū-sālam *Mughūl*—rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Aīkū[1]-tīmūr Beg Tarkhān *Arghūn*—his descendant Darwesh Beg *q.v.*; [†793 AH.–1391 AD.].

Sulṭan **Aīlīk** *Māzī Aūīghūr* (*Ūīghūr*)—his descendant Khwāja Maulānā-i-qāzī *q.v.*

Aīrzīn Beg (var. Aīrāzān) *Bārīn Mughūl*—supports Yūnas *Chaghatāī* (*cir.* 830), takes him to Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī* (*cir.* 832) 19; ill-received and his followers scattered 20; [†832 AH.–1428 AD.].

Aīsān-būghā Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānīd*, son of Dāwā—named in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19; [†*cir.* 718 AH.–1318 AD.].

Aīsān-būghā Khān II. *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Wais—particulars 19; invades Farghāna and defeated at Aspara (*cir.* 855) 20; quarrels with the begs of the Sāghārīchī *tūmān* and leads to the elevation of Yūnas *ib.*; [†866 AH.–1462 AD.].

Aīsān-daulat Begīm *Kūnjī* (or *Kūnchī*) *Mughūl*, wife of Yūnas *Chaghatāī*—particulars 20, 21; her good judgment (900) 43; entreats Bābur's help for Andijān (903) 88–9; joins him in Khujand after the loss of Andijān 92, and in Dikh-kat after that of Samarkand (907) 151; news of her death reaches Kābul (911) 246; rears one of 'Umar Shaikh's daughters 18; her kinsmen 'Alī-dost, Sherīm, Ghiyāṣ *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Aīsān-qulī Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khanid*—his Bāī-qarā marriage, 265, 397.

Aīsān-tīmūr Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—on Bābur's service 318, 682; meets

[1] Or Aīgū (Āyāgū) from *āyāgh*, foot, perhaps expressing close following of Tīmūr, whose friend the Beg was.

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Bābur (935) 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 672, 673; thanked 677; angers Bābur 684.

Ākā Begīm *Barlās Turk*, daughter of Tīmūr—an ancestress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 256.

Ākā Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid*, daughter of Manṣūr and Fīrūza—particulars 257; her husband Aḥmad and their son Kīchīk Mīrzā *q.v.*

Abū'l-fath Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad **Akbar** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, grandson of Bābur and Māhīm—☞ 184; ☞ an addition about him made to the Chihil-zīna inscription 432; ☞ his visit to Pānīpat (963) 472; his change in the name of the cherry explained by Bābur's words 501, n. 6; [†1014 AH.–1605 AD.].

Alacha Khān, see Aḥmad *Chaghatāī.*

Al-amān, son of Humāyūn—his birth and name (935) 621, 624, 642; [† in infancy].

'Ālam Khān *Kālpī*, son of Jalāl Khān *Jik-hat* (or *Jig-hat*)—holding Kālpī and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; goes to Court (933) 544; disobeys orders 557; is Bābur's host in Kālpī (934) 590; on service (935) 682; an order about him 684.

'Alāu'u'd-dīn **'Ālam Khān** *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Buhlūl—☞ a principal actor between 926–32 AH. 428; ☞ asks and obtains Bābur's help against his nephew Ibrāhīm (929) 439–441: placed by Bābur in charge of Dībālpūr (930) 442; ☞ defeated by Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (931) 444; flees to Kābul and is again set forth 444, 455; defeated by Ibrāhīm and returns to Bābur (932) 454–8; his relations with Bābur reviewed 455, n. 1; in Fort Ginguta 457, 463; in the left centre at Kānwa (933) 565; his sons Jalāl, Kamāl, and Sher Khān (*Lūdī*) *q.v.*

Sulṭān 'Alāu'u'd-dīn **'Ālam Khān** *Sayyidī*—holding Dihlī 481; [†855 AH.–1451 AD.].

'Ālam Khān *Tahangarī*, brother of Niẓām Khān of Bīāna—works badly with Bābur's force (933) 538; defeated by his brother 539; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

'Alāu'u'd-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, ruler in Bengal—the circumstances of his succession 483; his son Naṣrat *q.v.*; [†925 AH.–1518 AD.?].

'Alāu'u'd-dīn Ḥusain *Jahān-soz Ghūrī*—his destruction in Ghazni (550) 219; [†556 AH.–1161 AD.?].

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Sulṭān **'Alāu'u'd-dīn Muhammad Shāh** *Khiljī Turk*—Bābur visits his tomb and minār (932) 476; his bringing of the Koh-i-nūr from the Dakkhin 477; [†715 AH.–1315 AD.].

Sulṭān **'Alāu'u'd-dīn** *Sawādī*—waits on Bābur (925) 372, 375–6.

'Alāūl Khān *Sūr Afghān*—writes dutifully to Bābur (935) 659.

'Alāūl Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—his waitings on Bābur (934, 935) 677, 680.

Sharafu'd-dīn Muḥammad **al Buṣīrī**—his *Qaṣīdatu'l-būrda* an example for the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* 620; [†*cir.* 693 AH.–1294 AD.].

Alexander of Macedon, see Iskandar *Fīlqūs* (*Failaqūs*).

Sayyid **'Alī**—escapes from a defeat (909) 102; out with Bābur (925) 403; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638.

Sulṭān **'Alī** *aṣghar* Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mas'ūd *Kābulī*—particulars 382.

'Alī Ātāka, servant of Khalīfa—reinforces the right wing (*tūlghuma*) at Kānwa (933) 569.

Shaikh **'Alī Bahādur**, one of Tīmūrs chiefs—his descendant Bābā 'Alī 27.

Khwāja **'Alī Bāqī**—mentioned (906) 127; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; his son Jān-i-'alī *q.v.*

Shaikh **'Alī** *Bārin Mughūl*, son of Shaikh Jamāl—in the left wing (*tūlghuma*) at Pānīpat (932) 473; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638.

'Alī *Barlās Turk*—his son Muḥammad Barandūq *q.v.*

'Alī Beg *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, father of Ḥasan-i-'Alī and Apāq Bega—his Shāh-rukhī service 278.[1]

Mīr (Shaikh) **'Alī Beg** *Turk* (inferred 389), governor of Kābul for Shāh-rukh *Tīmūrīd*—his sons Bābā Kābulī, Daryā Khān, and Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān (*q.v.*) cherished by Mas'ūd *Shāh-rukhī* 382; (see his son Ghāzī's grandson Minūchihr for a Turk relation 386).

Sulṭān **'Alī** *chuhra, Chaghatāī*—his loyalty to Bābur doubted (910) 239; rebels (914) 345.

Sayyid **'Alī-darwesh Beg** *Khurāsānī*—particulars 28; with Jahāngīr (*æt.* 8), in Akhsī (899) 32, leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; on Bābur's service (904) 106, (905) 28, 118.

[1] Daulat-shāh celebrates the renown of the Jalāīr section (*farqa*) of the Chaghatāī tribes (*aqwām*) of the Mughūl horde (*aūlūs, ūlūs*), styles the above-entered 'Alī Beg a veteran hero, and links his family with that of the Jalāīr Sultāns of Bāghdād (Browne's ed. p. 519).

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Mīr **'Alī-dost Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl*, a Sāghārīchī-*tūmān* beg—particulars 27–8 ; his appointment on Bābur's accession (899) 32 ; has part in a conference (900) 43 ; surrenders Andijān (903) 88–9 ; asks Bābur's pardon (904) 99 ; gives him Marghīnān 100 ; defeated by Ṭambal 106 ; in the right wing at Khūbān (905) 113 ; his ill-timed pacifism 118 ; his self-aggrandizement 119, 123 ; joins Bābur against Samarkand 123 ; in fear of his victims, goes to Ṭambal 125 ; his death *ib.* ; his brother Ghiyāṣ, his son Muḥammad-dost, and his servant Yūl-chūq *q.v.* ; [†a few years after 905 AH.–1500 AD.].

Mīr Sayyid **'Alī** *Hamadānī*—his death and burial 211 ; [†786 AH.–1384 AD.].

Mullā **'Alī-jān** (var. Khān)—fetches his wife from Samarkand (925) 403 ; is taught a rain-spell (926) 423 ; makes verse on the Kābul-river (932) 448 ; a satirical couplet on him made and repented by Bābur 448 ; host of Mullā Maḥmūd *Farābī* (935) 653.

'Alī Khān *Bāyandar, Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (873) 279.

Shaikh-zāda **'Alī Khān** *Farmūlī Afghān*—his family-train captured (932) 526 ; waits on Bābur 526–7 ; in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567 ; on service 576, 582, 678.

'Alī Khān *Istiljū*—leads Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī's* reinforcement to Bābur (917) 353.

Sayyid **'Alī Khān** *Turk*, son of Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān and grandson of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—one of Sikandar *Lūdī's* Governors in the Panjāb (910) 382 ; leaves Bhīra on Bābur's approach *ib.* ; his lands made over by him to Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* 382–3 ; his son Minūchihr and their Turk relation (389) *q.v.*

'Alī Khān *Turkmān*, son of 'Umar Beg—defends the Bāī-qarā families against Shaibānī (913) 328.

'Alī Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān*—eldest son of Daulat Khān—his servants wait on Bābur (925) 382 ; comes out of Milwat (Malot) to Bābur (932) 459–60 ; sent under guard to Bhīra 461 ; his son Ismā'īl *q.v.*

Sayyid **'Alī** *Khwāb-bīn*, father of Sayyid Afẓal *q.v.* (cf. Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 346.

Mullā Sulṭān **'Alī** *khwush-nawīs*, calligrapher of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 291 ; given lessons in penmanship by Shaibānī (913) 329 ; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

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'Alī-mazīd Beg *qūchīn* — particulars 26; leaves Bābur for home (903) 91.

Mīr **'Alī** *mīr-akhwur*[1]—particulars 279; helps Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* to surprise Yādgār-i-muḥammad *Shāh-rukhī* in Herī (875) 134, 279.

Sulṭān **'Alī Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Maḥmūd and Zuhra—particulars 47; serving his half-brother Bāī-sunghar (900) 27, 55; made *pādshāh* in Samarkand by the Tarkhāns (901) 62–3, 86; meets Bābur 64; their arrangement 66; (902) 65, 82, 86; gives no protection to his blind half-brother Mas'ūd (903) 95; suspects a favoured beg (904) 98; quarrels with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; desertions from him 122; defeats Mīrzā Khān's Mughūls *ib.*; is warned of Bābur's approach 125; gives Samarkand to Shaibānī and by him is murdered (906) 125–7; his wife Sulṭānīm *Mīrān-shāhī* and sister Makhdūm-sulṭān *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Sulṭān **'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī** *Begchīk* (Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī), brother (?) of Bābur's wife Gul-rukh — movements of his which bear on the *lacuna* of 914–924 AH. 408; arrives in Kābul (925) *ib.*; Kāmrān marries his daughter (934) 619; conveys Bābur's wedding gifts to Kāmrān (935) 642; takes also a copy of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and of the Hindūstān poems, with writings (*sar-khaṭṭ*) in the Bāburī script 642.

Ustād **'Alī-qulī**—his match-lock shooting at Bajaur (925) 369; shoots prisoners (932) 466; ordered to make Rūmī defences at Pānīpat 469; fires *firingīs* from the front of the centre 473; casts a large mortar (933) 536, 547; his jealousy of Muṣṭafa *Rūmī* 550; his post previous to Kānwa 558; his valiant deeds in the battle 570–1; a new mortar bursts (934) 588; his choice of ground at Chandīrī 593; his stone-discharge interests Bābur 595, 670–1–2; uses the Ghāzī mortar while the Ganges bridge is in building 599; a gift to his son (935) 633; his post in the battle of the Ghogrā 667, 668, 669.

'Alī-qulī *Hamadānī* — ☞ sent by Bābur to punish the Mundāhirs, and fails (936) 700.

Mīr **'Alī** *qūrchī*—conveys playing-cards to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* (933) 584.

Malik **'Alī** *quṭnī* (?)—in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369.

[1] See Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 224, for three men who conveyed helpful information to Ḥusain.

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'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; rebels (914) 345[1]; his connection Aūrūs-i'Alī Sayyid 335.

'Alī *shab-kūr* (night-blind)—one of five champions defeated in single combat by Bābur (914) 349.

Mīr **'Alī-sher Beg** *Chaghatāī*, pen-names Nawā'ī and Fanā'ī—his obligations to Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg and return to Herāt 38; fails in a mission of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* (902) 69[2]; his Turkī that of Andijān 4; checks Ḥusain in Shī'a action 258; opposes administrative reform 282; particulars 271–2; his relations with Banā'ī 286–7, 648; corresponds with Bābur (906) 106; exchanges quatrains with Pahlawān Bū-sa'īd 292; some of his poems transcribed by Bābur (925) 419; his restoration of the Rabāṭ-i-sang-bast 301 n. 1; his flower-garden (*bāghcha*) and buildings visited or occupied by Bābur (912) 301, 305, 306; his brother Darwesh-i-'alī *q.v.*; a favoured person 278; a mystic of his circle 280–1; his scribe 271; [†906 AH.–Dec. 1500 AD.].

'Alī-shukr Beg, of the Bahārlū-aīmāq of the Āq-qūīlūq[3] Turkmāns—his daughter Pasha, grandson Yār-i-'alī *Balāl*, and descendant Bairām Khān-i-khānān *q.v.*

Sulṭan **'Alī Sīstānī** *Arghūn*—his help against Shaibānī counselled (913) 326; ☞ one of five champions worsted by Bābur in single combat (914) 349; with Bābur and chops at a tiger (925) 393.

Shaikh **'Alī Ṭaghāī** *Mervī* (?)—holding Balkh for Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (902) 70; joint-dārogha in Herī (911) 293.

Allāh-bīrdī (var. qūlī)—serving Bābur (910) 234.

Allāh-wairān *Turkmān*—in the van at Qandahār (913) 335.

Alūr or Alwar,[4] son of Bābur and Dil-dār—mentioned 689 n. 5. ☞ 712; [†died an infant].

Amīn Mīrzā—an Aūzbeg envoy to Bābur (935) 631; receives gifts 632, 641.

Amīn-i-muḥammad Tarkhān *Arghūn*—punished for disobedience (925) 390–1; deals with a drunken companion 415.

Amīr Khān, chief guardian of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī*—☞ negociates with Bābur (927) 433.

[1] Later consideration has cast doubts on his identification with Darwesh-i-'alī suggested, p. 345 n. 4.

[2] On p. 69 n. 2 for *aūnūlūng* read *aūnūtūng* and reverse *bakunīd* with *nakunīd*.

[3] On p. 49 l. 3 for "Black Sheep" read White Sheep.

[4] Like his brother Hind-āl's name, Alūr's may be due to the taking (*al*) of Hind.

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Mullā **Apāq**—particulars 526; on Bābur's service (932) 526, 528, (933) 539, (934) 590; surprised by Sangā (933) 549; made *shiqdār* of Chandīrī 598; his retainers on service (935) 679.

Apāq Bega *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, sister of Ḥusan-i-'alī—a poet 286.

Sayyida **Apāq Begīm** *Andikhūdī*—particulars 267, 268, 269; visited in Herāt by Bābur (912) 301.

Apāq Khān, see Ghāzī Khān.

Apāq Khān *Yūsuf-khail*, see Ghāzī Khān.

Apāq-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—one of the paternal aunts visited by Bābur (912) 301 n. 3.

Āq Begīm (1), *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—particulars 265; [pre-deceased her husband who died †911 AH.–1504 AD.].

Aq Begīm (2), *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—daughter of Abū-sa'īd and Khadīja—particulars 262, 268; waited on by Bābur (935) 606.

Āq Begīm (3), *ut supra*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda II.—brought to join Bābur's march (910) 48.

Āq Begīm (4), see Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān.

Āq-būghā Beg, one of Tīmūr's chiefs—collateral ancestor of Khudāī-bīrdī *Tīmūr-tāsh* 24.

'Āqil Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*, son of 'Ādil and Shād *Bāī-qarā*—his conjectured descent 264 n. 1 (where in l. 4 for "'āqil" read 'ādil).

Arāīsh Khān—proffers support to Bābur against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 463; in the left centre at Kānwa (933) 565; negociates about surrendering Chandīrī (934) 594; his gift of a boat to Bābur 663.

Arghūn Sulṭān, elder brother of Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*—deputed to hold Milwat (Malot., 932) 461.

Shaikh **'Ārif** *Āẕarī*, nephew of Tīmūr's story-teller, see Index *s.n.* Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī*; [†866 AH.–1461–2 AD. *æt.* 82, Beale].

Arslān *Jazāla*—his building of the Rabāṭ-i-sang-bast 301 n. 1.

Asad Beg *Turkmān*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 279; his brother Taham-tan *q.v.*

Khwāja and Khwājagī **Asadu'l-lāh** *Jān-dār, Khawāfī*—with Bābur in Dikh-kat (907) 150; envoy to Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī*

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(933) 540, 583; has charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* mother 543; in the right wing at Kānwa 566, 569.

Khwāja **Āṣafī**—particulars 286; waits on Bābur (912) 286: [†920 or 926 AH.–1514 or 1520 AD.].

'Asas, see Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī *'asas.*

'Āshiq *bakāwal*—with advance-troops for Chandīrī (934) 590; ordered on service (935) 638.

'Āshiq-i-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh *Arghūn,* son of "Amīr Tarkhān Junaid" (Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 359)—defends Ālā-qūrghān against Shaibānī (913) 328; his brother Mazīd Beg *q.v.*

'Āshiqu'l-lāh *Arghūn*—killed fighting against Bābur at Qandahār (913) 333 (where for "'Ashaq" read 'Āshiq).

Aṣīru'd-dīn *Akhsīkītī,* a poet—his birthplace Akhsī-village (kīt-kīnt) 9–10; [†608 AH.–1211–2 AD.].

Muḥammad **'Askarī** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrīd, Barlās Turk,* son of Bābur and Gul-rukh—☛ his birth (922) 364; gifts to him (932) 523, (933) 628; ☛ his recall from Multān (934) 603–4–5, 699[1]; waits on his father (935) 605; made Commander (*æt. cir.* 12) of the army of the East 628, 637; at a feast 631; takes leave 634; waits on his father at Dugdugī 651; east of the Ganges 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 668–9, 671–3; waits on Bābur after the victory 674; [†965 AH.–1557–8 AD.].

Asūk Mal *Rājpūt*—negociates with Bābur for Sangā's son (934–5) 612–3.

Sayyid **'Atā,** see Khwāja Aḥmad *Yasawī.*

Khwāja Jamālu'd-dīn **'Aṭā**—particulars 282 (where in n. 3 for (Ḥ.S. iii), "345" read 348–9).

Atākā *bakhshī* (var. Ātīkā, Pers. Atka)—a surgeon who dresses a wound of Bābur's (908) 169.

Atā *mīr-ākhwur*—gives Bābur a meal (925) 418.

Mīr Burhānu'd-dīn **'Aṭā'u'l-lāh** *Mashhadī*—particulars 285 (Ḥ.S. iii, 345); [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Atūn Māmā, a governess—walks from Samarkand to Pashā-ghar (907) 148; mentioned? (925) 407 l. 4.

Aūghān-bīrdī *Mughūl* (var. Afghān-bīrdī and -tardī)—on service (925) 376, 377; of a boat-party 387; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 671, 672.

Sayyid *Āūghlāqchī,* see Murād.

[1] See the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* account of the rulers of Multān.

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Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā—his (?) journey to Hindustan (933) 265.

Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Kābulī, Mīrān-shāhī, ut supra*, son of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 95; his earliest guardians amusingly frustrate his designs against them 270; his dealings with the Yūsuf-zāī App. K. xxxvi; his co-operation with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* against the Aūzbegs 190; his praise of Istālīf 216; his death (907) 185; gardens of his bought by Bābur (perhaps one only) 216, (911) 246; another garden 315; houses of his 247, 251; his Almshouse 315; referred to 284; his joint-guardians Muḥammad Barandūq and Jahāngīr *Barlās*, his later one Wais Ātāka *q.v.*; his sons 'Abdu'r-razzāq and Mīrān-shāh, his daughter Bega Begīm and daughter-in-law Manauwar *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD.].

Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī, ut supra* (Ūlūgh), son of Shāh-rukh—his Trans-oxus rule 85 [1]; receives Yūnas *Chaghatāī* badly (832–3?) 19–20; defeated by Abā-bikr *Mīrān-shāhī* 260; his family dissensions 20; his constructions, Astronomical and other 74, 77, 78–9 [2]; his sportsmanship 34 [3]; his murder and its chronograms 85; Bābur resides in his College (906) 142; his sons 'Abdu'l-laṭīf and 'Abdu'l-'azīz *q.v.*; a favoured beg Yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī q.v.*; Preface, *q.v. On the misnomer "Mughūl Dynasty"*. [†853 AH.–1449 AD.].

Aūlūs Āghā (Ūlūs), daughter of Khwāja Ḥusain *q.v.*—particulars 24.

Aūrdū-būghā Tarkhān *Arghūn* (Ūrdū)—his son-in-law Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* and son Darwesh-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Aūrdū-shāh—murdered as an envoy (923) 463 n. 3.

Aurang-zīb Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—☞ referred to as of Bābur's line 184; [†1118 AH.–O.S. 1707 AD.].

Amīr **Aūrūs**—☞ flees from his post on Shaibānī's death (916) 350.

Aūrūs-i 'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl*, son? of 'Alī Sayyid—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

[1] On p. 85 l. 9 for "872 AH.–1467 AD.", read 851 AH.–1447 AD.

[2] On p. 79 transfer the note-reference "3" to *qibla*.

[3] See Daulat-shāh (Browne's ed. p. 362) for an entertaining record of the Mīrzā's zeal as a sportsman and an illustrative anecdote by Shaikh 'Ārif *'azarī q.v.* (H.B.).

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Aūrūs *Arghūn*—his son Muḥammad-i-aūrūs *q.v.*

Aūzbeg Bahādur (Ūzbeg) — ☞ one of five champions worsted in single combat by Bābur (914) 349 n. 1.

Aūzūn Ḥasan Beg *Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān*—his defeat of the Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmāns and of Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* 49 ; [†883 AH.–1478 AD.].

Khwāja **Aūzūn Ḥasan** (Ūzūn) [1]—negociates for Bābur (899) 30 ; his appointment 32 ; confers in Bābur's interests (900) 43 (where add his name after 'Alī-dost's) ; acts for Jahāngīr against Bābur (903) 87, 88, 91, (904) 100, 101, 102 ; his servant's mischievous report of Bābur's illness (903) 89 ; his men defeated by Bābur's allies 102 ; loses Akhsī and Andijān 102–3 ; captured and released by Bābur 104 ; goes into Samarkand to help Bābur (907) 146 ; his brother Ḥusain and adopted son Mīrīm *q.v.*

'Ayisha-sulṭān Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain—particulars 267 ; her husbands Qāsim *Aūzbeg-Shaibān* and Būrān, her sons Qāsim-i-ḥusain and 'Abdu'l-lāh *q.v.*

'Ayisha-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī, ut supra*, daughter of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān) and first wife of Bābur—particulars 35, 36 ; married (905) 35, 120, 711 ; joins Bābur in Samarkand (906) 135–6 ; her child 136 ; leaves Bābur 36.

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'Aẓim Humāyūn *Sarwānī*—invests Gūālīār 477 ; his title changed and why (933) 537 ; his son Fatḥ Khān *q.v.*

Mīr **'Azū**, a musical composer—particulars 292.

[1] I have found no statement of his tribe or race ; he and his brother are styled Khwāja (Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 272) ; he is associated closely with Aḥmad Tambal *Mughūl* and Mughūls of the Horde ; also his niece's name Aūlūs Āghā translates as Lady of the Horde (*ūlūs, aūlūs*). But he may have been a Turkmān.

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Bābā 'Alī *aīshīk-āghā* (*īshīk*), a Lord-of-the-Gate of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 278; his son Yūnas-i-'alī and friend Badru'd-dīn *q.v.*

Bābā-qulī's Sulṭān **Bābā 'Alī Beg**[1]—particulars 27; his sons Bābā-qulī, Sayyidīm 'Alī and Dost-i-anjū (?) Shaikh *q.v.*; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Bābā-aūghūlī, see Pāpā-aūghūlī.

Bābā Chuhra, a household brave—reprieved from death (914) 344; on Bābur's service (932) 474, 534, (934) 590, 602; does well in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 671.

Bābā Ḥusain, see Ḥusain.

Bābā Jān *akhtachī*, a groom or squire—Bābur dislocates his own thumb in striking him (925) 409.

Bābā Jān *qābūzī*—musician at entertainments (925) 386–7, 388.

Bābā Kābulī *Turk*, son of Mīr 'Alī, Shāh-rukh (*Tīmūrid*)'s Governor of Kābul—nominated 'Umar Shaikh's guardian when Kābul was allotted to the boy 14; particulars 382; his brothers Daryā Khān and Ghāzī (Apāq) Khān *q.v.*

Bābā Khān Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānīd*, (Bābājāk), son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khan)—his ceremonious meeting with Bābur (908) 159; [living in 948 AH.–1542—T.R.].

Bābā Khān *Chaghatāī*, son of The Khān (Maḥmūd)—murdered with his father and brothers by Shaibānī (914) 35.

Bābā Qashqa *Mughūl* (perhaps identical with Qashqa Maḥmūd *Chīrās q.v.*)—out with Bābur (925) 404, 405; in charge of Dībālpūr (930) 442; his brothers Malik Qāsim and Kūkī; his sons Shāh Muḥammad, Dost-i-muḥammad and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān *Kūkī q.v.*; [†*cir.* 940 AH.–1553 AD.].[2]

Sulṭān **Bābā-qulī Beg,** son of Sulṭān Bābā 'Alī Beg—serving under Khusrau Shāh (901) 60, 61; with Bābur and captured (903) 72; staunch to him 91; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; conveys royal letters (932) 529.[3]

Bābā Sairāmī—pursues Bābur in his flight from Akhsī (908) 178; promised fidelity but seems to have been false 179–182.

[1] The MS. variants between 'Alī and -qulī are confusing. What stands in my text (p. 27) may be less safe than the above.

[2] Bābā Qashqa was murdered by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā*. For further particulars of his family group see Add. Notes under p. 404.

[3] Sulṭan Bābā-qulī Beg is found variously designated Qulī Beg, Qulī Bābā, Sl. 'Alī Bābā-qulī, Sulṭān-qūlī Bābā and Bābā-qulī Beg. Several forms appear to express his filial relationship with Sulṭān Bābā 'Alī (*q.v.*).

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Bābā Shaikh *Chaghatāī*, brother of Mullā Bābā *Pashāgharī*—in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335; ☞ rebels at Ghaznī (921) 363; forgiven (925) 397; deserts Humāyūn (932) 546; his capture and death 545; a reward given for his head *id.*; [†932 or 933 AH.–1526 AD.].

Bābā Shaikh—sent out for news (935) 661.

Bābā Sher-zād—one of three with Bābur against Tambal (908) 163; does well at Akhsī 174; fights against rebels at Kābul (912) 315; at Qandahār (913) 335.

Bābā Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Khālīl son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—waits on Bābur near Kālpī (934) 590; particulars 590; on service 318, (934) 599; not at his post (935) 672.

Bābā Yāsāwal—at the siege of Bajaur (925) 370; chops at a tiger's head 393.

Bābū Khān—holding Kalanjar and looking towards Hāṭī *Kākar* (925) 387.

Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Bābur Pādshāh** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—b. Muḥarram 6th 888 AH.–Feb. 14th 1483 AD. p. 1; †Jumāda I, 6th 937 AH.–Dec. 26th 1530 A.D. 708;
Parentage:—paternal 13, maternal 19, 21;
Titles:—Mīrzā (inherited) Pādshāh (taken) 344, Ghāzī (won) 574, Firdaus-makānī (Dweller-in-paradise, posthumous) see Gladwin's Revenue Accounts;
Religion:—[1] belief in God's guidance 31, 72–3, 103–13–37–94–99; in His intervention 73, 247, 316, 446–51–74–79, 525–96, 620; that His will was done 55, 100–16–32–34–35–67, 269, 316–22–23–36–37–70, 454–70–71–80, 542–94, 627–28–70, that He has pleasure in good 331; that to die is to go to His mercy 67; reliance on Him 100–08–16–32, 311, 463, 678; God called to witness 254 and invoked to bless 624; His punishment of sin 42–5, 449–77 (Hell), and of breach of Law 449; His visitation of a father's sins on children 45; His predestination of events 128, 243–46–53, 469, 594;—prayer to Him for a sign of victory 440, for the dead 246, against a bad wife 258; a life-saving prayer 316;
Characteristics:—ambition 92–7; admiration of high character 27, 67, 89, 90; bitterness and depression (in youth)

[1] Down to p. 346 Bābur's statements are retrospective; after p. 346 they are mostly contemporary with the dates of his diary—when not so are in supplementing passages of later date.

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91, 130–52–57–78 ; consideration for dependants 91–9, 158–78–96, 469 ; distrust of the world 95, 144–56 ; silent humiliation 119 ; fairness 15, 24, 91, 105, 469 ; fearlessness 163–5–73 ; fidelity :—to word 104, 129 (see 118–9), 172–3, 194, to salt 125, to family-relation,—filial 88–9, 135–49–57–58–88, —fraternal see Jahāngīr and Nāṣir,—Tīmūrid 41, 149–57–68, Chaghatāī 54, 169–72, Mughūl 27, 119–25, Aūzbeg 37 ,—friendship see Nūyān and Khw. Kalān ; good judgment 43, 87, 91, 134–37–55 ; gratitude 99, 633 ; insouciance 150 ; joy at release from stress 99, 134–35–48–81 ; bashfulness and passion 120 ; persistence 92–7 and *passim* ; promptitude 117, 170 ; reprobation of vice, tyranny and cruelty 42–5–6, 50, 66, 70, 90–6, 102–10–25–97, 290 and of an unmotherly woman 125–28 ; self-reproach 147 ; self-comment on inexperienced action 165–67–73 ; dislike of talkativeness 28, 97, 143–92–93 ; vexation at loss of rule (*æt.* 14) 90–1–9, 129–30–57 ; truth for truth sake 135, 318 ; seeking and weighing counsel 73, 100–14–31–41–65–70–73–97–98, 229–30–31–48, 340–76–78, 410–12–69, 524–30–77, 628–39–67–69–82 ; enjoins Humāyūn to take counsel 627 ;

Occupations (non-military) :—archery *i.a.* 175 ; calligraphy see *infra* ; literary composition see *infra* ; metrical amusements see verse ; Natural History *passim* ; travel, excursions, sight-seeing, social intercourse *passim* ; building 5, 217–9, 375–98, in Dūlpūr 585, 606–07–42, in Āgra 642, in Kābul 646–7, in Sīkrī 588, Ajodhyā mosque 656 n. 3, App. U, Pānīpat mosque 472 n. 1 ; gardening and garden-making *passim* ;—Bābur's script (*Bāburī-khaṭṭ*) devised 910 AH. 228, Qorān transcribed by him in it 228 n. 4 ; studied by an enquirer 285 ; alphabet and specimens sent to Bābur's sons 642 ; *Abūshqā* account of, App. Q, lxii to lxv ;

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Writings :—*a.* Verses in the B.N. down to 926 AH. see *infra* ; *b.* First Dīwān 402 ;* perhaps containing the *Abūshqā* quotations 438 ; *c.* Diary of 925 and 926 *q.v.* AH. (probably a survival of more) * 438 ; *d.* The *Mubīn* (928 AH.) 426–37–38–49 ; quoted 630–31 n. 3 ; *e.* Treatise on Prosody (931 AH.)

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586, App. Q, lx, lxvi ; *f.* The *Wālidiyyah-risāla* (935 AH.) 619–20–31 n. 3, (*tarjuma*) 642–3, App. Q, lix ; *g.* The *Hindūstān Poems* 642, App. Q; *h. Rāmpūr MS.* of 6 and 7. App. Q, referred to * 438, 620 n. 6, 642 n. 3 ; *i.* Diary of 932 to 936 *q.v.* ; *j.* Narrative of 899 to within 914 AH. *q.v.* ;

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[1] He may be the father of Mun'im Khān (Blochmann's Biographies A.-i-A. trs. 317 and n. 2).

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Sultān **Bāyazīd**[2]—urges attack on the Afrīdī (925) 411, 412.

[1] See note, Index, *s.n.* Muḥammad Ẓakaria.

[2] He is likely to have been introduced with some particulars of tribe, in one of the now unchronicled years after Bābur's return from his Trans-oxus campaign.

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Shaikh **Bāyazīd** *Itārachī Mughūl*, brother of Aḥmad Tambal—holding Akhsī for Jahāngīr (908) 170; sends a force against Pāp 171; receives Bābur in Akhsī 171–2; made prisoner against Bābur's wish 173; escapes 175; reported as sending Yūsuf *dāroghā* to Bābur's hiding-place 182.

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Begīm Sulṭān, see Sa'ādat-bakht.

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[1] His wife, daughter of a wealthy man and on the mother's side niece of Sulṭān Buhlūl *Lūdī*, financed the military efforts of Bāyazīd and Bīban (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. and D. iv, 353 ff.).

[2] My translation on p. 621 l. 12 is inaccurate inasmuch as it hides the circumstance that Beg-gīna alone was the "messenger of good tidings",

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[1] In taking Bīban for a Jilwānī, I follow Erskine, (as inferences also warrant,) but he may be a Lūdī.

[2] For the same uncertainty between Bihār and Pahār see E. and D.'s History of India iv, 352 n. 2.

[3] Firishta lith. ed. i, 202.

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[1] For "Mū'min" read Mūmin, which form is constant in the Ḥai. MS.

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Darwesh-i-muḥammad *Faẓlī*—defeated (910) 241; degraded for not supporting a comrade (925) 405.

Darwesh-i-muḥammad Sārbān—Mīrzā Khān's envoy to Bābur (925) 402; a non-drinker not pressed to disobey 406; replaces a china cup 407; enters Bābur's service 408; over-pressed to break the Law 410; eats a strange fruit 410–1; at ma'jūn-parties 412, (935) 683; asks a fruitful question (932) 470–1; in the right-centre at Pānī-pat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 565; recals a vow to Bābur 553; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 673.

Darwesh-i-muḥammad Tarkhān *Arghūn Chingīz-khānid*—particulars 38; envoy to the Andijān begs (899) 31; his part in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62; his death 38, 63;

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his relationship to Mīrān-shāhīs 13 n. 5, 33, 38, and his kinsman 'Abdu'l-'alī *q.v.*; [†901 AH.–1496 AD.].

Darwesh Sulṭān (? *Chaghatāī*)—on Bābur's service (934) 599.

Daryā Khān *Turk*, son of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—particulars 382, his sons Yār-i-ḥusain and Ḥasan *q.v.*

Daryā Khān *Nūḥānī, Afghān*—his sons Saīf Khān and Bihār Khān, his grandson Jalāl *q.v.*

Mullā **Dāūd**—killed serving Bābur 549; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Sayyid **Dāūd** *Garm-serī*—receives gifts (935) 633.

Dāūd Khān *Lūdī*—defeated by Bābur's troops (932) 467–8.

Dāūd *Sarwānī*, see Rāwū'ī *Sarwānī*.

Daulat Khān, *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī, Afghān*, son of Tātār—is given Bhīra *etc.* 382, 383; concerning his lands, Author's Note 383; ☞ a principal actor from 926 to 932 AH. 428; dreads Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 439; ☞ proffers allegiance to Bābur (929?) 439, 440; ☞ his gift of an Indian fruit decides Bābur to help him 440, 503 n. 6; ☞ his action causes the return to Kābul of Bābur's fourth expedition into Hindūstān 442; his strength and action 443–4; his rumoured attack on Lāhor (932) 451, 453; negotiates with 'Ālam Khān (931?) 455–6; loses Milwat to Bābur (932) 459; his death 461; his sons 'Alī, Apāq, Dilawār *q.v.*; his relations with Nānak 461 n. 3; [†932 AH.–1526 A.D.].

Daulat-i-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh, see Qūtlūq-i-muḥammad.

Daulat-qadam ?—his son Mīr Mughūl *q.v.*

Daulat-shāh *Isfarāyinī*, author of the *Tazkiratu'sh-shu'arā*—at the battle of Chīkmān-sarāī (876) 46 n. 2; [†895 AH.–1490 AD.?].

Daulat-sulṭān Khānīm, *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas Khān and Shāh Begīm—particulars 24; her long family separation (907) 149; meets her brother Aḥmad (908) 159; married as a captive by Tīmūr *Aūz-beg* (909) 24; rejoins Bābur (917) *ib.* and 358 n. 1; letters from her reach Bābur (925) 409; sends letters and gifts to him (932) 446.

Dāwā Khān, *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19; [†706 AH.–1306–7 AD.].

Dejal, the false Messiah 563 n. 1.

Deo Sulṭan, see Div.

Rāja **Dharmankat** *Gūālīārī*—stirs trouble (933) 539; lays siege to Gūālīār 557.

Dharm-deo—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

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Dilāwar Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī, Afghān,* son of Daulat Khān — ☞ ill-received by Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (929?) 439; ☞ goes to Kābul to ask help from Bābur 439–40; imprisoned by his father (931) 442, 443; escapes and joins 'Ālam Khān 455, 456; joins Bābur 457, 461; location of his mother's family 462; does not sit in Bābur's presence 466; entrusted by Bābur with care for the corpse of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* 474 n. 1; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 567 (here styled Khān-i-khānān); [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Dil-dār Begīm (? Ṣālḥa-sulṭān 3rd daughter of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* and Pasha), wife of Bābur—her unborn child forcibly adopted (925) 347, and App. L; her son Alwar (Alūr)'s death (935) 689 n. 5; particulars 712–4; her sons Hind-āl and Alūr, her daughters Gul-rang, Gul-chihra and Gul-badan *q.v.*

Dilpat Rāo—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Div Sulṭān *Rūmlū* (or Deo)—recaptures Balkh (cir. 919) 363; particulars 635 n. 2; his servant describes the battle of Jām (935) 635–6.

Dīwa Hindū, son of Sīktū—waits on Bābur in Bhīra (925) 382; made prisoner and ransomed 399.

Dīwāna *jāma-bāf*—put to retaliatory death 73; [†903 AH.–1497 AD.].

Bābā Dost—put in charge of Humāyūn's Trans-Indus district (925) 391; conveys wine to Bābur's camp (933) 551 (here *sūchī*).[1]

Dost, son of Muḥammad Bāqir—drunk (925) 415.

Dost-anjū?[2] **Shaikh,** son of Bābā 'Alī—left in charge of Ghaznī (911) 307.

Dost Beg *Mughūl,* son of Bābā Qashqa and brother (p. 588) of Shāh Muḥammad—at a social gathering and sent to Bhīra 388 (here *muhrdār*); made a *dīwān* (932) 476; in charge of Bīāna (933) 539 and made its *shiqdār* 579 (here Lord-of-the Gate); in the right centre at Kānwa 565, 569; waits on Bābur 581; pursues rebels (934) 601 (here Dost-i-muḥammad); in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 673; for his kinsmen see *s.n.* Bābā Qashqa.

Khwāja **Dost-i-khāwand**—lets himself down over the wall of Qandahār (913) 343; at boat-parties (925) 385, 388; comes

[1] He may be Ḥamīda-bānū's father and, if so, became grandfather of Akbar.

[2] Ilminsky, *anlū,* Erskine, *angū.* Daulat-shāh mentions a Muḥammad Shāh *anjū* (see Brown's ed. Index *s.n.*).

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from Kābul to Āgra (933) 544 ; in the left-centre at Kānwa 565 ; ☞ sent on Bābur's family affairs to Humāyūn in Badakhshān (934) 603 ; delayed in Kābul till Kāmrān's arrival 618 and nn. 2–6 ; his letters reach Bābur (935) 618.

Dost-kīldī *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Dost-i-nāṣir Beg—Dost Beg—(Nāṣir's Dost), son of Nāṣir—enters Bābur's service (904) 103 ; on service (906) 131, (908) 163, 165 ; one of three standing by Bābur 166, 167, 396 ; with him at Akhsī 174, 396 ; one of the eight in the flight 177, 396 ; at the recapture of Kābul (912) 315 ; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338 ; at Tāshkīnt (918) ☞ 356 n. 1, ☞ 358, 396–7 ; opposing rebels (921) ☞ 364, 397 ; leading the left at Bajaur (925) 368 (here first styled Beg), 369, 370, 397 ; his revenue work 384 ; at wine parties 387, 388 ; at Parhāla 390 ; attacked by fever 394 ; his death and his burial at Ghaznī 395–6 ; his brother Mīrīm q.v. ; particulars 395–7 ; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Dost *Sar-i-pulī, pīāda* and (later) *kotwāl*—attacks Bābur blindly (912) 316–7 ; wounded (913) 324 ; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Dost-i-yāsīn-khair—wrestles well with eight in successive (935) 653 ; 656.

Dūdū Bībī, widow of Bihār Khān *Bihārī*—news of her bringing her son to Bābur (935) 664 ; encouraging letters sent to her 665 ; Sher Khān *Sūr* her co-guardian for her son 664 n. 2 ; her son Jalālu'd-dīn *Nuḥānī q.v.*

Faghfūr Dīwān—on service (933) 551 ; his servants sent for fruit to Kābul (935) 687. Hai. MS. reads Maghfūr.

Fajji *Gāgīānī, Afghān* — guides Bābur's first passage of the Khaibar (910) 229.

Fakhrū'n-nisā', daughter of Bābur and 'Āyisha—died an infant 35–6, 136 ; [†906 AH.–1500–1 AD.].

Faqī-i-'alī—reprieved (914) 345 ; with Bābur and left in charge of Balkh (923) 463 ; ☞ left in charge of Qila'i-ẓafar by Humāyūn (936) 695.

Farīd Khān *Nuḥānī, Afghān,* son of Naṣīr—writes dutifully to Bābur (935) 659.

Farīdūn, (an ancient Shāh of Persia)—mentioned in a verse 85.

Farīdūn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid,* son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 263, 269 ; [†915 AH.–1509 AD.].

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Farīdūn *qabūzī*—summoned by Bābur (935) 617.

Mullā **Farrukh**—placed on Bābur's left at a feast (935) 631; gifts made to him 632.

Farrukh *Arghūn*—surrenders Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to Bābur (911) 248–9.

Mīrzā **Farrūkh** *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Ḥasan—mentioned for his qualities 279.

Farrukh-i-ḥusain Mīrzā, *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā — particulars 264; [†915 AH.–1509 AD.].

Farrukh-zād Beg—Bābur dismounts in his garden at Qandahār (913) 337.

Farūq, son of Bābur and Māhīm—his birth (932) announced to Bābur (933) 536, 689 n. 5; [933 AH.–1526–7 AD.].

Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī* Khān-i-jahān, son of 'Azim-humāyūn—is escorted to Bābur (932) 534; well-received (933) 537; his hereditary title superseded *ib.*; invited to a wine-party *ib.*; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* (935) 652; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; ? a kinsman Daud *q.v.*

Fāṭima-sūlṭān Āghā *Mughūl*—first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* 17, 24; their son Jahāngīr *q.v.*

Fāṭima-sultān Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Mīnglī — particulars 266; her husband Yādgar-i-farrukh *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*; [†before 911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Fāẓil Kūkūldāsh—serving Shāh Beg *Arghūn* (910) 238; ☞ a good account of him named 443; his death a crushing grief to Shāh Beg *ib.*; [†930 AH.–1514 AD.].

Fāẓil Tarkhān—a Turkistān merchant created a Tarkhān by Shaibānī, [Author's Note] 133; his death *ib.*; [906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Faẓlī, see Darwesh-i-muḥammad.

Ferdinand the Catholic—his action in 1504 (910 AH.) 187 n. 2 (Erskine).

Fīrūza Begīm *Qānjūt*, wife of Manṣūr *Bāī-qarā* her Tīmūrīd ancestry 256; her children Bāī-qarā (II), Ḥusain, Ākā and Badka *q.v.*; ([†874 AH.–1469–70 AD.].

Fīrūz Khān *Mewatī*—reprieved (932) 477–8.

Fīrūz Khān, *Sārang-khānī, Afghān* — on Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* service 527; waits on Bābur (932) 527, and on his service 530.

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Sulṭān **Fīrūz Shāh,** *Tūghlūq Turk*—his servants' dynasties 481, 482; his relations with the rulers of Mālwā 482 (where in n. 3 for "Gujrāt" read Mālwā); [†790 AH.–1388 AD.].

Fīrūz Shāh Beg—his grandson 'Abdu'l-khalīq *q.v.*

Gadāī *Balāl*—rejoins Bābur (913) 330–1.

Gadāī *bihjat*—misbehaves (925) 414.

Gadāī Ṭaghāī—shares a confection (925) 375; at social gatherings 385, 7, 8, 400, 412; rides carrying a full pitcher 386; out with Bābur 404; removes a misbehaving namesake 414.

Gauhar-shād Begīm, wife of Shāh-rukh *Tīmūrid*—Bābur visits her college and tomb (912) 305; [†861 AH.–1457 AD.].

Gauḥar-shad Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* daughter of Abū-sa'īd—visited by Bābur (935) 616.

Mīr **Gesū**—finds chronogram identical with Shaikh Zain's 575.

Apāq **Ghāzī Khān** *Turk,* son of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—particulars 382; his brothers Bābā Kābulī and Daryā Khān, his son 'Alī and his relation Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk q.v.*

Apāq **Ghāzī Khān** *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān,* son of Daulat Khān—☞ arrested by Bābur (930) 442; moves against Bābur (932) 451, 453; not trusted 455; agrees to help 'Ālam Khān 455–6; receives him ill on defeat 457–8; pursued for Bābur 458, 460, 461, 462, 463; Bābur's reproach for his abandonment of his family 460–1; his forts in the Dūn 462; his library less valuable than was expected by Bābur 460; his kinsman Ḥāji Khān and his own son 465.

Ghiyāṣ, a buffoon 400 (where erroneously Ghīāṣ).

Mīr **Ghiyāṣ,** building entrusted to him (935) 642.

Mīr **Ghiyāṣ Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl,* brother of 'Alī-dost—particulars 28; enters the Khān (Maḥmūd)'s service (899) 28, 32; [† before 914 AH.–1507–8 AD.].

Amīr **Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn,** ☞ patron of Khwānd-amīr and supposed ally of Bābur—killed in Herāt (927) 432.

Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn, nephew of Khwānd-amīr—☞ conveys the keys of Qandahār to Bābur (928) 432, 435, 436.

Sulṭān **Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn** *Balban*—Bābūr visits his tomb (932) 475; [†686 AH.–1287 AD.].

Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn *qūrchī*—takes campaigning orders to Junaid *Barlās* (935) 628; returns to Court 636; takes orders to the Eastern amirs 638.

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Ghulām-i-'alī—returns from taking Bābur's three articles to Naṣrat Shāh (935) 676.

Ghulām bacha, a musician—heard by Bābur in Herāt (912) 303.

Ghulām-i-shādī, a musician—particulars 292; his younger brother Ghulām bacha *q.v.*

Mullā **Ghulām** *Yasāwal*—makes an emplacement for the Ghāzī mortar (935) 670; sent to collect the Bihār tribute 676.

Ghūrī *Barlās*—on Bābur's service (905) 125; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334; wounded 336; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

Gūjūr Khān—ordered on service (935) 638.

Gul-badan Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Bābur and Dil-dār—☞ her birth (929 or 930) and her book (*cir.* 995) 441; her journey to Āgra (935) 650 n. 2; ☞ her parentage 712; [†1011 AH.–1603 AD.].

Gul-barg *Barlās Turk*, daughter of Khalīfa—☞ betrothed (?) to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* (924–5) 366; ☞ married (930) 443.

Gul-chihra Begīm, full sister of Gul-badan *supra*—her marriage with Tūkhtā-būghā *Chaghatāī* 705 n. 1, 708; her parentage 712; ☞ perhaps the mother of Salīma *Chaqānīanī* 713.

Gul-rang Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Bābur and Dil-dār—☞ born in Khwāst (920) 363; ☞ married to Aīsān-tīmūr *Chaghatāī* (937) 705 n. 1, 708; parentage 712.

Gul-rukh Begīm *Begchīk*, wife of Bābur—☞ with Bābur on the Trans-oxus campaign (916–20) 358; particulars 712; her sons Kāmrān and 'Askarī and her brother (?) Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī *q.v.*

Mīrak **Gūr** *dīwān* (or Kūr) captured by Shaibānī (913) 328.

Shaikh Abū'l-fath **Gūran** (G'hūran)—serving Bābur (932) 526, 528–9, (933) 539, 567, (934) 590; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 567; host to Bābur in Kūl (Koel) (934) 587; takes lotus-seeds to him 666; sends him grapes (935) 686; given Gūālīār (936) 688, 690; ☞ holds it till Bābur's death 692 n. 1.

Ḥabība-sulṭān Begīm *Arghūn*, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 36, 37; arranges her daughter Ma'ṣūma's marriage with Bābur (912) 306, (913) 330.

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Ḥābība-sulṭān Khānīsh *Dūghlāt*, daughter of Muḥammad Ḥusain and Khūb-nigār *Chaghatāī*—her marriages 21–2; depends on Bābur (917) 22.

Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī, a musician—heard by Bābur in Herī (912) 303.

Ḥāfiẓ *kabar-kātib*—his brother conveys Bābur's earliest Dīwān to Samarkand (925) 482; at a feast (935) 631, 632.

Ḥāfiẓ Mīrak—composes an inscription (913) 343.

Ḥāfiẓ-i-muḥammad Beg *Dūldāī Barlās*—particulars 25; in Aūrā-tīpā (893) 17, 25; ☞ joint-guardian of Mīrzā Khān (905) 25, 122; his death 26; his sons Muḥammad *miskīn* and Ṭāhir *q.v.*; his (?) Chār-bāgh 108; [†*circ.* 909–10 AH.–1504 AD.].

Khwāja Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad **Ḥāfiẓ** *Shīrāzī*—parodied (910) 201; [†791 AH.–1389 AD.].

Ḥāfiẓ *Tāshkīndī*—gifts made to him (935) 632.

Haibat Khān *karg-andāz, Hindūstānī*—leaves Bābur (933) 557.

Haibat Khān *Samana'ī*—☞ perhaps the provider of matter to fill the *lacuna* of 936 AH., 693.

Mullā **Haidar**—his sons 'Abdu'l-minān and Mūmin *q.v.*

Haidar '*Alamdār*—on Bābur's service (925) 383, (926) 421.

Haidar-'alī Sulṭān *Bajaurī*—obeys custom in testing his dead mother's virtue 212; ☞ his Gibrī fort taken by Bābur (924) 366, 7, 8.

Haidar Kūkūldāsh *Yāragī Mughūl*, Maḥmūd Khān's "looser and binder"—defeated 35, (900) and killed 52, 111–2; his garden 54; his son Banda-i-'alī and a descendant (?) Ḥusain *Yārajī q.v.*

Haidar-Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—his Mīrān-shāhī betrothal at Ḥiṣār (901) 48, 61; rejoins his father opportunely (903) 261; particulars 263; his wife Bega *q.v.*; [†908 AH.–1502–3 AD.].

Muḥammad **Ḥaidar Mīrzā Kūrkān** *Dūghlāt*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*—particulars 21–2,[1] 348; ☞ takes refuge with Bābur (916) 350; ☞ his first battle (917) 353; ☞ ill when Kūl-i-malik was fought (918) 357–8; goes to Sa'īd Khān in Kāshgar 22, 362; on Sa'īd's service (933) 590, (936) 695–6; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].

[1] On p. 22 n. 2 delete "*Chaghatāī Mughūl*" on grounds given in Additional Note, Page 22.

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Ḥāidar-i-qāsim Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī* — father of Abū'l-qāsim, Aḥmad-i-qāsim and Qūch (Qūj) Beg *q.v.*

Ḥaidar-qulī—on Aūzūn Ḥasan's service (904) 102.

Ḥaidar-qulī, servant of Khwāja Kalān—on service (932) 467; mentioned by Bābur in writing to the Khwāja (935) 648.

Ḥaidar *rikābdār*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; his son Muḥammad 'Alī *q.v.*

Ḥaidar *tāqī*—his garden near Kābul 198 n. 1.

Ḥājī Ghāzī *Manghīt*—sent to help Bābur (904) 101 where in n. 3 add Vambéry's Note 29 to the references.

Ḥājī ('Alī) Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān* — acting with 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 445–6–7.

Ḥājī pīāda—killed at the Lovers'-cave 68; [902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Ḥājī Pīr *bakāwal*—negociates for Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* with the Ḥiṣār begs (901) 61.

Ḥalāhil—on service (925) 391, (925) 638.

Ḥalwāchī Tarkhān *Arghūn*—engages Bābur's left wing at Qandāhar (913) 336.

Sayyid Mīr **Hamah**—gets the better of two traitors (932–3) 546; receives head-money (933) 546; in the right wing at Kānwa 566.

Ḥamīd Khān *Khāṣa-khaīl Sārang - khānī Lūdī* — opposes Bābur (932) 465; defeated by Humāyūn 466; defeated (633) 540; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

Hāmūsī, son of Dīwa — sent to make a Hindū pact with Sangā's son (935) 616.

Amīr **Ḥamza**—a poem mentioned imitating that in which he is celebrated 280; [†3 AH.–625 AD.].

Ḥamza Beg *qūchīn,* son of Qāsim and a daughter of Banda-i-'alī — his wedding gifts to Bābur on his marriage with Khalīfa's daughter (925) 400; joins Bābur on summons from Qūndūz 406, 410.

Ḥamza Bī *Mangfīt Aūzbeg* — defeated, when raiding, by Bābur's men (910) 195.

Ḥamza Khān, Malik of 'Alī-shang—made over to the avengers of blood (926) 425; [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Ḥamza Sulṭān *Aūzbeg* — his various service 58, 59, 131; defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; enters Bābur's service 59; given leave 64; his Mughūls rebel against Bābur (904) 105; serving Shaibānī (906) 131, 139, (910) 244;

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☞ holding Ḥiṣār and comes out against Bābur (916) 352; defeated at Pul-i-sangīn and put to death by Bābur (917) 18, 37, 262, 353; his defeat announced to Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* 354; his sons in the battle of Jām (935) 622; his sons 'Abdu'l-laṭīf and Mamāq *q.v.*, his Mīrān-shāhī wife 37; [†917 AH.–1511 AD.].

Ḥaq-dād, headman of Dūr-namā—makes offering of his garden to Bābur (926) 420.

Ḥaq-naẓar—finds the body of his nephew (Nūyān) Kūkūldāsh (907) 152.

Ḥaq-naẓīr *chapā*—to punish his raid, beyond the power of the Herāt Mīrzās (912) 300.

Ḥarūnu'r-rashīd Khalīfa—his second son Māmūn Khalīfa (d. 218 AH.) 79; [†193 AH.–809 AD.].

Ustād **Ḥasan-i-'alī**—orders given for the completion of work he had begun in Kābul (935) 646–7.

Ḥasan-i-'alī *Chaghatāī*—receives a pargana (935) 689.

Ḥasan-i-'alī *Jalāīr Chaghatāī*, son of 'Alī (*q.v.*)—particulars 278, 286; meets Bābur (912) 299; his poet-sister 286 n. 1; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Sayyid **Ḥasan** *Aūghlāqchī Mughūl*, son of Murād—particulars 279; serving Bābur (917) 279; his son Farrukh *q.v.*; [†918 AH.–1522 AD.].

Ḥasan *Barlās*—his rough dealing with Bābur (910) 194.

Shāh **Ḥasan Beg** *Arghūn*, son of Shāh (Shuja') Beg—quarrels with his father and goes to Bābur (924) 365, ☞ 430; his betrothal (?) to Gul-barg (924–6) 366 and marriage (930) 443; in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369; sent to claim ancient lands of the Turks 383–4; is successful 388; out with Bābur 395; gifts to him *ib.* 414, 584; social matters 400, 7, 10, 12; Bābur sends him a quatrain 401; [see *s.n.* Shāh-zāda), ☞ a principal actor between 930 and 932 AH. 427; his attack on Multān 437, 442 and *s.n.* 'Askarī; accedes in Sind (930) 443; reads the *khuṭba* for Bābur 430; his envoy to Bābur (935) 632; [†962 AH.–1555 AD.].

Ḥasan *Chalabī*—Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* envoy to Bābur (935), arrives late 631, 632 n. 3, 641; Bābur accepts excuse for his delay 649; Bābur's envoy accompanies him on his return 641; his servant gives Bābur an account of the battle of Jām 649.

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Ḥasan-dīkcha of Akhsī—supports Bābur (904) 101.

Ḥasan-i-khalīfa, son of Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī—sent on service 679.

Ḥasan Khān *Bārīwāl Hindūstānī*—leaves Bābur for Sangā (933) 557.

Ḥasan Khān *Daryā-khānī,* son of Daryā Khān son of Mīr 'Alī Beg—on service for Bābur (933) 582; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669; pursuing rebels 678.

Ḥasan-i-makan, loses Kandār to Sangā (932) 529–30.

Ḥasan Khān *Mewātī*—his change of capital (930) 578; his opposition to Bābur (932) 523 and n. 3, (933) 545, 547; his force at Kānwa 562 and death 573; Bairām Khān's remarks on him 523 n. 3; his son Nāhar *q.v.*; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Ḥasan Nabīra, grandson of Muḥammad *Sīghal* — waits on Bābur (902) 66; captures his elder brother (903) 72; leaves 'Alī for Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; goes as envoy (?) to Bābur from Mīrzā Khān (925) 415; his elder brother Muhammad Qāsim Nabīra *q.v.*

Mullā **Ḥasan** *ṣarrāf*—given custody of gifts for Kābul (932) 525.

Ḥasan *sharbatchī* — helps Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī's* escape (901) 62.

Ḥasan-i-yaq'ūb Beg, son of Nūyān Beg? — particulars 26; supports Bābur (899) 30, 31; his appointments 32; shows disloyalty (900) 43; his death 44; his sobriquet Nūyān's Ḥasan 273; [†900 AH.–1494 AD.].

Malik **Hast** *Janjūha*—receives an envoy from Bābur (925) 380; serving Bābur 380, 389; his injuries from Hātī *Kakar* 391.

Hātī *Kakar*—particulars 387; his misdeeds provoke punishment (925) 387, 9, 91; abandons Parhāla 390; sends Bābur tribute and is sent an envoy 391–2; referred to 452.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Hātifī,** nephew of Jāmī—particulars 288.

Hātīm *qūrchī* — promoted to be *qūr-begī* (911) 252; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Hazārāspī, see Pīr-i-muḥammad.

Henry VII of England—his *Intercursus malus* contemporary with 910 AH. 187 n. 2.

Henry of Navarre— ☞ his difficulties, as to creed, less than those of Bābur in 917 AH.–1511 AD., 356.

Hilālī, see Badru'd-dīn *Hilālī.*

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Abū'l-nāṣir Muḥammad **Hind-āl Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Dil-dār—his pre-natal adoption (925) 374; meaning of his name Hind-āl 385; gifts to him or his servants 522, (935) 633, 642; the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and Hindūstān verses sent to him 642; under summons to Hind 645, ☞ 696; ☞ sent by Humāyūn to Qila'-i-ẓafar (936) 695; referred to 697; ☞ waits on his father in Lāhor 699; ☞ his dying father's wish to see him (937) 708; his escort of Bābur's family in 946 AH. referred to 710; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].

Hindī—Mindī,—Mahndī, see Mahndī.

Hindū Beg *qūchīn*—leaves 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* for Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; sent to raid Panj-kūra (925) 374; in Bhīra (386–8; leaves it 399; out with Bābur 403; serving under Humāyūn (932) 465–6, 528–9; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 566 and n. 2, 569; escorts Māhīm from Kābul (935) 687; sent to Saṃbhal *ib.*; waits on Bābur *ib.* and n. 2, 689; his mosque in Saṃbhal 687 n. 2.

☞ **Hulākū Khān** *Aīl-khānī* (*Īl-khānī*)—referred to 79; [†663 AH.–1264 AD.].

Hul-hul Anīga—a woman drinker 417.

Naṣīru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Humāyūn Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Māhīm—his birth (913) 344; his mother's parentage 344 n. 3, ☞ 712–3; death of elder brethren referred to 374; a Trans-indus district given to him (925) 391; carried in haste to meet his father 395; makes a good shot 417; prefers not to go to Lamghān (926) 421; ☞ appointed to Badakhshān (927) 427; with his father in the Trans-oxus campaign (916–20) 358; his delay in joining the Hindūstān expedition (932) 444, 446 n. 3, 447; a desertion from him 545; first sight of a rhinoceros 451; books given to him at Milwat 460; his story-teller killed *ib.*; a successful first military affair 466–7; on service 471; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472; sent to take possession of Āgra 475, 476, 526; becomes owner of the Koh-i-nūr 477; receives Saṃbhal and other gifts 522, 7, 8; appointed against the Eastern Afghāns, his campaign 534, 544; mentioned in connection with the title 'Aẓam-humāyūn (933) 537; his return to Āgra 544; his dislike of wine 545; in the right wing at Kānwa 566, 568–9; his departure for Kābul (and Badakhshān) 579–80; misappropriates treasure 583, ☞ 695 n. 1; a daughter born (934 or 5) 618; his father's messenger, detained a year by

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Bāba **Ḥūsain**—his murder of Aūlūgh Beg *Shāh-rukhī* (853) 85 and n. 3.[2]

Maulānā Shaikh **Ḥusain**—particulars 283–4.

Ḥūsain *Aīkrak* (?) (or Ḥasan)—receives the Chīn-āb country from Bābur (925) 386; misbehaves (926) 423.

Sayyīd **Ḥusain Akbar** *Tīrmīẕī*, a maternal relative of Maṣ'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī*—attacks the fugitive Bāī-sunghar (903) 74; out with Bābur (910) 234; suspected 239; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Arghūn Qarā-kūlī*—particulars 40; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; his great-niece Ma'ṣūma a wife of Bābur 36.

Ḥusain Āqā *Sīstānī*—in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

Ḥusain *'aūdī*, lutanist of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 292; owed his training to 'Alī-sher *Nawā'ī* 272.

Shāh **Ḥusain** *bakhshī*—brings Bābur news of a success (935) 685.

Khwāja **Ḥusain Beg**, brother of Aūzūn Ḥasan—particulars 26; his daughter a wife of 'Umar Shaikh 24, 146 n. 3; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; one of eight in the flight from Akhsī (908) 177 (here Khwāja Ḥusainī); his lameness causes him to leave Bābur 178; sends Lāhor revenues

[1] For Humāyūn's annotation of the *Bābur-nāma*, see General Index *s.n.* Humāyūn's Notes.

[2] For a correction of dates, see *s.n.* Aūlūgh Beg.

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to Kābul (932) 446; waits on Bābur 458; on service (933) 549 (here Mullā Ḥusain); in the left centre at Kānwa 566.

Shāh **Ḥusain** *chuhra*, a brave of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—left in Balkh (902) 70.

Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Dūghlāt*—joins Bābur (901) 58–9; conspires against Tambal (907) 154; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161.

Ḥusain *Ghainī*—a punitive force sent against him (911) 253.

Ḥūsain-i-ḥāsan—out with Bābur (925) 403; killed and avenged 404, 405; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Maulānā Shāh **Ḥusain** *Kāmī*, a poet—particulars 290.

Ḥūsain Kashifī—his omission from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1.

Ḥusain Khān *Lashkar* (?) *Wazīr*—writes from Naṣrat Shāh, accepting Bābur's three articles (935) 676.

Sulṭān **Ḥusain Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Manṣūr—defeats Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (865) 46, 259 and (876) 260; his relations with Nawā'ī 33, 272; his campaign against Khusrau Shāh (901) 57, 58–61, 130; his dissensions with his sons 61, 69, (902) 68–70, 260, (903) 94–5; his capture of Herī (875) compared with Bābur's of Samarkand (906) 134–5; does not help Bābur against Shaibānī 138, 145; asks Bābur's help against him (910) 190–1, (911) 255; his death 256, and burial 293; particulars of his life and court 256–292:—(personal 256—amīrs 270—ṣadrs 280—wazīrs, etc. 281—poets 286—artists 291)—his dealings with Ẕū'n-nūn *Arghūn* and Khusrau Shāh 274; his kindness to Maṣ'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (903) 93, 95; his disorderly Finance Office 281–2; delays a pilgrim 284, his copyist 291; his splendid rule 300; his buildings 305; his relation Nuyān Beg *Tīrmīẕī* 273; Bābur writes to him in ignorance of his death (912) 294; Bābur's comments on him 60, 191, 225; a poem mistakenly attributed to him 281; [†911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Sulṭān **Ḥusain Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī*, son of Maḥmūd and a Tīrmīzī wife—his death (*æt.* 13) in his father's lifetime, 47, 110.

Mīr **Ḥusain** *mu'ammā'ī Nīshāpūrī*—particulars 288 and n. 7; [†904 AH.–1498–9 AD.].

Ḥusain Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—holding Rāprī and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; abandons it 530; takes it again (933) 557; drowned in flight 582; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

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Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Qānjūt*, maternal grandfather of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* —his Tīmūrid descent 256 n. 5.

Shāh Mīr **Ḥusain** *Qārlūq*—waits on Bābur (925) 403 (here var. Ḥasan) 409; sent to Bajaur (926) 422; meets Bābur on his road 423; in charge of *impedimenta* (932) 458; allowed to raid from Milwat 464; fighting for Bābur 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472; posted in Jūnpūr (933) 544.

Ḥusain-i Shaikh Tīmūr—particulars 273 (where in n. 2 read grand("father").

Sulṭān **Ḥusain** *Sharqī*—rise and fall of his dynasty 481; [†905 AH.–1500 AD.].

Shāh **Ḥusain** *Yāragī Mughūl Ghanchī*—in the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 567; on service 530.

Ḥusamu'd-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*, son of Khalīfa—on service (934) 601; waits on Bābur (935) 687.

Ibn-i-ḥusāin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā—parentage 265; joins his brothers against Shaibānī (912) 296; fails in etiquette when meeting Bābur 297; his place at a reception 298; goes back to his districts Tūn and Qāīn 301; mentioned 331; the poet Āhī his servant 289; [†919 AH.–1513 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Ātā (Father Abraham)—his tomb in Turkistān 159.

Ibrāhīm Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Mīr **Ibrāhīm** *Begchīk*—fights and kills a guardian of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* (*cir.* 870) 25.

Ibrāhīm *Chaghatāī*—joins Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 279,[1] 689 n. 4.

Ibrāhīm *chuhra*—conveys a quatrain of Bābur's (925) 401.

Ibrāhīm *Dūldāī Barlās*—particulars 274.

Sultān **Ibrāhīm** *Ghaznawī*—his tomb 218; [†492 AH.–1098 AD.].

Ibrāhīm-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain—particulars 265; on his father's service (901) 57; receives Balkh (902) 70; besieged (903) 93–4; [†910 AH.–1504–5 AD.].

Ibrāhīm *Jānī*—fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; one of three Ibrāhīms killed there 141, 624 n. 1; his son Chilma *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

[1] On p. 279 l. 3 from foot read "There was also Ibrāhīm *Chaghatāī*" after "Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā".

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Mīr **Ibrāhīm** *qānūnī*—waits on Bābur (935) 605 ; his kinsman Yūnas-i-'alī *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Ibrāhīm** *Sahu-khail Lūdī Afghān*, son of Sikandar—Bābur sends him a goshawk and asks for the ancient lands of the Turk (925) 385 ; ☞ co-operation against him proffered to Bābur by Sangā 426, 529 ; ☞ a principal actor in the years of the *lacuna* from 926 to 932 AH. 427 ; ☞ no indication of Bābur's intending to attack him in 926 AH. 429 ; his misdoing leads to appeal for Bābur's help (929) 439 ; defeats his uncle 'Ālam Khān (932) 456–7 ; Bābur moves from the Dūn against him 463 ; his military strength 463, 470 ; imprisons humble men sent by Bābur 464 ; various news of him 465, 466–7 ; Bābur's estimate of him 470 ; defeated and killed at Pānīpat 473–4, 630 n. 4 ; an Afghān account of Bābur's care for his corpse *ib.* ; references to his rule in Gūāliār 977, to the rebellion of his Eastern amīrs 523, 527, to his capture of Chandirī and defeat at Dhūlpūr by Sangā 593, to Bābur's route when he was defeated (932) 206, and to his "prison-house" 459 ; his resources contrasted with Bābur's 480 ; his treasure at an end (935) 617 ; his mother q.v. *s.n.* mother; his son sent to Kāmrān's charge in Qandahār (933) 544 ; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Sārū *Mīngligh* Beg—*Chāpūk*—particulars [Author's Note] 52 ; disloyal to Bābur (900) 52 ; besieged and submits 53 ; receives Shīrāz (902) 66 ; remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; on service (904) 101, 106 ; his man holds fast in Aūsh 107 ; plundered by 'Alī-dost (905) 119 ; waits on Bābur 125 ; one of three Ibrāhīms killed at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139, 141 ; his brother Samad *q.v.* his good bowman 66 ; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Shāh-rukh—his rule in Shīrāz, death and successor (838) 20 ; referred to 85 ; [†838 AH.–1414–5 AD.].

Ibrāhīm Ṭaghāī Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—wounded and nicknamed *Chāpūk* (902) 67 ; leaves Bābur (903) 86 ; in Akhsī with Bāyazīd *Itārachī* (908) 171 ; sent against Pāp *ib.* ; arrests Bāyazīd 173–4 ; wounded but fights for Bābur 174 ; soon falls behind in the flight from Akhsī 176 ; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334 ; holds Balkh for Bābur (923) 463 n. 3 ; sent as Bābur's envoy to Aūzbeg Khāns and Sulṭāns (935) 643.

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Ibrāhīm Tarkhān *Arghūn*—serving Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; holding Shīrāz (906) 130; reinforces Bābur 131; one of three Ibrāhīms killed at Sar-i-pul 140–1; his brother Aḥmad *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Qāẓī **Ikhtiyār**—particulars 285; waits on Bābur and examines the Bāburī script (912) 285; is instructed in the exposition of the Qorān by Shaibānī (913) 329; [†928 AH.–1521 AD.].

Ilīās Khān, see Rustam.

Shāh **'Imād** *Shīrāzī*—brings Bābur friendly letters from two amīrs of Hind (932) 463.

'Imādu'd-dīn Mas'ūd—an envoy of Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī* to Tramontane clans (911–912) 296.

'Imādu'l-mulk, a slave—strangles Sikandar *Gujrātī* (932) 535.

Imām-i-muḥammad—Bābur's company drink at his house (925) 418; his master Khwāja Muḥammad-amīn *q.v.*

Īsān, see Aīsān.

Isḥāq Ātā (Father Isaac)—his tomb in Turkistān 159.

Iskandar, see Sikandar.

Islīm *Barlās*—particulars 276.

Ismā'īl *chilma,* see Chilma.

Isma'īl Khān *Jilwānī* (not *Jalwānī*)—with 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456; deserts him 457; writes dutifully to Bābur 464; speaks of waiting on him (934?) 680; does it (935) 677, 679.

Ismā'īl Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī,* son of 'Alī—parleys with Bābur at Milwat (932) 459; deported 461.

Ismā'īl Mītā—Naṣrat Shāh's envoy to Bābur (935) 640–1, 664–5.

Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī 'Arab,* Shāh of Persia—reference to his capture of 'Irāq (cir. 906) 280, 336; gives refuge to a fugitive Bāī-qarā (913) 327 n. 5; ☞ hostilities begin between him and Shaibānī (915) 350; defeats Shaibānī at Merv (916) 18, 318, ☞ 350; sends Khān-zāda back to Bābur 18, 352; ☞ asked by Bābur for reinforcement (917) 352–4; ☞ his alliance dangerous for Bābur 355; ☞ indication of his suzerain relation with Bābur 355; ☞ a principal actor in the *lacuna* years from 926–930, 427; ☞ his relations with Shāh Beg *Arghūn* 430; relations with Bābur (927) 433–4; ☞ his death after defeat (930) 443; ☞ Lord Bacon on his personal beauty 443 n. 1; his son Ṭahmāsp *q.v.*; his (presumed) Bāī-qarā disciple in Shī'a heresy 262; [†930 AH.–1524 AD.].

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Ja'far Khwāja, son of Mahdī Khwāja and step-son of Bābur's sister Khān-zāda—fills his father's place in Etāwa (933) 579, 582; sent to collect boats (934) 598; pursues Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 682.

Jahāngīr *Barlās*, son of Ibrāhīm and a Badakhshī Begīm (T.R. trs. p. 108)—particulars 273 n.; joint-governor of Kābul for Abū-sa'īd 270, 273.

Jahāngīr Mīrzā *Barlās Turk*, eldest son of Tīmūr—named in Abū-sa'īd's genealogy 14; is given Samarkand by Tīmūr 85; his tomb in Kesh 83; his son Muḥammad 78, 85; [†776 AH.–1374–5 AD.].

Jahāngīr Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Umar Shaikh and Fāṭima *Mughūl*—particulars 17; sent (a child) to reinforce an uncle (*cir.* 895) and then betrothed 48, 189; comes to Andijān after his father's death (899) 32; Mughūl support for him against Bābur (900) 43–4, (903) 87–8, (904) 101; joins Tambal 103; a "worry" 104; defeated at Khūbān (905) 113; waits on Bābur 119; summoned for a Samarkand expedition 122; reinforces Bābur (906) 138; a gift to him from the exiled Bābur (907) 150; joins Bābur (908) 173; acts against Bābur's wishes 173–4; flees in panic 174–5; rumoured a prisoner 176; ☞ his occupation of Khujand (909?) 182; Bābur rejects advice to dismiss him (910) 191; deference to him from Khusrau Shāh 193; his part in occupying Kābul 198, 199; receives Ghaznī 227; out with Bābur 233–4, 235–6, 239; rejects counsel to betray him 239; is Bābur's host in Ghaznī 240; his experiences in an earthquake (911) 247; insists on a move for Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248; waits on Bābur and does service 252–3; his misconduct 254; causes Bābur to mobilize his troops 255; goes to Yaka-aūlāng (912) 294; the clans not supporting him, he goes to Herī with Bābur 295–6; at social gatherings 298, 302; defeats his half-brother Nāṣir 321; his death 331 n. 3, 345; his widow brings their son Pīr-i-muḥammad to Bābur (913) 331; [†912 or 913 AH.–1507–8 AD.].

Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad **Jahāngīr Pādshāh** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Akbar—his work in Bābur's burial-ground 710; words of his made clear by Bābur's 501 n. 6; mentioned concerning the *tamghā* 553 n. 1; [†1037 AH.–1627 AD.].

Jahāngīr *Turkmān* — revolts in Badakhshān against the Aūzbegs (910) 242; keeping his head up (913) 340.

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Jahān-shāh *Barlās*, son of Chakū — mentioned in his son Muḥammad Barandūq's genealogy 270.

Jahān-shah Mīrzā *Barāṇī, Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān*—ruling in Tabrīz while Yūnas *Chaghatāī* stayed there 20; his sons defeated by the Āq-qūīlūq (872) 49; his son Muḥammadī's wife Pasha 49;[1] [†872 AH.–1467–8 AD.].

Rāī **Jāipal** *Lāhorī* — a legend of his siege of Ghaznī 219; [†*cir.* 392 AH.–1002 AD.].

Rāja **Jāi-singh** *Jāipūrī*—his astronomical instruments 79 n. 4; [†1156 AH.–1743 AD.].

Jalāl Khān *Jig-hat*—waits on 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456 and n. 4; his house in Dihlī Bābur's quarters 476; his son 'Ālam Khān *Kālpī q.v.*

Jalāl Khān *Lūdī*, son of 'Ālam Khān—deserts his father (932) 457; in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567 (where for "Jamāl" read Jalāl).

Jalāl *Tāshkīndī*—brings Bābur news of Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 685.

Jalālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd *nāī*—a flautist, heard in Herāt (912) 303.

Sulṭān **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Nūḥānī*—Jalāl Khān, son of Bīhār Khān and Dūdū—one of three competitors for rule (935) 651 n. 5; writes dutifully to Bābur 659; news of his and his mother's coming 664; waits on Bābur 676; receives revenue from Bihār 676.

Maulānā **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Pūrānī*—origin of his cognomen 306; his descendant Jamālu'd-dīn Abū-sa'īd *Pūrān q.v.*; [†862 AH.–1458 AD.].

Sulṭān **Jalālu'd-dīn** *Sharqī*, son of Ḥusain Shāh—waits on Bābur (935) 651; particulars 651 n. 5; his man abandons Benares 652; entertains Bābur 652; his son styled Sulṭān *ib.*; his gift of a boat to Bābur 663; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669; on service 678.

Shaikh **Jamāl** *Bārīn Mughūl*—his son (?) Shaikh 'Alī *q.v.*

Shaikh **Jamāl** *Farmūlī Afghān*—deserts 'Ālam Khān (932) 457; serving Bābur (933) 551.

Shaikh **Jamālī**—at a feast (935) 631; conveys encouragement to Dūdū Bībī 665–6.

[1] *Addendum*:—p. 49 l. 4, read "wife" of Muḥammadī "son" of Jahān-shāh.

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Shaikh **Jamālu'd-dīn Abū-sa'īd** *Pūrān*—particulars 306 n. 2; ill-treated by Shaibānī (913) 306 n. 2, 328; [†921 AH.–1515 AD.].

Shaikh **Jamālu'd-dīn** *khar, Arghūn*—captor of Yūnas Khān and Aīsān-daulat Begīm (T.R. trs. p. 94)—slain 35; [†877 AH.–1472–3 AD.].

Mīr **Jamālu'd-dīn** *muḥaddaṣ*—particulars 284; [living 934–7 AH.–1527–31 AD.].

Shaikh **Jāmī**—ancestor of Akbar's mother 623 n. 8.

Jāmī, see 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*.

Jamshīd, (an ancient ruler of Persia)—mentioned 85, 152.

Mīr **Jān-aīrdī**, retainer of Ẕū'n-nūn *Arghūn*—sells provisions to Bābur (912) 308.

Jānak—recites in Turkī (912) 304.

Jānaka Kūkūldāsh, (or Khānika)—escapes after Sār-i-pul (906) 141.

Jān-i-'alī—murdered by Shaibānī (906) 127, 128; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Jān Beg—in charge of *impedimenta* (932) 458; allowed leave for a raid 464; in a night-attack 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567 (here Jān-i-muḥammad Beg Ātāka); on service (935) 682 (here Jānī Beg).

Mīr **Jān** *Dīwān*—his house in Qandahār reserved as loot for Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (913) 338.

Jānī Beg *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—particulars 37 (where nn. 2 and 3 should be reversed).

Jānī Beg Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg-Shabān Chīngīz-khānid*—his two Mīrān-shāhī marriages of conquest 18, 35; fights for Shaibānī at Sar-i-pūl (906) 139 (where read Jānī Beg Sulṭān); he and his sons at Jām (935) 622; flees to Merv 636 n. 2.

Jān-i-ḥasan, *Bārīn Mughūl*—sent to reinforce Bābur (903) 92, (908) 161, 170.

Jān-i-nāṣir—answers a call-to-arms (925) 408.

Mīr **Jān** *Samarkandī*—his distasteful singing (912) 303.

Jān-wafā Mīrzā—serving Shaibānī in Samarkand (906) 131; escapes on Bābur's success 133.

Barlās **Jūkī**—brings Bābur good news, a live Aūzbeg, and a head (925) 408.

Jūha Sulṭān *Taklū*, Governor of Ispahān—with Ṭahmāsp *Ṣāfawī* on the battle-field of Jām (935) 635.

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Jūjī Khān *Chingīz - khānid* — a Qāzzāk descendant mentioned 23.

Muḥammad **Jūkī Mīrzā** *Shah-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Abdu'l-laṭīf (†854)—mentioned as besieged by Abūsa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* 24; [†868 AH.–1463–4 AD.].

Sulṭān **Junaid** *Barlās* (or Junīd)—particulars 276; his sons Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa and Junaid *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Junaid** *Barlās* (or Junīd), son of the last-entered—incites an attempt on Samarkand (900) 52, 111; serving Bābur (932) 460, 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472; sent to help in occupying Dihlī 475; given Dūlpūr 530–1; posted in Jūnpūr (933) 544; in Kharīd (935) 637 and n. 1; joins Bābur late and is not received 667; gives local information 668; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669; on service 679, 682 and n. 2; his wife Shahr-bānū *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*

Kābulī Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrīd, Barlās Turk*—abandoned by her husband Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* and captured by Shaibānī (913) 328.

Kahil *ṣaḥib-i-qadam*—gives his horse to Bābur (908) 174.

Pahlawān **Kalāl**—wrestles (935) 650.

Kalāntar of Dikh-kat (var. *kālāntar* and *kīlāntar*)—his house used by Bābur (907) 150; his aged mother's story *ib.*

Kalīmu'l-lāh Shāh. *Bahminī Afghān*—ruling the Dakkhin (932) 482.

Kal-qāshūq—put to retaliatory death (903) 73.

Sayyid **Kāmal**—serving Khusrau Shāh (903) 96 (where for "Qasīm" read Kāmal).

Kamāl Khān *Sāhū-khail Lūdī Afghān*, son of 'Ālam Khān—in the left wing at Kānwa (933) 567.

Kamāl Khwāja—his birth-place Khujand 8; [†803 AH.–1400–1 AD.].

Kamāl *sharbatchī*—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 335.

Pahlawān Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn** *Badakhshī*—in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566.

Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusāin** *Gāzur-gāhī*—particulars 280, 281; sent as envoy to Shaibānī (904) 145.

Khwāja **Kamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd,** retainer of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*—☞ with Bābur after the defeat at Ghaj-davān (919) 362–3; [†*cir.* 919 AH.–1514 AD.].

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Kamālu'd-dīn *Qīāq* (var.)—lays before Bābur complaint of the begs of the Balkh frontier (935) 649.

Kāmrān Mīrza *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bābur and Gul-rukh *Begchīk*—☞ the date of his birth App. J, xxxv; ☞ taken on the Transoxus campaign (916–920) 358; carried in haste to meet his father (920) 395; joins his father 417; ☞ the *Mubīn* written for his instruction (928) 438; ☞ left in charge of Kābul and Qandahār (932) App. J, xxxv; a letter from Bābur to him *ib.* and App. L, xliii; his copy of the *Bābur-nāma* App. J, xxxv–vi; gifts sent to him (932) 460, 522, 642; put in charge of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* son (933) 544; ☞ of his transfer to Multār (934-5) ☞ 604, 605 n. 3, 645; of his proceedings in Kābul 618; his marriage to a cousin 619; the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*, Hindustān Poems and specimens of the Bāburī script sent to him 642; heads of a letter to him 645, 646; ☞ meets Humāyūn in Kābul (935) 696; ☞ meets Bābur in Lāhor (936) 699: ☞ of his governments 699; ☞ later action in Multān and Lāhor (938) (which read for 935) 699; ☞ visits his father's tomb near Āgra (946) 709; [†964 AH.–1556 AD.].

Kankū or Gangū—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Karīm-bīrdī—on Bābur's service (935) 661.

Karīm-dād *Turkmān*—at a household party (906) 131; escapes from Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 141; one of four fighting with Bābur (908) 166, 396; reprieved from a death sentence (914) 345.

Karm-chand—acting for Ḥasan *Mewatī* (933) 545, 578; asks peace from Bābur for Ḥasan's son Nāhar 578.

Kārm Singh—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Rāja Karna *Gūālīārī*, (or, Kirtī), *Tūnwar Rājpūt*—his buildings in Gūālīār 608 n. 3.

Khadīja Āghā, and later, Begīm, mistress of Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī*, wife of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 262, 268; her dominance 268, 292; visited in Herī by Bābur (912) 301; at an entertainment to him 302; a suspicion against her 302 n. 1; captured by Shaibānī (913) 327; given for a traitor to loot 328; her daughter Āq Begīm and sons Shāh-i-gharīb and Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain *q.v.*

Khadija-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū'sa'īd—(probably) seen by Bābur in Herī

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(912) 301; Bābur visits her near Āgra (934) 588 and in Āgra Fort (935) 606, 616.

Khaldār *Yāragī Mughūl*, son of Ḥaidar Kūkūldāsh—fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139.

Khalīfa, see Niẓamu'd-dīn 'Alī *Barlās.*

Khalīl *chuhra*—a brave who fought well for Bābur (904) 101.

Khalīl *dīwāna*—on Aūzūn Ḥasan's service (904) 102 (where for "Dīwān" read dīwāna).

Sulṭān **Khalīl Mīrzā,** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrān-shāh—mentioned 262 n. 2; [†814 AH.–1411–2 AD.].

Sulṭān **Khalīl Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), son of Abū-sa'īd—his daughter sole wife of Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 112.

Khalīl Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad, (Alacha Khān), full brother of Sa'īd—his son Bābā Sulṭān *q.v.*

Khalīl Sulṭān *Itārajī Mughūl*, brother of Aḥmad Tambal—holding Māḍū for Tambal (905) 109; captured *ib.*, and released 119; surprises Aūsh 125; helps Bābur against Shaibānī (906) 138; killed at Sar-i-pul 141; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Khalwī *pīāda* (or Khalwā)—his spear-head bitten off by a tiger (925) 393.

The **Khatīb of Qarshī**—an envoy to Bābur (910) 188.

Khān-i-jahān, see Fatḥ Khān *Sarwānī.*

Khān-i-jahān, a "pagan"—opposes Bābur (933) 539.

Khān-qulī, son of Bīān-qulī—leaves Bābur in Samarkand (903) 86; at a household party (906) 131 (where read Khān-qulī for "Khān-i-qulī"); gives ground for suspicion (907) 156; one of eight in the flight from Akhsī (908) 176, 177; in the right-centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Khān-zāda Begīm (1), *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48.

Khān-zāda Begīm (2), *ut supra*, daughter of Maṣ'ūd and Sa'ādat-bakht—particulars 267; visited by Bābur near Āgra (935) 616.

Khān-zāda Begīm (3), *ut supra*, daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Qūtlūq-nigār—particulars 17; her marriage with Shaibānī (907) 18, 147, ☞ 184; her divorce and remarriage with Sayyid Hādī Khwāja 352 [H.S. iii], 364; her reunion with Bābur (916) 18, 352, 356; her marriage with Mahdī Khwāja *q.v.*; her summons to Hindūstān (935) 647; his son Khurram Shāh *q.v.*; [†952 AH.–1545 AD.].

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Khān-zādā Begīm (4), *Tīrmīẕī*, wife of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 48; her son Mas'ūd *q.v.*; her niece 48.

Khān-zāda Begīm (5), *Tīrmīẕī*, niece of the above, wife of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 9; her son Ḥusain *q.v.*; her five daughters 47–8.

Khān-zāda Begīm (6), *Tīrmīẕī*, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 37; Bābur, a child, pulls off her wedding veil (893) 37.

Khān-zāda Khānīm *Ḥājī-tarkhānī*, daughter of Aḥmad and Badī'u'l-jamāl (Badka)—particulars 258 n. 2, 329; illegally married by Shaibānī (913) 329; her husband Muzaffar-i-ḥusain *Bāī-qarā q.v.*

Khawānd Shāh Amīr, ("Mirkhond"), author of the *Rauzatu's-ṣafā*—omitted (or lost) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

Khiẓr Khwāja Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Khwāja **Khiẓr** *Nūḥānī*, a merchant—killed by a Mughūl (910) 235 (where for "*Lūḥānī*" read *Nūḥānī*).

Khūb-nīgār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas and Aīsān-daulat—particulars 21, 22; her death announced to Bābur (907) 148, 149; her rebel husband forgiven for her sake (912) 319; her husband Muḥammad Ḥusain *Dūghlāt*, their son Ḥāidar and daughter Ḥabība *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD.].

Khudā-bakhsh *Chaghatāī*, retainer, (1) of Khusrau Shāh, (2) of Bābur—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334; rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Khudāī-bīrdī Beg *tūghchī*, *Mughūl*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; made a beg and on service 110; killed at Sar-i-pul 141; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Khudāī-bīrdī *būqāq*, *Mughūl*—killed at Asfara (900) 53 (here *ātākām*, my guardian); his favour from Bābur 105; his son Qulī *chūnāq q.v.*; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Khudāī-bīrdī *tūghchī Tīnūr-tāsh*—made 'Umar Shaikh's Lord-of-the-Gate (*cir.* 870) 14; particulars 24–5; [†a few years after 870 AH.–1466 AD.].

Khurram Shāh *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Shaibānī and Khān-zāda—particulars 18; [†a few years after 916 AH.–1510–11 AD.].

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Khūsh-kīldī[1] *Mughūl*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Khusrau, an ancient ruler of Persia—mentioned in a couplet 85.

Khusrau *Gāgīānī*—waits on Bābur (910) 230 (where insert his name in the last line); taken as a guide 231.

Khūsrau Kūkūldāsh—at a household party (906) 131 (where insert his name after that of Shaikh Darwesh); captured by Tambal (908) 168; rejoins Bābur (913) 330–1; in the right centre at Qandahār 335; out with Bābur (925) 377, 403; an enquiry 405; ☞ posted in Siālkot (930) 442; seeming still to hold it (932) 453; on service 465, 471; in the van at Pānīpat 472; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566, 568; given Alūr (Alwar) by mistake 578; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638; at social gatherings 385–7–8.

Amīr Khwāja **Khusrau** *Lāchīn Turk*—a couplet of his quoted 503; [†725 AH.–1325 AD.].

Khusrau Shāh[2] *Turkistānī, Qībchāq Turk*,—particulars 49–50; takes Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (*æt.* 17) to Ḥiṣār (*cir.* 873) 46–7; referred to as a rival 50; his tolerance of Ḥiṣārī ill-conduct (899) 41–2; expelled from Samarkand on Maḥmūd's death (900) 51–2; opposes Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 57, 60–1; his rise helped by Bāī-qarā failures 61; supports Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 64; falls out with him 71, 93; blinds him (903) 95; defeats Badī'u'-zamān *Bāī-qarā* 60–1; re-equips him defeated by his father (902) 70; receives well the fugitive Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (903) 74; makes him *pādshāh* in Ḥiṣār 93; strangles him (905) 110; a fugitive Tarkhān goes to him (906) 120, 141; his niggardliness to Bābur 129, 130; gives him no help against Shaibānī 138, ☞ 183; Qāsim Beg *quchīn* takes refuge with him (907) 27; his position less secure (910) 188; followers of his join Bābur 189, 192, 196, 227 n. 3; invited to co-operate with the Tīmūrid Mīrzās against Shaibānī 190; takes the Kābul road on Bābur's approach 192, 244; offers him service 192; the interview of his submission 193–4; allowed to go towards Khurāsān 194, 195; breaks his pact and is put to flight 197, 243; gets sensible counsel in Herāt 243; makes trouble for Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* in Badakhshān 244–5; beheaded at Qūndūz by the Aūzbegs 244; good results from his death for Bābur 245; Bābur's reflections on the indiscipline of his followers 199, 230 n. 5, 239, 244–5; his former following rebels (914) 335;

[1] His name might mean Welcome, *Bien-venu*.

[2] Khusrau-shāh may be the more correct form.

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his brothers Walī and Bāqī, and nephew Aḥmad-i-qāsim *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Khwāja Chishtī var. Ḥusaini—at a feast (935) 631.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Khwājagān-khwāja,** fifth son of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrarī*—his son 'Abdu'sh-shahīd 653 n. 4.

Khwājakā Khwāja, Muḥammad-i-'ubaidu'l-lāh, eldest son of Aḥrarī—protects Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* in the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62 (where, erroneously, "Khwājakī"); becomes his spiritual guide 63; visited in Farkat by Bābur (907) 149; his brother Yaḥyā *q.v.*

Khwāja Kalān, descendant of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrarī*— ☞ a likely recipient of the *Mubīn* 438, 631 n. 3 (where for "son" read grandson of Yaḥyā); at a feast in Āgra (935) 631; gifts and leave given 632, 641–2; a copy of Bābur-nāma writings sent to him 653.

Mīr **Khwāja Kalān,** son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn —receives Bajaur (925) 370; particulars 370 n. 2; prisoners pardoned at his request 371; out with Bābur 372; returns to Bajaur 376; is recalled on grounds given (926) 422–3; joins Bābur for Hindūstān (932) 447; on service 465–6; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472; helps to secure Āgra 475; of his leaving Hindūstān 520, 531; his offending couplet about leaving, and Bābur's reply 525–6; has charge of Kābul and Ghaznī 524; conveys money to repair the Ghaznī dam 219, 524 n. 2, 647 n. 1; Bābur's various writings sent to him, quatrains (925) 372, (932) 525–6, (935) the *Wālidiyyah-risāla* and Hindūstān poems 642—letters (925) 411, (935) 604, 618 n. 2, quoted 645–8; commended to Humāyūn as a friend 627; a letter of his mentioned 644; wine parties in his house (925) 371–2, 375; has Ghaznī wine at Milwat (932) 461; urged to renounce wine 648; tells Bābur of a fruitful orange-tree (935) 510, cf. 483 n. 2; ☞ quotation from his ode on Bābur's death 709.

'Abdu'l-lāh **Khwāja Maulānā-i-qāzī**—particulars 29, 89–90; supports Bābur (899) 30; chases off an invader 32; confers with other well-wishers of the boy (900) 43; mediates for Ibrāhīm *Sārū* 53, for Aūrgūtīs (902) 68; envoy to Aūzūn Ḥasan (903) 87; open-handed to Bābur's followers 88; entreats him to save Andijān 88–9; Mīr Mughūl aids him in its defence 122; hanged by Tambal and Aūzūn Ḥasan 89; 'Alī-dost fears retaliation for his death (905) 119; his right guidance recalled by Bābur (912) 303; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

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Khwājakī Mullā-i-ṣadr, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn, and elder brother of Khwāja Kalān—particulars 67; killed near Yām 67; [†902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān—speaks boldly at Akhsī (908) 174; in charge of baggage camels (925) 376, 377, and of Bābur's camp 389, 391; Bābur halts near his Laṃghān village (926) 424; given charge of Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (932) 459–60; in the left-centre at Pānīpat 973; entrusted with gifts for Kābul 525.

Khwāja Mīr Sulṭān—he and his son receive gifts (935) 632.

Khwānd-amīr, grandson of Khāwand Shāh Amīr ("Mīrkhond") —☞ associated with Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (923) 364–5, 463 n. 3; fleeced by Shaibānī's order (913) 328 n. 2; his discomforts in Herāt 617 n. 2; waits on Bābur (935) 605; Bābur invites him in verse 693; completes the *Ḥabību's-siyar* while at Tīr-mūhānī with Bābur 687 n. 3; his omission (or loss) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; his and Bābur's varied choice of details 328 n. 2; ☞ his patron Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn and nephew Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn 436; [†942 AH.–1535 AD.].

Khwāja **Khwānd-sa'īd**—Bābur visits his tomb (925) 407.

Mīr **Khāwand**—Shāh Amīr ("Mīrkhond")—author of the *Rauzatu's-ṣafā*, grandfather of Khwānd-amīr—his omission (or loss) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

Kīchīk 'Alī—his courage (908) 176; made prisoner (933) 557, 576; *shiqdār* of Koel 176.

Kīchīk Bāqī *dīwāna*—suspended (911) 248; killed at Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Kīchīk Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* daughter of Ḥusain and Pāyanda-sulṭān—refused in marriage to Mas'ūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 265; "afterwards" marries Multā Khwāja 266.[1]

Kīchīk Khwāja—on 'Askarī's service (935) 681, 682.

Kīchīk Khwāja Beg, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn and elder brother of Khwāja Kalān—in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; killed at Qalāt-i-ghilzāī 248[2]; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

[1] The "afterwards" points to an omission which Khwānd-amīr's account of Ḥusain's daughters fills (lith. ed. iii, 327).

[2] No record survives of the Khwāja's deeds of daring other than those entered above; perhaps the other instances Bābur refers to occurred during the gap 908–9 AH.

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Kīchīk Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Aḥmad (Mīrzā Sayyidī) and Āka *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 257.

Kīchkīna *tunqṭār*—sent with orders to Tramontane begs (925) 406.

Kīpa and **Kīpīk**, see Kūpūk.

Rāja **Kirtī** *Gūālīārī*, see Karna.

Kītīn-qarā Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*—in Baḷkh (932) 545–6; at Jām (935) 622 (where in n. 1 read 935 for "934"); makes complaint to Bābur 649, 645 n. 1.

Kitta Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Sayyidī Qarā—convoys Yūsuf-khail chiefs to Bhīra (932) 461; on Bābur's service 465–6, 468, 528, (933) 545, (935) 638; wounded at Bīāna (933) 548.

Kitta Māh and **Kīchīk Māh**, slaves of Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—offend Bābur by their performance (912) 304.

Kūchūm Khān Sulṭān—Kūchkūnjī—*Aūzbeg - Shaibān, Chīnqīz-khānid*—particulars 632 n. 3; ☞ his force gathered at Qarshī (917) 353; ☞ a principal actor between 926 and 932 AH. 427; his position in relation to 'Ubaidu'l-lāh (935) 618 n. 6; in the battle of Jām 622; various accounts of his escape or death 623, 636; his envoy to Bābur 631, 632; his sons Abū-sa'īd and Pulād *q.v.*; [†937 AH.–1530–1 AD.].

Kūkī-i[1] **Bābā Qāshqa**, see Hājī Muḥammad Khān *Kūkī*.

Kūkī,[1] paternal-uncle of the last-entered (A.N.)—on Bābur's service (934) 589, (935) 674, 679; in the battle of the Ghogrā 673; [†940 AH.–1553 AD.?].

Kūpuk Beg, var. Kīpik, Kīpa (hunchbacked)—in Bābur's service (910) 237; promoted (911) 253; frost-bitten (912) 311; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; envoy to Mīrzā Khān (925) 405.

Kūpuk Bī *Aūzbeg* var. *ut supra*—blamed for three murders (906) 128; given Khwārizm by Shaibānī (911) 256; his son Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.*

Kūpuk Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā*, Muḥammad Muḥsin, son of Ḥusain and Laṭīf-sulṭān—parentage 262; defeated by his father (904) 260; does not join his brothers against Shaibānī (912) 296–7; defeated and killed 329–30; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

[1] This may be a tribal or a family name. Abū'l-ghāzī mentions two individuals named "Kouk". One was Chīngīz Khān's grandson who is likely to have had descendants or followers distinguishable as *Kūkī*. See Add. Note P. 673 on Kūkī fate.

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Sayyid **Lāchīn**—bearer of an urgent message from Bābur (932) 453.

Ḥaẓrat **Lām,** (Lāmak, Lāmakān), father of Noah—his reputed tomb, 210.

Langar Khān *Janjūha*—on Bābur's service (925) 380, 381, 388–9, 412; one of a raft-party 385; waits on Bābur 391, 411.

Langar Khān *Nīazāī Afghān*—one of a raft-party (925) 412; waits on Bābur (926) 421.

Laṭīf Begīm *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—particulars 37 (where for "916" read 917 AH.).

Laṭīf-sulṭān Āghācha *Chār-shaṃba'ī*, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 269; her sons Abū'l-muḥsin and Kūpuk *q.v.*; [†before 911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Lope de Vega—a popular use of his name resembling one of Nawā'ī's 287 n. 3.

Luṭfī Beg—measures the Ganges-bank on Bābur's journey (933) 659.

Maghfūr, see Faghfūr.

Māh-afrūz—married by Kāmrān (934) 619 n. 1.

Mah-chūchūq *Arghūn*, daughter of Muqīm and Zarīf—marries Qāsim Kūkūldāsh (913) 342, 199 n. 1, ☞ 365; their daughter Nahīd *q.v.*; [†*cir.* 975 AH.–1568 AD.].

Mahdī Sulṭān *Aūzbeg*, the constant associate (brother?) of Ḥamza—defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58; enters Bābur's service 59; deserts 64; defeats 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* and goes back to Shaibānī 65; his Mughūls are disloyal to Bābur (904) 105; serving Shaibānī (906) 131; at Sar-i-pul 139; at Ḥiṣār (910) 244; ☞ retires before Bābur (916) 352; defeated and killed by him at Pul-i-sangīn (917) 18, 37, 262, 353, 354; his Mīrān-shāhī wife 36; his sons at Jām (935) 622; [†917 AH.–1511–12 AD.].

Mahdī-Sulṭān *Auzbeg-Shaibān*?—his identity discussed 264 n. 1; his son 'Ādil and grandson 'Āqil *q.v.*

Sayyid **Mahdī Khwāja,** son of Mūsa Khwāja and third husband of Bābur's sister Khān-zāda—Bābur's *dīwān-begī* (916–7) 704 n. 3; ☞ dissuades Muḥammad-i-zamān from accepting Bābur's invitation to Kābul (after 920) 364; on Bābur's service (932) 468, 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472, 473; commands troops sent to seize Dihlī 475; gifts made to him 527; given Etāwa 530; orders changed 531;

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serves as an escort (933) 534, 537 ; given Bīāna 539 ; sends news of Sangā's approach 544 ; joins Bābur quickly 548 ; in the left wing at Kānwa 567 ; given leave for Kābul 579 ; host to Bābur near Etāwa (935) 644 ; waits on him returning to Āgra 686 ; displeases him 688 n. 2, 704 n. 2 ; summoned to Court 689 ; later particulars 644 n. 4, 688 n. 2, ☞ 692 ; ☞ discussion of a plan to make him Pādshāh 703–7 ; ☞ his name may be a gloss in the story 705 ; his son Ja'far *q.v.* ; his inscribed slab at Amīr Khusrau's tomb 704 n. 1 ; his surmised Tīrmīzī descent 704 ; his relation or servant Mīr Muḥammad (925) 381.

Māhīm Begīm, wife of Bābur — particulars 344 n. 3, 711, ☞ 712, 714 ; ☞ with Bābur during the Transoxus campaign (916 – 920) 358 ; adopts Hīnd-āl (925) 374, 385, ☞ 715, App. L ; ☞ visits Humāyūn in Badakhshān (928) 436 ; goes to Āgra (935) 640 n. 2, 650 n. 2, 665, 686–7, 689 n. 2, 690 ; ☞ her influence probably misused on Humāyūn 694, 707 ; meets him, sick, in Muttra (937) 701–2 ; ☞ her care of Bābur's Āgra tomb (937) 709 ; [†940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Sayyid **Maḥmūd** *Aūghlāqchī, Mughūl*—forced to go on foot (910) 239.

Maḥmūd Beg *Nūndākī, Barlās Turk*—particulars 51 ; defends Ḥiṣār against Abā-bikr *Mīrān-shāhī* (873) 51, and against Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (901) 58 ; negociates with Ḥusain 61.

Sultān **Maḥmūd** *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*—expelled from Andijān (900) 44 ; turns informer (905) 125.

Mulla **Maḥmūd** *Farābī,* associated with Khalīfa—reads the Qorān to Bābur (925) 401 ; rebukes a jest at Khalīfa's expense 416 ; reads the *Khuṭba* first for Bābur in Dihlī (932) 476 ; reinforces the right wing [*tūlghuma*] at Kānwa (933) 569 ; leads the Morning Prayer at Rāprī (935) 643 (where for "Muḥammad" read Maḥmūd).

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Ghāzī** *Ghaznawī Turk*—his humble capital Ghaznī 217, 219 ; his and his descendants' tombs 218 ; Dost-i-nāṣir's tomb near his 396 ; his dam and Bābur's gift from Hindūstān for its repairs 219 ; Būt-khāk traditionally named from his idol-breaking 409 n. 3 ; mentioned as a conqueror of Hindūstān 479 ; contrast made between his position and Bābur's 479 ; [†421 AH.–1030 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Khān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* Khāqān of the Mughūls, elder son of Yūnas and Shāh Begīm—succeeds

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his father (892) 13; his disaster on the Chīr (895) 31, 34, 39; invades Farghāna (899) 13, 31; thought of as a refuge for Bābur 29, (908) 178; retires from Farghāna 32; attempts Samarkand and is defeated (900) 52, 111, (905) 122; takes Aūrā-tīpā (900) 55–6; demands Andijān (903) 87; is visited by Bābur (900) 54, (903) 90, 92, (907 and 908) 153–159; sends help to Bābur (903) 90, 92, (904) 101, (906) 138, 139; his men abandon Bābur (903) 91, 92; he opposes Bābur (905) 115–6, 116; moves out against Tambal (907) 154, 156; numbers his army 154; acclaims his standards 155; ceremonies on his meeting his brother Aḥmad (908) 160; goes with him against Tambal 161, 168, 171; they number their armies 161; retires to Tāshkīnt 172; defeated at Archīān by Shaibānī (909) 7, 23, ☞ 182–3; his præ-accession sobriquet Khāmka Khān 23; his summer retreat in Farghānā 5; his Mīrān-shāhī marriage (cir. 892) 13, 35; retainers of his 25, 28; former followers, deported (908) by Shaibānī, return after his death (916) 351; Bābur's comment on him as a soldier 91, 157, and as a verse-maker 154; ☞ murdered with five young sons by Shaibānī 350; [†914 AH.–1509 AD.].

Māḥmūd Khān *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Sikandar—fights for Sangā at Kānwa (933) 562; reported to have taken Bīhar (935) 639, 675; one of three competitors for rule 651 n. 5; gathers an army to oppose Bābur 651–2; it breaks up 654; is near the Son 658; flees before Bābur's men 662; referred to 664 n. 7, 679 n. 7; on his title Sulṭān 652 nn. 2, 6, 653–4 n. 1; [†945 AH.–1543 AD.].

Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān* — holding a district from Bābur; taken by 'Ālam Khān (932) 455, 456; deserts 'Ālam Khān; waits on Bābur and given revenue from Ghāzīpūr 527; sent against Etāma 530; waits on Bābur (935) 659; searches for a passage through the Ghogrā 668; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669 (here *Ghazīpūrī*); receives a grant on Bihār 676; on service āgainst Bīban and Bāyazīd 682.

Maḥmūd Khān *shikdār* of Sikandarpūr—collects boats for Bābur's passage of the Ghogrā (935) 668.

Maḥmūd Khān Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khānid*—in the battle of Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; receives Qūndūz (910) 244; his protection sought 196 n. 5; dies 244; [†910 AH.–1504 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *Khilīj* Turk, ruler in Mālwā—particulars 482 (where in n. 2 for "Gujrāt" read Mālwā); his territory (916)

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593; his jewels (925 and 935) 612–3; thought of by Raḥīm dād as a refuge 688 n. 2 (where for "Muḥammad" read Maḥmūd); [†937 AH.–1531 AD.].

Maḥmūd *kūndūr-sangak, pīāda*—killed fighting 68; [†902 AH.–1497 AD.].

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *mīr-akhwur*, see Mīrzā Beg *fīrmgī-bāz* (58 and n. 4).

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd Mīrzā** *Ghāzī, Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 45–51; defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (865 and 876), 46, 259–60, 268; succeeds his brother Aḥmad (899) 40–1, 86; alienates allegiance 41–2; sends Bābur wedding-gifts (900) 43; his death 27, 45, 50, 52; his family joins Bābur (910) 189; referred to 12 n. 2, 13 n. 5, 190, 194; his Ḥiṣār house 93; [†900 AH.–1495 AD.].

Sayyid **Maḥmūd Ṣaifī**, Maulānā *'Arūẓī* — author of the *'Arūẓ-i-saifī*—tutor of Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 111.

Maḥmūd *Sarwānī*, son of Fatḥ Khan Khān-i-jahān—ordered to stay at Court (933) 537.

Maḥmūd Shāh *Ilyās*—his murder mentioned to illustrate a succession custom of Bengal 483.

Sulṭān **Maḥmūd** *Sharqī*, son of Jalālu'd-dīn—Bābur gives him the title of Sulṭān (935) 652.

Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad-i-makhdūmī — beheaded in Badakhshān 242; [†910 AH.–1504–5 AD.?].

(?) **Mahndī** (415, 473), or Mindī or Hindī (235, 335)—kills an Afghān trader (910) 235; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; wine first given to him (925) 415; in the left wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat (932) 473.

Khwāja **Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad** *Khawāfī* — particulars 281, 282.

Makan *Farmūlī* (?) *Afghān*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 529; sent out of the way before Kānwa (933) 547; his son Ḥasan *q.v.*

Makhdūm-i-'ālam, Naṣrat Shāh's Governor in Ḥājīpūr—his defences on the Gandak (935) 663.

Ḥaẓrat **Makhdūmī Nūrā**—mentioned 641 n. 1.

Makhdūm-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Zuhra—in Badakhshān (*cir.* 935) 48.

Makhdūm-sulṭān Begīm *Qarā-gūz*, wife of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18, 24.

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Malik-dād *Kararānī* (*Karānī*)[1]—reprieved (932) 477–8; on service (933) 540, 582, (935) 682; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 557.

Malik-i-muḥammad Mīrzā *Mīran-shāhī*, nephew of Abū-sa'īd—aspires to rule (899) 41; murdered 41; his wife 47; his house 146; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Maliks of Alangār—their garden a halting-place (926) 424.

Malik of Fān—stingy to Bābur (906) 130.

Malik-qulī *Kūnārī*—Bābur halts at his son's house (926) 423 (where read qulī for "'Alī").

Malik Sharq—returns from service (935) 683.

Mallū Khān of Mālwā—his tank at Chanderī 597 n. 8, 598.

Mamāq Sulṭān *Aūzbeg - Shaibān Chīngīz - khānid*, son of Ḥamza—takes service with Bābur (901) 58, 59; ☞ his death 353; [†917 AH.–1511–2 AD.].

Māmūm Khalīfa *'Abbāsī*, son of Hārūnu'r-rashīd—his Observatory and Tables, Author's Note 79; [†218 AH.–833 AD.].

Mānik - chand *Chauhān Rājpūt*—killed at Kānwa 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Rāja **Man-sing** *Gūālīārī, Tūnwar Rājpūt*—his buildings 607, 608; his son Bikramājīt *q.v.*; [†924 AH.–1518 AD.].

Shāh **Manṣūr** *bakhshī*—helps Shaibānī to take Herāt (913) 325; given Khadīja Begīm to loot 326.

Shah **Manṣūr** *Barlās*—on service (932) 465–6, 475, 530, (933) 545; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473, and at Kānwa (933) 565, 569; his untimely praise of the Rājpūt army 548, 550.

Sulṭān **Manṣūr Khān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, eldest son of Aḥmad, Alacha Khān—☞ defeats his half-brother Sa'īd (914) 349; ☞ mentioned as Khāqān of the Mughūls, Sa'īd as Khān in Kāshghar 427; [†950 AH.–1543 AD.].

Manṣūr Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā, 'Umar-shaikhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—mentioned in his son Ḥusain's genealogy 256; his not-reigning 256; his wife Fīrūza and their children 256, 257; his beg Walī *q.v.*

Manṣūr *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Malik Shāh **Manṣūr** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, son of Sulaimān—envoy of his tribe to Bābur (924) 371; his daughter's

[1] Cf. E. and D. for "Karānī" (*e.g.* vol. iv, 530). The Ḥai. MS. sometimes doubles the *r*, sometimes not.

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marriage with Bābur (925) 375, App. K; waits on him 399, 400; his brother Ṭaus Khān and cousin Aḥmad *q.v.*; a follower 377.

Maqsūd *sūchī, shārbatchī, karg*—in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; his tossing by a rhinoceros (*karg*) 400.

Marghūb *qul*—in Mahāwīn (932) 523.

Miān **Ma'rūf** *Farmūlī Afghān*[1]—disaffected to Ibrāhīm and (later) to Bābur (932) 523; his opposition 530; flees 533–4; his son Muḥammad (?) leaves him (934) 598; his sons Muḥammad and Mūsa *q.v.*

Ma'rūf *Yaq'ūb-khaīl Dilah-zāk* (*Dīlazāk*) *Afghān*—waits on Bābur at 'Alī-masjid (925) 394.

Shaikh **Maslaḥat** *Khujandī*—his birthplace 8; dreamed of by Bābur (906) 132; his tomb visited by Tīmūr (790) 132 n. 2.

Mastī *chuhra*—deals with a drunken man (925) 415; intoxicated by beer (926) 423.

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd** *Ghaznawī*—his tomb 218.

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Maḥmūd and Khān-zāda I—particulars 47, 48; holding Ḥiṣār (900) 52; opposes Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* and flees (901) 57–8, 130; one of three besieging Samarkand; retires with his desired Barlās bride 64; quarrels with Khusrau Shāh (902) 71, and with the Ḥiṣār begs (903) 93; takes refuge with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 93, 95, 261, 265; returns to Khusrau and is blinded by him 95, 50; goes back to Ḥusain 95, 266; mentioned as older than Bāī-sunghar 110; meets Bābur in Herāt (912) 302; murdered by Aūzbegs (913) 267; his wives Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*, and Sa'ādat-bakht *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; his betrothed (?) Kīchīk Begīm *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Sulṭān **Mas'ūd Mīrzā** *Kābulī, Shāh-rukhī, ut supra*—particulars 382; his cherished followers, sons of Mīr 'Alī Beg *q.v.*; his son 'Alī *aṣghar q.v.*; [deposed 843 AH.–1439–40 AD.].

Mullā **Mas'ūd** *Sherwānī*, of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—no particulars 284.

Ma'sūma-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Aḥmad and Ḥabība-sulṭān, and wife of Bābur—particulars 36, ☞ 711; her marriage arranged (912) 306, ☞ 714; brought from Herāt (913) 330; married 339; dies in child-bed and her name at once given to her child 36; [†*cir.* 915 AH.–1509 AD.].

[1] See *Wāqi'āt-i-mushtāqī*, E. and D. iv, 548.

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Ma'ṣūma-sulṭān Begīm, *ut supra*, daughter of Bābur and Ma'ṣuma-sulṭān (*supra*)—her birth 36; with her father in the Transoxus campaign (916–920) 358; her marriage (or betrothal) to Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (923 or 924) 365; gifts made to her servants (935) 633; ☞ in the family-list 705, 706.

Maulānā Sayyidī, or *Mashhadī*—his chronogram on Humāyūn's birth (913) 344.

Shaikh **Mazīd Beg,** Bābur's first guardian—particulars 26, 27, [† before 899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Mīr **Mazīd Ṭaghāī** *Kūnjī Mughūl*, brother or uncle of Aīsān-daulat—takes part in a sally from Samarkand (906) 142; wounded at Akhsī (908) 168; rebels (921) 363, 397; his relations, 'Alī-dost, Sherīm, Qul-naẓr *q.v.*; [†*circ.* 923 AH.–1517 AD.].

Mazīd Beg Tarkhān *Arghūn*, son of Amīr Tarkhān Junaid (Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 359)—his retainer Khusrau Shāh 49; his action in 873 AH. 51; his brother 'Āshiq-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Shaikh **Mazīd Kūkūldāsh**—envoy of Muḥammad-i-zamān to Bābur (925) 402.

Medinī Rāo var. Mindī *etc.*—particulars 593 n. 5; his force at Kānwa (933) 562; holding Chanderī (934) 483, 593; Bābur negociates with him 594; his house the scene of a supreme rite 595.

Mihr-angez Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—married as a captive (913) 329 n. 1.

Mihr-bān Khānīm (see *infra*)—gifts to and from Bābur (935) 631, 632, 641; her husband Kūchūm *Aūzbeg* and their son Pūlād *q.v.*; a verse seeming to be addressed to her (925) 402.

Mihr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī*, half-sister of Bābur (perhaps the Khānīm last entered)—particulars 18.

Mihr-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas—particulars 21, 149; joins Bābur in Kābul (911) 246; visited by him after her disloyalty (912) 315; goes to Badakhshān (913) 341; dies a prisoner 21.

Millī Sūrdūk—reprieved from death (932) 477, 478.

Mīnglī Bī Āghācha, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 269; her sons and daughters 262–3, 266.

Mīnglīk Kūkūldāsh—leaves Samarkand (907) 147.

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Minūchihr Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, brother of Abū-sa'īd—an attributed descendant 24; his son Malik-i-muḥammad *q.v.*

Minūchihr Khān *Turk*—delayed in waiting on Bābur by a forcible marriage (925) 386, 388; on Bābur's service in Bhīra 389; leading Daryā-khānīs (934) 589; his relation Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk q.v.*

Mīrak—entrusted with building work (935) 642.

Mīrak Kūr Dīwān (or Gūr)—in Ālā-qūrghān when Shaibānī took Herāt (913) 328.

Mīrān-shāh Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*—rebels against his father and goes to Khusrau Shāh 95; sent to Bāmīān 96.

Mīrān-shāh Sulṭān Mīrzā *Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, 3rd son of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 14; his daughter's son Aḥmad *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†810 AH.–1407–8 AD.].

Mīr Buzurg *Tīrmīẕī*—his daughter and granddaughter, wives of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 47–8, 49.

Mīrīm—Mīr Muḥammad?[1]—adopted son of Aūzūn Ḥasan—killed fighting against Bābur 170; [†908 AH.–1502 AD.].

Mīrīm Dīwān—*ut supra*—captured serving Bābur (904) 106; released (905) 119; discovers a rebel (912) 319.

Mīrīm *Lagharī*—*ut supra*—leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; captured serving Bābur (904) 106; killed 167; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.].

Mīrīm-i-nāṣir Beg—*ut supra*—enters Bābur's service (904) 103; one of a household-party (906) 131; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; at social gatherings (925) 385, 388; on service 389, 391; receives his dead brother's district 397.

Mīrīm Tarkhān—*ut supra*—drowned while serving Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* 74; [†903 AH.–1497 AD.].

Mīr Khurd *bakāwal*—one of a boat-party (925) 388; ordered to catch pheasants 404; made Hind-āl's guardian 408; on service (935) 640.

Mīr Mughūl, son of 'Abdu'l-wahhāb *shaghāwal*—helps to defend Andijān (903) 122; his son killed (904) 102 (here Mughūl Beg); sent by Tarkhāns to invite Bābur to Samarkand (905) 122, 123; on service (925) 389 (here Beg

[1] Shaikhīm *Suhailī* however was named Aḥmad (277) not Muhammad.

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Muḥammad *Mughūl*) ; measures Bābur's marches (935) 658 (here Mughūl Beg) ; in the battle of the Ghogrā 673–4 (here Mughūl-i 'Abdu'l-wahhāb).

Mīr Sang-tarāsh—entrusted with building-work (935) 642.

Mīrzā Beg *firingī-bāz*—in Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* service (901) 58.

Mīrzā Beg Kaī-khusrawī—in Ālā-qūrghān when Shaibānī took Herī (913) 328.

Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī, see Sl. 'Alī M. Ṭaghāī *Begchīk.*

Mīrzā Beg Tarkhān—in the left centre at Pānīpat (932) 472.

Wais **Mīrzā Khān** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Khān Mīrzā—son of Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī*—particulars 47 ; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd *Chaghatāī*) against Samarkand (905) 122 ; in Tāshkīnt (908) 159 ; at Khusrau Shāh's audience of submission (910) 193 ; demands vengeance on him 194 ; on service 234 ; disloyal (912) 313–20 ; captured and banished 320 ; rejoins Bābur from Herāt (913) 331 ; in the right wing at Qandahār 334 ; his loot 338 ; goes to Badakhshān on Shāh Begīm's insistance 340–1, 342 ; his claim to rule in it 698 nn. 1–3 ; serves as a refuge for Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* (915) 349 and Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* 350 ; sends Bābur news of Shaibānī's defeat at Merv (916) 350 ; invites his help in recovering their ancestral lands *ib.* ; messenger of Bābur to Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* 352 ; helps him to defend Ḥiṣār (918) 359 ; receives him plundered 362 ; sends him an envoy (925) 402 ; loses lands to Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* 695 ; ☞ mentioned 427 ; his death announced to Bābur (927) 433, 621 n. 5 ; his titles 21 n. 5 ; his guardians 26, 122 ; [†927 AH.–1521 AD.].

Mīr-zādas of Khwāst—wait on Bābur (925) 399.

Mīrzā-i-malū *Qārlūq?*—his son Shāh Ḥusain or Ḥasan *q.v.*

Mīrzā Mughūl, son of Daulat-qadam-i-turk—conveys letters (932) 526–7.

Mohan *Mundāhir Rājpūt*—☞ a punitive expedition against him (936) 700–1 ; [†936 AH.–1529 AD. ?].

The **Mother** of the Head-man of Dikh-kat—particulars 150.

Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* **Mother**—receives an allowance from Bābur (932) 478 ; attempts to poison him (933) 541 ; started under guard for Kābul 543 ; her grandson sent to Kāmrān 544 ; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Mīrzā-qulī Kūkūldāsh (Mīrzā's servant?)—with Jahāngīr (*æt.* 9) in Akhsī (899) 32 ; one of three with Bābur (908) 166,

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396; fights for him in Akhsī 174–5; one of eight in flight 177; his horse fails 178; at social gatherings (925) 385, 387, 388; out with Bābur 403; behaves in his own fashion 407.

Mūātūkān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid* — mentioned in Yūnās Khān's genealogy 19.

Bībī **Mubāraka** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*, a wife of Bābur—referred to 367 n. 3; her courtship App. K; asked and given in marriage 375, 376; a couplet suiting her 411; accompanies Mahīm to Āgra (935) 689 n. 5; ☞ her probable charge of conveying Bābur's body to Kābul 709–10; her brother Jamāl App. K, xli; [† early under Akbar 963 AH.–1556 AD.].

Mubārak Khān *Jilwānī*—killed serving Bīban (935) 685.

Mubārak Shāh *Muẓaffarī* — rises in Badakhshān against Shaibānī (*cir.* 910) 242; invites Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* 242, 243; defeats Aūzbegs (912) 294–5; defeats Nāṣir 321; in force (913) Author's Note 340; invites Mīrzā Khān to Qila'i-ẓafar 21; [†*cir.* 913 AH.–1508 AD.].

Mughūl Beg, amīr of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 275.

A **Mughūl servant**—aims an arrow at Bābur (912) 316.

Mūḥammad, the Prophet—reference to 75; a saying on travel 184; his edicts do not include the imposition of the *tamghā* 555; on the duty of a wazīr 556; mentioned in the *farmān* and the *fatḥ-nāma* (933) 553, 559–574.

Khwāja **Muḥammad,** an old tailor of 'Umar Shaikh's—allays anxiety for Bābur (899) 30.

Mīr **Muḥammad-i-Mahdī Khwāja**—on service (925) 381.

Pahlawān Ḥajī **Muḥammad**—gifts made to him (935) 633.

Ustad Sulṭān **Muḥammad,** a Kābul builder—orders for his work (935) 646–7.

Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Ḥaidar *kikābdār*—brings a gift (925) 418; summons Humāyūn (933) 537–8; sent out for news (935) 661, 662.

Muḥammad 'Alī *bakhshī*—on Abū-sa'īd's service and defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (868) 259.

Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*—in the centre at Bajaur (925) 370; at boat-parties 387, 388; his servant's service 391, 392; his districts 392–3, 530; reinforced 412; waits on Bābur 403, 419, (932) 458; at Milwat (932) 460, 461; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza 465–6; wounded 471; in the van at Pānīpat 472; on service

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530, (933) 549, 550, 576, 582 ; in the left wing at Kānwa 557 ; acts unsuccessfully against Bīban and Bāyazīd (934) 589, 594, 598 ; pursues from near Qānūj 601 ; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638 ; his brother Arghūn and sons Tardī-muḥammad and Nan-roz *q.v.*

Khwāja **Muḥammad 'Alī** *kitābdār* — messenger to Khwāja Yaḥyā (905) 124 ; confuses a pass word (908) 164 (here *sārt-kīshī* = sārt) ; captured by Tambal 168 ; fights against rebels (912) 315 ; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335 ; in charge of treasure 338 ; at entertainments (925) 410, 411, 413 ; ☞ at Kalanūr (930) 442 (here Tājik = Sārt).

Mūḥammad 'Alī *Mubashir-beg*—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; at Khūbān (905) 113 ; in the flight from Akhsī (908) 163 ; captured by Tambal 168 ; killed on service 252 ; his servant Sulaimān 175 ; [†911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Muḥammad 'Alī *pīāda*—deserts Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (913) 343.

Khwāja **Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭaghāī** — 'Asas — brother of Mahīm Begīm ?—in the van at Qandahār (913) 335 ; meets Bābur at a crisis (914) 346 ; waits on Bābur (925) 399, 403 ; answers a military summons 408 ; the first to follow Bābur in renouncing wine (933) 552 ; at various entertainments (925) 387, 388, 400, 412, (926) 423, (935) 683 ; on his identity 522 n. 4 ; ☞ in charge of Bābur's Āgra tomb (937) 709.

Khwāja **Muḥammad-amīn**—out with Bābur (910) 230 ; deserts from Qandahār (913) 343 ; at a garden-wine-party (925) 418 ; his servant Imām-i-muḥammad *ib.*

Muḥammad-āmīn Khān *Qāzānī, Jūgī Chīngīz-khānid*—Shaibānī sends him a Herāt musician 292 ; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Ustād **Muḥammad-amīn** *jībachī*—attention for him desired from Khwāja Kalān (935) 647.

Muḥammad *Andijānī*—sent to Kābul (912) 313–4.

Muḥammad *Arghūn*—with Mughūls against Bābur (904) 106.

Sayyid **Muḥammad-i-aūrūs** *Arghūn*, son of Aūrūs — particulars 279.

Shāh Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Badakhshī* — his claim to Greek descent and his six daughters 22. (Cf. T.R. trs. p. 107.)

Mīr **Muḥammad** *Badakhshī* of Ishkīmīsh—particulars 288–9 ; waits on Bābur (917) 289.

Muḥammad *bakhshī*—on service at Qandahār (913) 338.

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Muḥammad Bāqir Beg *Andijānī*—with Jahāngīr (899) 32; disloyal to Bābur (900) 44; with Bāī-sunghar (902) 65; leaves Bābur for home (903) 91; in Akhsī and seen in the flight (908) 189, 181; ☞ 182; his son Dost *q.v.*

Mūḥammad Barandūq Beg *Barlās Turk*—particulars 270; on Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* service (901) 58; retorts on Khusrau Shāh (910) 243; retainer of Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (911) 274, 293; acts against Shaibānī (912) 296, 297; at a feast 298; concerning Bābur's reception at the Herī Court 299; presses him to winter in Herī 307; his plan of defence rejected (913) 326.

Muhammad Beg *Begchīk*, brother of Ayūb—in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Pahlawān **Muḥammad Bū-sa'īd**—particulars 292.

Shāh **Muḥammad** *dīwāna*, receives a fugitive Bāī-qarā 263; his son brings Bābur news of Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 681.

Muḥammad-dost Ṭaghāī *Kūnjī Mughūl*, son of 'Alī-dost—with Bābur (900) 53; remains at a crisis (903) 91; captured by Tambal (904) 106; released (905) 119; his self-aggrandizment 119; deserts to Tambal 125; negociates for him with Bābur (908) 173; blinded by the Aūzbegs 125.

Sayyid **Muḥammad** *Dūghlāt Ḥiṣārī*—enters Bābur's service (901) 58, 59; his Mughūls desert Bābur (904) 105; conspires against Tambal and goes to The Khān (Maḥmūd) (907) 154; sent with Bābur against Tambal (908) 161.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Dūldāī, Barlās Turk*—Bābur's messenger to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (912) 294; returns with news of Ḥusain's death 295; in the right centre at Qandahār (913) 335; waits on Bābur from Bajaur (925) 401; overtakes him at Jūī-shāhī 410; at a wine-party *ib.*; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza (932) 465–6; in the right-wing at Pānīpat 472; given Qanūj 530; abandons it (933) 557; unwilling to return there 582; sent against Balūchīs (935) 638; ordered to Āgra 676.

Shāh **Muḥammad** *Farmūlī Afghān*, son of Ma'rūf—particulars 675; Bābur gives him Sārūn (934) 603, 675; waits on Bābur (935) 675, 679.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Galpuk, Itārachī Mughūl* — opposing Bābur (908) 165.

Shaikh **Muḥammad** *Ghauṣ*—particulars 539; helps Bābur to gain Gūālīār (933) 539–40; intercedes for Raḥīm-dād (936) 688, 690.

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Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dūghlāt*, see Ḥaidar.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā Kūrkān *Dūghlāt*, receives Aūrā-tīpā (900) 56; effects Qāsim *qūchīn's* dismissal (903) 90; sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur 92; lends him Pashāghar (904) 97, and Dikh-kat (907) 148; sent against Samarkand (905) 122; keeps back Aūrā-tīpā from Bābur (907) 149; goes to him in Kābul (911) 246; incites a Mughūl revolt against him (912) 313–17; captured and banished 319; ungrateful for leniency *ib.*; Shaibānī avenges Bābur *ib.*; his son Ḥaidar's excuses for him 317 n. 3; his wife Khūb-nigār, son Ḥaidar, daughter Ḥabība *q.v.*; [†914 AH.–1508 AD.].

Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Abū'l-ḥasan *qūr-begī*—joins Mīrzā Khān (912) 315; on Bābur's service (925) 413 (here *qūrchī*).

Muḥammad-i-ḥusain Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 262, 268; hostile to his father (903) 94; his flight into 'Irāq 262.

Mīr **Muḥammad** *jāla-bān*—examines a ford through the Sind-water (Indus) (925) 378; selects a site for a pontoon-bridge across the Ganges (934) 599; examines fords above Aūd (Oudh) 602; advises about crossing the Sarū (Goghrā) 674; rewarded for his pontoon-bridge (935) 635; his raft-mishaps (925) 407, 423.

Muḥammad Jān, Najm Ṣānī's Lord-of-the-Gate—☞ envoy to Bābur and discontented with his reception (917) 355.

Muḥammad Khalīl *akhta-begī*—sent raiding (933) 538; at Kānwa (933) 569.

Muḥammad Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, kinsman of Bābā Qashqa (?—*q.v.*) —seen with Bābur by Khān-zāda (before 907 and in 916) 18; on service at Milwat (932) 458, 460; in the right centre at Pānīpat 472, 473, 475; sent against Dūlpūr 530; receives Samāna 528; in the right wing at Kānwa (933) 566, 569, 576; sends news of a second[1] Balūchī incursion (935) 605 n. 3, 638; reports action 675; ordered to Āgra 676; at various entertainments (925) 385, 388, 412.

Muḥammad-i-makhdūmī—his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*

[1] The record of the first appears likely to be lost in the *lacuna* of 934 AH.

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Muḥammad Ma'ṣum Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Mīnglī—particulars 264, 269; his wife Bega *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1501–2 AD. See ḤS. iii, 290].

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Maẕhab*—profers support to Bābur (932) 463; Bābur's envoy to Bengal (935) 637.

Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān *Arghūn Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Aūrdū-būghā—particulars 39; has charge of Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (899) 32; leaves Samarkand after the Tarkhān rebellion (901) 62; displeases 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (905) 121; plotted against *ib.*; invites Mīrzā Khān and Bābur 122, 123; welcomes Bābur 40, 124; joins Khusrau Shāh (906) 129; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; takes refuge with Khusrau Shāh 141; at Kūl-i-malik (918) ☞ 357; killed there 39; his house a post of Bābur's 143; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—parentage 257.

Sayyid **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Dūghlāt*, uncle of Ḥaidar—sent to help Bābur (906) 139; envoy of Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* to him (917) 22; escorts his niece to Kāshghar *ib.*

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī*, grandson of Tīmūr—his son Abū-sa'īd *q.v.*

Sultan **Muḥammad Mīrzā** *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid*—his father Abū-sa'īd *q.v.*

Muḥammad *mīskīn, Dūldāī Barlās*, son of Ḥafiẓ—captured by Bābur's men (903) 72.

Muḥammad Muḥsin *Bāī-qarā*, see Kūpūk.

Muḥammad Muqīm Beg *Arghūn*, son of Ẕū'n-nūn—takes possession of Kābul (908) 195 n. 3; loses it to Bābur (910) 198, 199, 227, 246 n. 3; loses Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to him (911) 248–9; seeks his co-operation against Shaibānī (913) 330; withdraws and fails in etiquette 331–2; opposed to Bābur at Qandahār 333–7; flees in defeat 339.

Khwāja **Muḥammad Muqīm** *Herāwī*, father of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad the historian—☞ mentioned 691 n. 1, ☞ 692; ☞ his story of a plan to supersede Humāyūn as Pādshāh in 937 AH. 703; discussion of it 704–7; its incredibility as told 704–5.

Muḥammad Mūmin *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Badī'u'z-zamān—Astarābād claimed for him (902) 69; de-

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feated by an uncle 71 (where *delete* the *'aīn* from his name); his murder attributed to Khadīja Begim 268.

Shaikh **Muḥammad** *Muṣalmān*, ancestor of the Farmūlī Shaikh-zādas—his tomb and descendants 220.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Muẓaffar** *Gujrātī, Tānk Rājpūt*—particulars 481–2; his death 481; his sons Sikandar Shāh and Bahādur Khān *q.v.*; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Muḥammad *Nūḥānī*, see Bihār Khān.

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Pargharī*—loquacious (932) 453.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Barlās*—comes accidentally on Bābur (925) 417.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim Mīrzā *Arlāt*, son of Abū'l-qāsim (Ḥ.S. iii, 327)—his Bāī-qarā wife and their child 265; his sons (?) Bābur and Murād *q.v.*

Muḥammad-i-qāsim Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid*, son of Ḥusain and Pāpā—parentage 265.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Nabīra*, grandson of Muḥammad *Sīghal*—made prisoner when opposing Bābur (903) 72.

Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Qībchāq Turk*, son of Bāqī *Chaghānīānī*—leaves his family in Ajar (910) 191; father (?) of Aḥmad-i-qāsim *q.v.*

Muḥammad-qulī *qūchīn* — Mīr• Shāh *qūchīn* — helps Bāī-sunghar's escape from Samarkand (901) 62; with Bābur at Samarkand and wounded (902) 68; stays with him at a crisis (903) 91; captured (904) and released by Tambal (905) 119; in the van at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139; besieged in Samarkand 142–144; with Bābur when surprised by Tambal (908) 163; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334; in a raid (925) 403.

Muḥammad *qūrchī*, retainer of Khusrau Shāh—rises against the Aūzbeg occupation of Badakhshān (910) 242; expels Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* (912) 321; keeping up his head (913) 340.

Ustad **Muḥammad** *sabz-banā*—his son Banā'ī *q.v.*

Maulānā **Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn** *Andijānī*—his six sons' service to Bābur 370 n. 2; his sons Khwājaka Mullā-i-ṣadr, Kīchīk Khwāja, Khwāja Kalān *q.v.*

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Mīrzā *Khwārizmī*, author of the *Shaibānī-nāma*—in Khwāja Yaḥyā's service[1] and waits on Bābur (901)

[1] See *Shaibānī-nāma*, Vambéry's ed. Cap. xv, l. 12, for his changes of service, and Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfa-i-sāmī* for various particulars including his classification as a Chaghatāī.

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64; leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; enters Shaibānī's service 65 n. 3; on Shaibānī's service (910) 196 n. 5; couplets of his quoted by Bābur 120–1, 448; [†941 AH.–1534–5 AD.].

Ustād Shāh **Muḥammad** *sang-tarāsh*—cuts an inscription (913) 343; receives orders for work (933) 585, 606, (935) 642.

Muḥammad Shāh *Khiljī Turk*, son of Nāṣiru'd-dīn of Mālwā—takes Chanderī and seeks Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* protection (916) 593; his young son Aḥmad *q.v.*; [†931 AH.–1524 AD.?].

Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—his change of name for an orange 511 n. 4; [†1161 AH.–1748 AD.].

Mūḥammad *Shaibānī*, see Shaibānī.

Shaikh **Muḥammad-i Shaikh Bhakarī** (P) — on service (933) 382.

Shāh **Muḥammad Shaikh-zāda** *Farmūlī Afghān*, son of Ma'rūf—leaves his Afghān associates (934) 598 (no name here); favoured by Bābur 603, 675; compelled to act with Bīban and Bāyazīd (935) 675; writes dutifully to Bābur *ib.*; waits on 'Askarī and Bābur *ib.* and 679.

Muḥammad Sharīf *munajjim* (astrologer)—comes to Kābul (925) 399 and to Āgra (933) 551; augurs defeat at Kānwa 551, 576; offers congratulations on victory, blamed and banished with a gift 576.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad** *Sīghal, Chaghatāī* — his descendants Muhammad-i-qāsim and Ḥasan *q.v.* (Cf. 66 n. 4 and Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 275 for tribe and title resp.).

Muḥammad Sūlṭān *bakhshī*—left behind to catch pheasants (925) 404; in a night-attack on Ibrāhīm's camp (932) 471; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472; has custody of the cook who poisoned Bābur (933) 542; staff-officers at Kānwa 568; host to Bābur (935) 629; introduces a Kābul messenger 644; brings news of Maḥmūd *Lūdī* 653–4; writes that Bābur's family is on its way from Kābul 657; waits on Bābur 606; his servant Shāh Qāsim *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Sulṭān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—Sulṭānīm and Khānika—eldest son of The Khān (Maḥmūd)—sent to help Bābur (903) 92; his guardian and he oppose Bābur (905) 116; his part in acclaiming the standards (907) 155; goes out to meet his uncle Aḥmad (Alacha Khān) (908) 159; ☞ murdered 350; [†914 AH.–1508 AD.].

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Muhammad Sulṭān-i-jahāngīr Mīrzā *Jahāngīrī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Samarkand given to him by his grandfather Tīmūr 85; his college 78.

Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Wais and Sulṭānīm—particulars 265; waits on Bābur at Kalānūr (932) 458; on Bābur's service 468, 471, 475, 530, 534, (933) 545, 548, 582, (934) 589, (935) 682; in the left wing at Pānīpat (932) 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; gifts to him 527; given Qānūj 582; joins Bābur (935) 651; in the battle of the Ghogrā 671, 672, 674; ☞ mentioned 706 (where wrongly classed with half-Tīmūrids); once owner of the Elphinstone Codex 706 n. 3.

Beg **Muḥammad** *ta'alluqchī* — conveys gifts to Humāyūn (Muḥ. 934) and returns (Rabī' I, 935) 621; Bābur complains of his detention.

Muḥammad Ṭāhir—captured (903) 74.

Muḥammad **Tīmūr Sulṭān** *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Shaibānī—at Samarkand (906) 128; at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 139; defeats and kills two Bāī-qarā Mīrzās (913) 263, 329–30; leaves Samarkand on Bābur's approach (917) 354; at Ghaj-davān (918) 360; his marriages with captives 24, 36, 328 n. 1.

Mullā **Muhammad** *ṭālib-mu'ammāī*—an enigmatist of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—particulars 201 n. 7[1]; a couplet of his quoted 201–2; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Pahlawān Ḥājī **Muḥammad** *tufang-andāzī* — receives gifts (935) 633.

Mullā **Muḥammad** *Turkistānī*, retainer of Khusrau Shāh—makes Qūndūz safe for Shaibānī Khān (910) 192.

Muhammad-i-'ubaidu'l-lāh, son of Aḥrārī, see Khwāja Khwāja.

Sulṭān **Muḥammad Wais**—waits on Bābur (902) 66; runs away and is suspected (907) 156; serving Bābur at Akhsī (908) 174; his retainer Kīchīk 'Alī *q.v.*

Muḥammad Walī Beg—particulars 277; on Ḥusain Bāī-qarā's service (901) 57, (902) 70, (903) 94.

Muḥammad-i-yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī*, elder son of Yūsuf—waits on Bābur (905) 125.

[1] He died serving Bābur, at Kūl-i-malik (Ḥ.S. iii, 344).—Further information negatives my suggestion (201 n. 7) that he and Mīr Ḥusain (p. 288 and n. 7) were one.

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Mīr **Muḥammad-i-yūsuf**—particulars 285; waits on Bābur in Herāt (912) 285; Shaibānī instructs him in exposition (913) 329.

Muḥammad *Zaitūn*[1]—opposing Bābur (932) 523; written to and makes false excuse 529, 530; waits on Bābur (933) 540; sent out of the way before Kānwa 547.

Khwāja **Muḥammad Ẓakariya,**[2] son of Yaḥyā—murdered 128; [906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā *Bāi-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, grandson and last surviving heir of Ḥusain—particulars 261, 269 n. 6, 279; spared by Shaibānī 263; his wanderings and association with Khwānd-amīr 364–5, 463 n. 3; sent to Bābur and married to his daughter Ma'ṣūma-sulṭān (923-4) 365; in Balkh 365, 522; dutiful letters and tribute sent by him to Bābur (925) 385, 402, ☞ 427, ☞ (926–932) 428; with Bābur (935) 606, 631, 639, 659; objects to the Bihār command 661–2; does homage for it and is given *insignia* of royalty 662, ☞ 706; starts for Bihār but is recalled 663, 664; in the battle of the Ghogrā 668, 669, 671; ☞ given Jūnpūr 682; pursues Bīban and Bāyazīd 682; grounds for surmising in Bābur the intention to leave him as ruler in Hindūstān 705–7; ☞ of his later uprisings against Humāyūn 714 n. 1; [†drowned at Chausa 946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Muḥibb-i-'alī Khān *Barlās Turk*, son of Khalīfa—☞ marries Nāhid Begim (930) 443; in a night-attack (932) 471; in the left centre at Pānīpat 472, 473 and at Kānwa (933) 565; unhorsed in 'Abdu'l-'azīz' discomfiture 549–50; on service (934) 601.

Muḥibb-i-'alī *qūrchī*—on Khusrau Shāh's service (901) 60, (902) 71; joins Bābur (910) 188; Bābur's praise of him (912) 307, 308; loyal 313, (914) 346; in the van at Qandahār (913) 335; collector of an impost (925) 384; at Ḥiṣār-fīrūza (932) 465–6; at an entertainment 410.

Muḥibb-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 49.

Sāqī **Muḥsin**—wrestles (935) 660.

[1] "Zaitun is the name of the Chinese city from which satin was brought (*hodie* Thsiuancheu or Chincheu) and my belief is that our word satin came from it" (Col. H. Yule, E. and D. iv, 514).

[2] My text omits to translate *yīgīt(aūghūl)* and thus loses the information that Yaḥyā's sons Bāqī and Ẓakarīa were above childhood, were grown to fighting age—braves—but not yet begs (see Index *s.n. chuhra*).

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Muḥsin *Dūldāī Barlās*—at Chanderī (934) 590.

Muīnu'd-dīn al Zamjī—omitted (or lost) from Bābur's list of Herāt celebrities 283 n. 1.

Mujāhid Khān *Multānī*—on Bābur's service (933) 540.

The **Mulla,** see 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī.*

Mullā Bābā *Farkatī*—brings Bābur news of Shaibānī (913) 343.

Mullā Bihishtī—conveys gifts to Hind-al (935) 642.

Mullā Bābā *Pashāgharī, Chaghatāī*—comes into one of Bābur's dreams (906) 132; at Sar-i-pul 141; envoy for Bābur to Khusrau Shāh (910) 188; loyal (912) 313, (914) 346; ☞ disloyal in Ghaznī (921) 363; deserts Humāyūn (932) 545; joins the Aūzbegs; his proceedings 546; his brother Bābā Shaikh *q.v.*; his Kābul garden 315.

Mullā Hijrī, a poet—waits on Bābur (907) 153.

Mullā Kabīr—his devious route to wait on Bābur (925) 399.

Mullā Khwājakā—prescribes for Bābur (925) 399 (where read Khwajakā).

Mullā Khwāja-i Sayyid Ātā—his Bāī-qarā wife 265–6.

Mullā Tabrīzī—conveys gifts (935) 642.

Mullā Ṭaghāī—envoy to Bābur of Abū-sa'īd *Aūzbeg* (935) 631, 632, 641.

Mūmin—suspected of the death of Nūyān Kūkūldāsh (907) 151–2.

Mūmin-i-'alī *tawāchī*—conveys orders (932) 451; conveys the Kānwa Letter-of-victory to Kābul (933) 580.

Mūmin Ātākā—out with Bābur (925) 404; on service (932) 465, 534; in the left wing (*tūlghuma*) at Kānwa (933) 568, 569; his brethren (935) 679.

Khwāja **Munīr** *Aūshī*—incites attack on Bukhāra (902) 65.

Sayyid **Murād** *Aūghlāqchī*[1]—referred to as father of Yūsūf 39 and Ḥasan 279; [†874 AH.–1469–70 AD.].

Mūrād Beg *Bāyandarī Turkmān*—his joining Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (908) 280, 336.

Murād Mīrzā *Arlāt,* son of Muḥammad-i-qāsim and Rābi'a-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*—his Bāī-qarā (?) marriage 266.[2]

Murād *Qajar Turkmān, qūrchī*—'Irāqī envoy to Bābur (935) 666, 688, 689, n. 4.

[1] See Add. Notes under p. 39.
[2] See Add. Notes under p. 266.

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Mullā Khwāja **Murshid** *'Irāqī*—envoy of Bābur to Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (925) 385, ☞ 427 n. 3; made Dīwān of Bihār (935) 661, 662.

Mīr **Mūrtāẓa**—particulars 284.

Musā Khwāja—whispers of Mughūl rebellion (914) 346.

Malik **Musā** *Dilah-zāk* (*Dilazāk*) *Afghān*—receives gifts (925) 394; brings tribute 409.

Musā Sulṭān *Farmūlī*, son of Ma'rūf—waits on Bābur (935) 685; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669.

Muṣṭafa Shaikh-zāda *Farmūlī Afghān* — on service for Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (932) 527; his brother Bāyazīd *q.v.*; [†932 AH.–1525–6 AD.].

Muṣṭafa *Rūmī*, *tawāchī*—his culverin-discharge at Pānīpat (932) 474; has carts made for defence at Kānwa (933) 550; at Kānwa 550, 568–9; at the Gangas bridge (934) 599; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 668, 669, 670.

Mū'yad—leading Daryā-khānīs for Bābur (933) 582.

Shāh **Muẓaffar**—particulars 291; his artist-training owed to Nawā'ī 272.

Muẓaffar *Barlās*—particulars 270–1.

Sulṭān **Muẓaffar** *Gujrātī*—his death and successor 534 (where for [Jumāda II] "and" read 932; [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Muzaffar-i-ḥusāin Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid*, *Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Khadīja—particulars 262, 268; serving under his father (901) 58, (902) 71; given Astarābād (902) 61, 69; made joint-ruler in Herī (911) 292–3; combines in action against Shaibānī (912) 296–7 and withdraws 301; fails in etiquette 297; in social relation with Bābur 298, 299, 300, 302–3; plain speech to him from Qāsim Beg 304; a false report of him in Kābul 313; irresolute in opposing Shaibānī (913) 326; his army defeated 327; flees (to Astarābād) abandoning his family *ib.*; his wife Khān-zāda Khānīm *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Muẓaffar Shāh** *Ḥabshī*, mentioned in illustration of a Bengal custom 483.

Mīrzā Yār-i-aḥmad **Najm Ṣānī**, wazīr of Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī*—his killing Sohrāb *Bāī-qarā* 262; ☞ his commission to correct Bābur (918) 355, 359; ☞ his massacre in Qarshī 360; ☞ slain at Ghaj-dawān 262 n. 4, 361; Bābur's alleged

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failure to support him 361; his retainer Muḥammad Jān *q.v.*; [†918 AH.–1512 AD.].

Nādir Shāh *Afshārid*—his birthplace (mod.) Qalāt-i-nādirī 329 n. 4; [†1160 AH.–1747 AD.].

Nahār, son of Ḥasan Khān *Mewātī*—released by Bābur from capture (933) 545; returns to Court 578; escapes 581.

Nāhid Begīm—☞ her marriage (930) 443.

Na'man Chuhra—captured by Tambal (908) 168; at a wine-party (925) 385.

Gurū **Nānak Shāh**—his relations with Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* and traditionally with Bābur 461 n. 3; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Napoleon—☞ his problem of creed in Egypt less difficult than that of Bābur with Shī'a support 356.

Nārpat Hāra *Chauhān Rājpūt*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

Nāṣir Beg—makes over Andijān to Bābur (904) 103; counsels him (908) 165; captured by Tambal 168; his sons Dost-, Mīrīm-, and Shāhīm-i-nāṣir; his brother-in-law Aūzūn Ḥasan *q.v.*

Naṣīr Khān *Nūḥānī Afghān*—particulars 659 n. 4; disaffected to Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* and unsubmissive to Bābur (932) 523; discussion of his movements 530; assembles a force but flees before Bābur's 533–4, 544; his son Farīd *q.v.*

Nāṣir Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 17; in Kāsān (*æt.* 8) (899) 32; taken to his uncle Aḥmad 32; meets Bābur (908) 172, 178; at the capture of Kābul (910) 198, 199; Zurmut hostility 220; given Nīngnahār 227; misconduct 229, 241–2; accepts an invitation to Badakhshān 242–3; has an imbroglio with Khusrau Shāh 243; clans which had left him 255; defeats Āūzbegs (912) 295; defeated by Badakhshīs and goes to Bābur 321; Bābur's reflections on the situation 322; out with Bābur (913) 324; in the van at Qandahār 335; his loot and command and beleaguerment in Qandahār 339–40; goes to Ghaznī 343, 344; ☞ given Kābul (917) 363; ☞ returns it to Bābur (920) 363; dies in Ghaznī (921) 363; his sister Mihr-bānū and wife Qarā-gūz *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†921 AH.–1515 AD.].

Khwāja **Naṣīru'd-dīn** *Ṭūsī*—his Astronomical Tables 79; [†672 AH.–1274 AD.].

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Sulṭān **Nāṣiru'd-dīn** *Khiljī Turk*, Sulṭān of Malwā—events following his death 593; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; [†916 AH.–1510 AD.].

Naṣrat Shāh *Ḥusain-shāhī*, Sulṭān in Bengal — particulars 482–3; reported friendly to Bābur (935) 628, 637; sends him an envoy 637; negociations with him 661, 664, 676; referred to as at peace with Bābur 665; mentioned 667, 677, 679; his troops defeated on the Ghogrā 671–4; peace made 676; [†939 AH.–1532 AD.].

Naṣrat Shāh *Tūghlūq Turk*—receives Dihlī from Tīmūr 481 n. 4.

Naurang Beg—☞ punishes the Mundāhirs (936) 700, 701.

Nau-roz, brother of Muḥammad-'alī *Jang-jang* — at Bajaur (925) 370.

Naukar Hindū, see Tūka.

Naẓar-i-'alī *Turk*—on Bābur's service (925) 389; his relation Mīnūchihr *q.v.*

Naẓar Bahādur—killed on Khusrau Shāh's service 93, 94, 279; [†903 AH.–1497–8 AD.].

Naẓar Bahādur *Aūzbeg*—one of five champions worsted by Bābur in single combat (914) 349 n. 1.

Shāh **Naẓar** *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; rebels (914) 345.

Ni'amat *Arghūn*—his defeat 34.

Mullā **Ni'amat**—killed in a surprise by Sangā 549; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Khwāja **Ni'amatu'l-lāh**—his son Āṣafī 286 n. 2.

Nīgārsī, see Dankūsī.

Niẓām Khān *Bīāna'ī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; receives letters and a quatrain from him 529; defeats Bābur's troops (933) 538–9; waits on Bābur 539; in the left wing at Kānwa 567; on service (935) 678.

Khwājā **Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad**, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, son of Muḥammad Muqīm—☞ discussion of his story of the intended supersession of Babur's sons 702–8; [†1003 AH.–1594 AD.].

Sayyid **Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa** *Marghīlānī, Barlās Turk* son of Junaid—escapes from prison and death (900) 55; driven from Bābur's presence (903) 90, (905) 119; defends Kābul (912) 313; mediates (914) 345; hears rumours of

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Mughūl revolt 346; in the left centre at Bajaur (925) 369 and at Pānīpat (932) 473; given charge of Ibrāhīm's corpse 474 n. 1; at Kānwa (933) 556, 558, 564–5; on service 384, 395, 666; communicates bad news at Chanderī (934) 594 and (935) 639; mediates for Raḥīm-dād 689; ☞ declines the Badakhshān government (936) 697; ☞ discussion of his plan to set Humāyūn aside (in Hindūstān?) 702–8; his seat at a feast 631; host to Bābur 408; his sons Muḥibb-i-'alī, Ḥusamu'd-dīn-i-'alī, Ḥamza and daughter Gul-barg *q.v.*

Shaikh **Niẓāmū'd-dīn Auliyā**—his tomb visited by Bābur (932) 475; [†725 AH.–1325 AD.].

Niẓāmu'l-mulk *Khawāfī*, Dīwān in Herī—arrested and put to death 282; [†903 AH.–1497–8 AD.].

Hazrat **Nuḥ** (Noah)—his father Lām *q.v.*

Nūr Beg (perhaps Sayyid Nūru'd-dīn *Chaghāniānī infra*)—disobeys the Law, plays the lute (925) 395; joins Bābur in an autumn garden 418; his brethren on service (932) 446; with Bābur in the East (935) 653; in the battle of the Ghogrā 673; sent to allay Rahīm-dād's fears 688–9; his brother Shāham *q.v.*

Sayyid **Nūru'd-dīn** *Chaghāniānī*—Sayyid Amīr—a son-in-law of Bābur and father of Salīma-sulṭān ☞ 713; perhaps Nūr Beg *supra.*

Shaikh **Nūru'd-dīn Beg** *Turkistānī, Qībchāq Turk*—grandfather, through a daughter, of Yūnas *Chaghatāī* 19 (see T.R. trs. p. 64).

Nūru'l-lāh *ṭambūrchī*—his experience in an earthquake (911) 247.

Sayyid **Nūyān Beg** *Tīrmīẕī*—particulars 273; his son Ḥasan-i-ya'qūb *q.v.*

Nūyān Kūkūldāsh *Tīrmīẕī*—makes a right guess (906) 131–2; on service against Shaibānī 142; his sword sent as a gift to Tambal (907) 150; that sword wounds Bābur's head (908) 151, 167, 396; his suspicious death 151–152; Bābur's grief 152; Nūyān's uncle Ḥaq-naẓar *q.v.*; [†907 AH.–1502 AD.].

Padmāwatī, wife of Rānā Sangā—in Rantanbhūr (935) 612; mentioned 613 n. 1; her son Bikramājīt and kinsman Asūkmāl *q.v.*

Pahār Khān *Lūdī*, see Bihār.

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Pahār Mīrza, a father-in-law of Jahāngīr *Mīrān-shāhī*—his daughter brings her son Pir-i-muḥammad to Bābur (913) 331.

Pahlawān *Aūdī* (*Oudhī*)—wrestles (935) 683, 688.

Pahlawān *Lāhorī*, a boatman—wrestles (935) 656.

Pāpa Āghācha, a mistress of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 266, 268–9; her five sons and three daughters *ib.*[1]

Pāpā-aūghūlī, of Bābur's household—out with Bābur (910) 234; at Qandahār (913) 335.

Parbat *Kakar*—conveys tribute to Bābur (925) 391, 392, 393.

Pasha Begīm *Bahārlū, Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān,* daughter of 'Alī-shukr Beg—particulars 49; her nephew Yār-'alī *Balāl q.v.*[2]

Pāyanda-muḥammad *Qīplān*—out with Bābur (925) 404.

Pāyanda-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* daughter of Abū-sa'īd and wife of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 263, 265, 268; her son Ḥaidar and her daughters *ib.*; visited in Herāt by Bābur (912) 301; arranges a marriage for him 306; captured by Shaibānī (913) 327.

Pietro della Vallé—an illustration drawn from his recorded morning-draught (1623 AD.) 395.

Khwāja **Pir Aḥmad** *Khawāfī*—his son 281.

Pir Budāgh Sulṭān, Khāqān in Desht Qībchāq (Ḥ.S. iii, 232)—his Bāī-qarā marriage 258 n. 2.

Mīr **Pīr Darwesh** *Hazār-aspī*—in charge of Balkh (857) 50; fights there *ib.*

Pīrī Beg *Turkmān*—joins Bābur (913) 336; particulars Author's Note, 336.

Pīr Kānū of Sakhī-sarwār—Bābur halts at his tomb (910) 238.

Pīr Muḥammad *Aīlchī-būghā, qūchīn*—particulars 50 and nn.; drowned 48 n. 4, 50; [895 AH.–1490 AD.].

Pīr Muḥammad *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Jahāngīr—brought by his widowed mother to Bābur (913) 331.

Pīr-qulī *Sīstānī*—in the right wing at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 566; on service (932) 530.

Pīr Sulṭān *Pashāī*—one of Bābur's guides (912) 308.

Prester John, Wang Khān [T.R. trs. 16], Ong Khān [Abu'l-ghāzī, Desmaisons' trs. p. 55]—his title 23 n. 3.

[1] For emendation of 266 n. 7, see Add. Notes under P. 266.

[2] On p. 49 l. 3 for "Black" read White; and in l. 3 read ("wife of") Muḥammadī son of ("Jahān-shāh").

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Pulād Sulṭān *Aūzbeg - Shaibān Chīngīz - khānid* — son of Kūchūm—Bābur sends him his earliest-mentioned Dīwān (925) 402, 632 n. 3; at Jām (934) 622; an envoy goes from him to Bābur (935) 631, 632, 641.

Pūrān (Allāh-bīrdī or Allāh-qulī)—out with Bābur (910) 234; wounded (913) 342; his father-in-law Qāsim *qūchīn q.v.*

Qābil (Cain)—Bābur goes alone to his tomb (925) 415.

Qādīr-bīrdī *Ghainī*—spoken to by Bābur when in hiding (908) 180–1.

Qāitmās *Turkmān*, retainer of Jahāngīr—drowned (910) 237.[1]

Qalandar *pīāda*—on Bābur's service (932) 529.

Qambar-i-'alī *Arghūn*—on Bābur's service (935) 688.

Qambar-i-'alī Beg—mobilizes the Hindūstān army by Abū-sa'īd's order (873?) 46; expelled from Khurāsān with Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 47.

Qambar-i-'alī Beg *qūchīn*, son of Qāsim—races with Bābur (?) (907) 147; wounded, brings Bābur a message (908) 174; one of the eight in flight from Akhsī 177; gives Bābur his horse 177–8; beats down snow for a road (912) 308–9; fights rebels in Kābul 315; at Qandahār (913) 334; wounded 336; hurries from Qūndūz against rebels in Ghaznī (921) 364; brings Bābur a letter from Balkh (?) (925) 385.

Qambār-i-'alī Beg *Silākh, Mughūl*—particulars 28; his inconvenient absence (904) 106; recalled (905) 108; goes away 110; returns 112; in the van at Khūbān 113; goes away 115; returns and is ill-tempered 117; his districts 115, 124; his ill-timed pacificism 118; his misconduct 123; goes to Tambal, made prisoner, escapes to Bābur 124; on Bābur's service (906) 130, 131; at Sar-i-pul 138, 139; sends his family out of Samarkand 141; ? races with Bābur (907) 147; ? leaves Bābur in Dikh-kat 150 n. 3; conspires against Tambal and goes to The Khān (Maḥmūd) 154; serves Bābur against Tambal (908) 161, 162, 165, 166; counsels Bābur distastefully and flees 168, 170; talks to him of peace with Tambal 173; made prisoner in Akhsī against Bābur's wish 174; leaves Khusrau Shah for Bābur (910) 189; dismissed by Bābur and why 192, 532 n. 1; his son 'Abdu'-shukūr *q.v.*

[1] Cf. Ḥ.S. Fertī's trs. p. 70 for the same name Qaitmās.

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Qambar Bī *Aūzbeg*—blamed by Shaibānī for three murders (906) 128; on service for him (910) 242, 244; defeated by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* men (934) 622.

Qarā Aḥmad *yūrūnchī*—Bābur's messenger to the Kābul begs (912) 314.

Qarā Barlās—leaves Samarkand with the Tarkhāns (905) 121; fights for Bābur at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; besieged and holds out to the end 143, 144.

Sayyid **Qarā Beg** *Kohbur Chaghatāī*—remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; invited into Akhsī (for Bābur) (904) 101; escapes after defeat 106; at Khūbān (905) 113; released 119[1]; his (?) hasty retreat to entrenchments (906) 138, 232 n. 4; his son 'Abdu'l-qadūs *q.v.*

Qarā Bīlūt—surrenders Qalāt-i-ghilzāī to Bābur (911) 248–9.

Qaracha Khān—punished for disobedience (925) 390–1; on service (934) 602, (935) 638; his messenger with news of Mahīm's journey 650, 659.

Qārā-gūz Begīm *Arlāt*—her marriage with Nāṣir *Mīrānshāhī* 265.

Qarā-gūz Begīm, see (1) Makhdūma, (2) Rābi'a-sulṭān.

Qarā-qūzī—on Bābur's service (932) 471; in the left-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat 473.

Qārlūghāch Bakhshī kills Mughūl Beg's son (904) 102.

Qashqa Maḥmūd (or Qāshqa), Beg of the Chīrās *tūmān* of Mughūls—sent to help Bābur (906) 138; quarrels with a Begchīk for the military post of honour (907) 155. (He may be "Bābā Qashqa" *q.v.*

Mullā **Qāsim**—building work given to him (935) 642.

Sayyid **Qāsim** (p. 96), see Sayyid Kāmal.

Qāsim-i-'ajab Beg—remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; promoted to beg's rank (904) 104; captured by Ṭambal's men (905) 115–6; released 119.

Qāsim-i-'alī *tariyākī*—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388.

Qāsim Beg *qūchīn*—particulars 26; supports Bābur (899) 30, (900) 43; his appointments 43, 44 (where delete Sayyid as his title); punishes misconducted Mughūls (902) 66–7, 153 and has to leave Bābur (907) 27, 67; on missions (903) 90, (904) 100, 101; remains with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91;

[1] His capture is not recorded.

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defeated by Mughūls (904) 105–6 ; in the centre at Khūbān (905) 113 ; banished from Andijān by 'Alī-dost 119 ; rejoins Bābur for Samarkand 123, (906) 130 ; suspects Banā'ī 136 ; in the centre at Sar-i-pul 139 ; defending Samarkand 141, 142, 143, 144 ; races with Bābur (907) 147 ; advises a tactful gift 150 ; out with Bābur (910) 234 ; rewarded (911) 252 ; goes with a punitive force to Nigr-aū 253 ; a saying of his twisted for ill 254 ; defeats Aūzbegs (912) 295 ; insists in Herāt on ceremony due to Bābur 298 ; angered by Bābur's being pressed to drink wine 304 ; mistaken as to a route 308–9 ; mistakenly compassionate 313 ; allowed to keep his Fifth of spoil (913) 324 ; in the left wing at Qandahār 334, 335 ; wounded 336 ; retainers allotted to him 339 ; his counsel 339–40 ; mediates for suspects (914) 345 ; waits on Bābur returned from Hindūstān (925) 395 ; mediates for Tramontane clans to leave Kābul 402 ; Bābur breaks fast at his house 408 ; his sons Ḥamza, Tīngrī-birdī, Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.* ; his ill-conducted nephew 414 ; a servant 313 ; a father-in-law Banda-i-'alī *q.v.* ; [†928 AH.–1522 AD.].

Qāsim *Duldāī, Barlās Turk* — serving Bāī-sunghar *Mīrān-shāhī* (902) 65 ; joins Bābur 66.

Qāsim-i-husain *Aūzbeg-Shaibān*, son of Qāsim and 'Āyisha-sulṭān *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 267, 298 ; joins Bābur (933) 550 ; at Kānwa 556, 559 ; receives Badāūn 582 ; on service 582, (934) 589, (935) 682 ; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669 ; mentioned 631 n. 4, ☞ 706.

Sayyid **Qāsim** *Jalāīr*—wins the Champion's Portion at Asfara (900) 53 ; takes it at Shāhrukhiya 53 ; stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91 ; joins him for Samarkand (905) 123–4 ; at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) (906) 139 ; his strange doings in Pāp (908) 171 ; his unseasonable arrival in Akhsī 174 ; defeats an Aūzbeg raider (910) 195 ; out with Bābur 234, (925) 403 ; drunk 415 ; Bābur pays him a consolation-visit 418 ; a party in his country-house (926) 420 ; assigned to reinforce Khwājā Kalān in Kābul (935) 647.

Qāsim Khān *Qāzzāq, Jūjī Chīngīz-khānid*—his marriage with Sulṭān-nigār *Chaghatāī* 23 ; his good administration 23–4 ; [†924 AH.–1518 AD.].

Qāsim *Khītka* (?) *Arghūn*, (var. *Jangeh*)—in Akhsī (908) 171.

Qāsim Khwāja—succeeds in his brother Yakka's appointments (935) 674 ; on service 682.

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Qāsim Kūkūldāsh—at a household party (906) 131 (his name is omitted from the Ḥai. MS. f. 83 and from my text); helps Bābur at his mother's burial (911) 246; at Qandahār (913) 335; his Arghūn marriage 342, 199 n. 1, ☞ 443.

Qāsim Mīr-akhwūr—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; on service (933) 548.

Malik **Qāsim** *Mughūl*, brother (p. 568) of Bābā Qashqa—in the right-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat (932) 473, and at Kānwa (933) 568; on service with his brethren (932) 528, (933) 558, 582, (934) 589; his good service near Qanūj and his death 599; his kinsmen, see *s.n.* Bābā Qashqa; [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].

Shāh **Qāsim** *pīāda*—sent on a second mission to Bābur's kinsfolk in Khurāsān (935) 617.

Qāsim *Saṃbhalī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; surrenders 528, 529; sent out of the way before Kānwa (933) 547 (where the Ḥai. MS. adds "Beg", by clerical ? error).

Qāsim Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khānid*—his Bāī-qarā marriage 267; at a reception (912) 298; his son Qāsim-i-ḥusain *q.v.*

Qātāq Begīm, wife of Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 36; of Aḥmad's escape from her dominance 36 n. 1.

Qayyām Beg—Aūrdū (Ūrdū) Shāh—out with Bābur (925) 403; waits on Bābur as Governor of Nīngnahār (926) 421; joins him in Hindūstān (933) 550 (here Qawwām Aūrdū-shāh); at Kānwa 556, 569.

Qāẓī Bihzādī—Bābur forbids unlawful drinks in his house (925) 398.

Qāẓī Ghulām—escapes death by pretending to be a slave (904) 102.

Qāẓī Jīā—waits on Bābur (932) 527; on service 530, (933) 544, (935) 639; joins Bābur 667; on service 668, 682.

Qāẓī of Kābul—waits on Bābur (925) 395.

Qāẓī of Samāna—☞ complains of Mundāhir attack (936) 693, 700.

Qismatāī Mīrzā—on Bābur's service in Hindūstān (932) 474, (933) 545, 546-7, 548; his untimely praise of the Rājpūt army 548, 550.

Qilka *Kāshgharī*—escapes death (904) 102.

Qīzīl *tawāchī*—messenger of Shāh Beg *Arghūn* to Bābur (925) 395.

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Qublāī Khān, great-grandson of Chīngīz Khān—his building at Qarshī 84 n. 2; [†693 AH.–1294 AD.].

Qūch Beg (Qūj), son of Aḥmad *qarāwal*—in the left wing at Khūbān (905) 113; his courage at Bīshkharān 118; leaves Bābur for Ḥiṣār (906) 129; ? reprieved at Qāsim *qūchīn*'s request (914) 345; on Bābur's service (925) 374, (925) 384; at Parhāla 390; comes on summons to Kābul 409; referred to as dead (933) 565; his brother Tardī Beg *q.v.*

Qūch *Arghūn*—allotted in Qalāt to Qāsim *qūchīn* (913) 339.

Qūch Beg *Kohbur Chaghatāī*, son of Ḥaidar-i-qāsim—at Sar-i-pul (906) 139; in Samarkand besieged 142, 143, 144.

Qul-arūk—drowned in the Sind-water (910) 237.

Qul-bāyazīd *bakāwal*—particulars 237; swims the Sind-water (910) 237; at Qandahār (913) 335, 338; his son Tīzak *q.v.*; his tomb near Kābul 198.

Qulī Beg *Arghūn*—known as attached to Bābur (913) 337; returns from an embassy to Kāshghar (925) 415; his brother Aḥmad-'alī Tarkhān *q.v.*

Qūlij Bahādur *Aūzbeg*—mentioned in Ṭahmāsp's *Ṣafawī*'s account of Jām (935) 636 n. 2.

Mīrzā **Qūlī Kūkūldāsh,** see Mīrzā-qulī.

Qulī-muḥammad *Būghdā qūchīn*—particulars 40.

Ustād **Qul-muḥammad** *'Aūdī*—particulars 291; his musical training owed to Nawa'ī 272.

Qul-nachāq—holding Balkh for the Bāī-qarās (912) 294, 296; surrenders it to Shaibānī 300.

Qul-naẓar of Ṭaghāī Beg—sallies out from Samarkand (906) 142; does well 144.

Qurbān *Chīrkhī*—sent into Bhīra (925) 381; a false rumour about him as invited into Balkh (935) 625; gifts to his servants 633; in the battle of the Ghogra 669; on service 678.

Quṣam ibn 'Abbās, one of the Companions—his tomb at Samarkand 75.

Qusum-nāī (?)—on service (932) 534.

Quṭb Khān *Sarwānī*—not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; Mahdī Khwāja sent against him in Etāwa 530; takes Chandwār (933) 557; abandons both places 579, 582; defeated 587.

Khwāja **Quṭbu'd-dīn** *Aūshī* (*Ūshī*)—his birthplace in Farghāna 475 n. 6; Bābur visits his tomb in Dihlī (932) 475; [†633 AH.–1235 AD.].

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Qūtlūq Khwāja Kūkūldāsh—with Bābur in Samarkand (906) 143, 144; host to Bābur (925) 398, 407; held up as an example 406.

Qūtlūq-muḥammad Kūkūldāsh, foster-brother of Daulat-sulṭān Khānīm—brings Bābur letters from Kāshghar (925) 409 (where for "Daulat" read Qūtlūq).

Qūtlūq-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, mother of Bābur—particulars 21; mentioned 17, 19; in Andijān (900) 43; entreats her son's help (903) 88, 89; sent to join him in Khujand 92, and in Aūrā-tīpā (905) 136; her Mughūls rebel (904) 105; with Bābur in Samarkand (906) 136; leaves the town with him (907) 147; hears of a sister's death 148–9; goes to her own family in Tāshkīnt 149; her dangerous illness *ib.*; her safety leaves Bābur free (908) 157, 158; ☞ with him in Sūkh 184; uses his tent in the exodus from Farghāna (910) 188; left in Kāhmard 189; crosses Hindū-kush and rejoins him in Kābul 197; her death (911) 21, 246; her treatment as a refugee in Tāshkīnt (908) contrasted with that of her refugee-relations in Kābul (912) 318; her concern for her son's marriage affairs (905) 120, (910) 48; her old governess 148; [†911 AH.–1505 AD.].

Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal*—out with Bābur (910) 236–7; in the left-centre at Qandahār (913) 335; on service (925) 403, (932) 458, 460, 468, 471, 530; in the left wing at Pānīpat 472 and at Kānwa (933) 567, 570; on service 475; host to Bābur (926) 424; his tomb and bridge near Kābul 198, 204; [†934 AH.–1528 AD. ?].

Qūtlūq-sulṭān Begīm, daughter of Mīrān-shāh son of Tīmūr —wife of Ḥusain *Qānjūt* 256 n. 5.

Rābi'a-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—Qarā-gūz Begīm—daughter of Aḥmad—particulars 13, 35.

Sayyid **Rafī'u'd-dīn** *Ṣafawī* — Mullā Rafī' — mediates for Niẓām Khān with Bābur (933) 539; concocts tonic powders (935) 606; at a feast 631.

Khwāja **Raḥīm-dād,** paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khwāja—receives and obtains possession of Gūālīar (933) 539, 540, 547; his quarters and constructions there (935) 607, 610, 613; Bābur sleeps in his flower-garden 612, 613; action against him as seditious 688–9, (936) 690; his son held as hostage and escapes (935) 688–9; ☞ Ibn Batuta's account

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of him 692 n. 1; ☞ no sequel of his rebellion mentioned in the *Akbar-nāma* 692.

Raḥmat *pīāda*—conveys letters to Kābul (932) 466.

Rāja of Kahlūr—☞ waits on Bābur (936) 699.

Rajab-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48, 49.

Ramẓān *lūlī*—a musician at parties (925) 387, 388.

Rāo *Sarwānī*, see Dāūd.

Sulṭān **Rashīd Khān** *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Sa'īd and Makhtūm *Qālūchī* (T.R. trs. p. 187) — his Qāzzāq marriage 23.

Mr. Thomas **Rastel**—an illustration drawn from his morning-draught recorded [1623 AD.] 395.

Rānā Ratan-sī—successor of his father Sangā in Chītor 613; mentioned in connection with the Khīljī jewels *ib.*; his younger brother Bikramājīt *q.v.*

Rauḥ-dam—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388; in a raft-misadventure 407.

Rawū'ī *Sarwānī* (Rāo)—serving Bābur (933) 538 (here read as Dāūd), (935) 682; host to Bābur (934) 588.

Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) *Aūzbeg*—his defeat by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* (934) 618, 622 (where in n. 1 for "934" read 935 as the date of the battle of Jām); [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].

A **Rūmī** prescribes for Bābur (935) 657, 660.

Rāja **Rūp-narāin**—included in Bābur's Revenue List 521.

Ruqaiya Aghā, wife of Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā*—captured in Herāt and married by Tīmūr *Aūzbeg* 328.

Ruqaiya-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18, 19; [†*cir.* 935 AH.–1528 AD.].

Rūstam-i-'alī *Turkmān*—in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; on service (925) 377, (933) 538; in the *tūlghuma* of the left-wing at Kānwa 568, 569.

Rustam Khān—Ilīās (p. 576)—captures Bābur's commander at Kūl (Koel) (933) 557, 576; captured and flayed alive 576.

Sa'ādat-bakht Begīm—Begīm Sulṭān—*Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain—particulars 266–7.

Nāṣiru'd-dīn **Sabuktīgīn** *Ghaznawī Turk*—the humble status of his capital 217; a legend concerning him 219; his son Maḥmūd *q.v.*; [†387 AH.–997 AD.].

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Sadharān *Tānk Rājpūt*—his acceptance of Islām 481 n. 5.

Pahlawān **Ṣādiq**—made to wrestle (935) 650; forbidden as an antagonist 653; wrestles 688.

Mullā **Sa'du'd-dīn Mas'ūd** *Taftazānī*—a descendant of 283; [†792 AH.–1390 AD.].

Sulṭān **Sa'īd Khān** *Ghāzī, Chaghatāī Chīnqīz-khānid*, son of Aḥmad—particulars 698 nn. 2, 3, 349; meets Bābur (908) 159; stays with him in Kābul (914) 318, 349–50; receives Andijān from him (916) 318, 357; loyal to him 344 n. 2, ☞ 351–2; sends an envoy to him (917) 22; Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt* goes from Bābur to Sa'īd (918) 362; two kinswomen take refuge with him (923 and 924) 24 (where in n. 1 *delete* the second sentence); reported to have designs on Badakhshān (925) 412; an envoy to him returns 415; ☞ named as a principal actor between 926 and 932 AH. 427; writes and sends gifts to Bābur (932) 446; ☞ invades Badakhshān (936) 695–6; ☞ gist of a letter from Bābur to him 697–8; ☞ Bābur moves menacingly for the North-west 698; his full-brother Khalīl, his son Rashīd, his wife Ḥabība, and *kūkūldāsh* Yāngī Beg *q.v.*; [†939 AH.–1533 AD.].

Sa'īdlīq Sa'd *Turkmān*—defeated by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (873?) 260.

Saif-i-'alī Beg *Bahārlū Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān*, father of Bairām Khān-i-khānān—particulars 91 n. 3.[1]

Maulānā **Saifī** *Bukhārī*—'Arūẓī—particulars 288; [†909 AH.–1503–4 AD.].

Saif Khān *Nūḥānī*, son of Daryā Khān—deserts 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 457.

Saifu'd-dīn Aḥmad, Shaikhu'l-islām in Herāt—particulars 283; takes the keys of Herāt to Shaibānī (913) 328; his pupil Muḥammad-i-yūsuf *q.v.*; killed by Shāh Ismā'īl 283; [†916 AH.–1510 A.D.].

Ḥājī **Saifu'd-dīn Beg,** ? uncle of Tīmūr—his descendant Walī Beg 272.

Sakma *Mughūl*—rebels against Bābur (914) 345.

Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn (Silhādī)—particulars 562 n. 3, 614 n. 2; his force at Kānwā (933) 562; attack on him planned and abandoned (934) 598; Bābur visits village near his birthplace (935) 614; mentioned 628 n. 2.

[1] He joined Bābur with his father Yār-i-'alī *Balāl* (*q.v.*) in 910 AH. (Blochmann's Biographies, A.-i-A. trs. 315).

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Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī*, daughter of Maḥmūd and Pasha, wife of Bābur—(name not now in the Turkī text) 47 ; ☞ the likelihood that she and "Dil-dār" were one 713 (where read Ṣāliḥa).

Ṣāliḥa-sulṭān *Mīrān-shāhī*—Āq Begīm—daughter of Aḥmad and Qātāq—particulars 35 ; gifts from her wedding reach Bābur (900) 43.

Salīma-sulṭān Begīm—☞ her parentage 713.

Sulṭān **Sālīm** *Rūmī*—takes Badī'u-z-zamān *Bāī-qarā*, a captive, to Constantinople (920) 327 n. 5 ; ☞ defeats Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* at Chāldirān (920) 443, 469 ; [†926 AH.–1520 AD.].

Ṣamad *Mīnglīghī*—wounded and dies 106 ; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.].

Mehtar **Saṃbhal,** slave of Shāh Beg *Arghūn* — particulars 338 n. 2 ; captured at Qandahār and escapes (913) 338 ; ☞ Commānder in Qandahār and revictuals it for Shāh Beg 432.

Sulṭān **Sanjar** *Barlās Turk*, son of 'Abdu'l-lāh — incites a Mughūl revolt in Kābul (912) 313–17 ; spared on family grounds 317.

Sulṭān **Sanjar Mīrzā** *Mervī* — his daughter Bega Sulṭān Begīm's Bāī-qarā marriage (*cir.* 860) 267.

Rānā **Sangā** *Mewārī*—particulars 483, 558 n. 2 ; his capture of Chanderī 593 ; proffers Bābur co-operation against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* (931?) 426, 529 ; fails him (932) 529 ; takes Kandār 530, 539 ; Bābur's attack on him deferred 530–1 and determined (933) 538 ; his strength and approach 544, 547 ; defeated at Kānwa 559–574 ; escapes 576 ; references to the battle 267, 533, 579, 582, 583, 599, 600, 630 n. 4, 637, 663 ; his lands not invaded, on climatic grounds 577, 578 ; Bābur's planned attack on him in Chītor frustrated (934) 598 ; his wife Padmāwatī and sons Ratan-sī and Bikramājīt *q.v.* ; his trusted man Medinī Rāo *q.v.* ; [†934 AH.–1528 AD.].[1]

Sangur Khān *Janjūha*—waits on Bābur (925) 383 ; on service 389, 419 ; killed in a sally from Bīāna 548 ; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Mīr **Sar-i-barhana,** see Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad.

Sārīgh-bāsh Mīrza *Itārachī*—sent by The Khān (Maḥmūd) to help Bābur (908) 161, 170.

Mullā **Sarsān**—Kāmrān's messenger and custodian of Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* son (933) 544.

[1] Concerning the date of his death, see Additional Notes under p. 603.

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Sar-u-pā *Gujūr*—Bābur's guide to Parhāla (925) 389, 391.

Satrvī Kachī—his force at Kānwa (933) 562.

Sulṭān **Sātūq-būghra Khān Ghāzī Pādshāh** (b. 384 AH.–994 AD.).—a surmised descendant 29 n. 8; his style Pādshāh 344 n. 2.

Sayyid Amīr, see Nūru'd-dīn *Chaghanīānī.*

Sayyid Dakkanī—Shāh Ṭāhir *Khwāndī Dakkani*—present at a feast (935) 631.[1]

Sayyid Daknī *Shīrāzī*, or Ruknī, or Zaknī—receives honours and orders (935) 619; on his name and work *ib.* n. 2, 634 n. 1; (see *supra*).

Sayyidī Beg Ṭaghāī, see Sherīm Ṭaghāī.

Sayyidīm 'Alī *darbān* (? Muhammad-'alī), son of Bābā 'Alī Beg—particulars 307; serving Khusrau Shāh (901) 60–1; leads the Rustā-hazāra to join Bābur (910) 196; a follower punished 197; takes Bāī-qarā service (912) 307; drowned by Badī'u'z-zamān 307–8; [†*cir.* 913 AH.–1507 AD.].

Sayyid Mashhadī (var. Masnadī)—brings Bābur news of Khwāja Raḥīmdād's sedition (935) 688.

Sayyid Mīrzā *Andikhūdī*, ? brother of Apāq Begīm—his two Bāī-qarā marriages 267.

Sayyid Rūmī—at a feast (935) 631.

Sayyid Ṭabīb *Khurāṣānī*—attends Bābur's mother (911) 247.

Shād Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—particulars 263–4; her husband 'Ādil Sulṭān *Aūzbeg q.v.*

Shādī, a reciter—his son Ghulām-i-shadī 292.

Shādī Khān *Kīwī Afghān*—fights and submits to Bābur (910) 233.

Shādmān *chuhra*—wrestles (935) 660.

Shāh Bābā *bīldār*—entrusted with building work (935) 642.

Shah-bāz *qalandar*—his tomb destroyed by Bābur (925) 377.

Shah-bāz *Qārlūq*—serving Tambal (908) 170.

Shāh Beg *Arghūn*—Shuja' Beg—son of Ẕū'n-nūn—his close association with his father 274; mentioned as with him in Qandahār (902) 71, (910) 198, 227; they give refuge to

[1] Since my text was printed, my husband has lighted upon what shows that the guest at the feast was an ambassador sent by Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar to congratulate Bābur on his conquest of Dihlī, namely, Shāh Ṭāhir the apostle of Shiism in the Dakkan. He is thus distinguished from Sayyid Daknī, (Ruknī, Zaknī) *infra* and my text needs suitable correction. (See Add. Notes under p. 631 for further particulars of the Sayyid and his embassy.)

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Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāī-qarā* (902) 71, (913) 307; act with the Mīrzā (903) 94, 95; favoured by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 264; his dominance *ib.*; proffers and renounces co-operation with Bābur against Shaibānī (913) 330, 331–2; loses Qandahār to him 337–8; ☞ released from Ṣafawī imprisonment by his slave Saṃbhal's devotion (917) 338 n. 2, 365; news of his taking Kāhān reaches Bābur (925) 395; his interpretation of Bābur's reiterated attack on Qandahār 365, ☞ 427; other suggestions for the attack of 926 AH. 430; ☞ action of his checks an expedition into Hindūstān (926) 428, 429, 430; ☞ his position and political relations 429; Bābur's campaign against Qandahār (926–928) 366, 430–436, App. J. xxxiv; ☞ final surrender to Bābur (928) *ib.*; ☞ his death 437, 443; his son Shāh Ḥasan, brother Muḥammad Muqīm, slave Mehtar, commissary Qīzīl *q.v.*; [†930 AH.–1524 AD. ?].

Shāh Begīm *Badakhshī*, wife of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāī*—particulars 22–3; visited by Bābur (903) 92, (907) 149, (908) 157; delays to accept his plans 158; meets her younger son Aḥmad 159; ☞ ordered by Shaibānī to stay in Tāshkīnt 184; comes to Bābur in Kābul (911) 246; disloyal (912) 317; his reflections on her conduct 318–9; goes to Badakhshān (913) 21, 35, 341; captured by Abā-bikr *Kāshgharī*; her sons Maḥmūd and Aḥmad, her daughter Daulat-sulṭān, her nephews Sanjar *Barlās*; her grandsons Mīrzā Khān and Sa'īd (and his brothers) *q.v.*

Shāh-i-gharīb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥusain and Khadīja—particulars 261, 268; his retainer Āhī the poet 289 n. 3; [†902 AH.–1496–7 AD.—Ḥ.S. lith. ed. iii, 260].

Shāhī *qalandar*—plays the *ribāb* (925) 417.

Shāhī *tamghāchī*—appointed clerk (935) 629.

Shāhīm (Shāh Muḥammad ?)—sent for news (932) 454; climbs into Chanderī (934) 595 (here *yūz-bāshī*); his brother Nūr Beg *q.v.*

Shahīm-i-nāṣir—one of eight fugitives from Akhsī (908) 177.

Shāh-jahān Pādshāh *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—☞ 184; his imitation of Bābur (1030) 298 n. 3; ☞ his work in Bābur's burial-garden 710, App. V, lxxx, [†1076 AH.–1666 AD.].

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Shāh Muhammad *muhrdār*, son of Bābā Qashqa—on Bābur's service (925) 388, (935) 688; his kinsmen *see s.n.* Bābā Qashqa; [†958 AH.–1551 AD.].[1]

Shāh-qulī *ghichakī*—a guitar-player—particulars 291.

Shāh-qulī *Kūl-ābī*—goes into Ḥiṣāt (935) 640; his brother Wais *q.v.*

Shāh-qulī, ? servant of Div Sulṭān (p. 635)—sent to give Bābur a report of the battle of Jām (935) 649; conveys from Bābur an acceptance of excuse to Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* 649.

Shahrak—conveys letters and a copy of Bābur-nāma writings (935) 652, 653.

Shahr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—particulars 268; married to Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (*cir.* 873) and divorced (876) 21 n. 1, 268.

Shahr-bānū Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī*, (*ut supra*), daughter of 'Umar Shaikh, wife of Junaid *Barlās*—particulars 18.

Shāhrūkh Mīrza *Barlās Turk*, son of Tīmūr—mentioned in a genealogy 14; ruling in Herāt when Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* was born there (842) 256; his wazīr serves Ḥusain (after 873) 281; [†850 AH.–1447 AD.].

Shāhrukh-Sulṭān *Afshār Turk*—commands a reinforcement for Bābur from Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* (917) 354.

Shāh Ṣufī—does well in Samarkand (906) 144.

Shāh Sulṭān Begīm (? *Arghun*), wife of Ābū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī* and mother of 'Umar Shaikh — her parentage not stated 13 n. 5,[2] 45 n. 1; goes from Akhsī to Andijān when widowed (899) 32; a mediator (905) 113; her death announced (907) 149; [†906 AH.–1501 AD.].

Shāh-suwār *Mughūl*—fights in single combat (904) 106.

Shāh Ṭahir *Khwāndī Dakkanī*, see Sayyid Dakkanī.

Shāh-zāda, ? Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn*—(926) 417, 418.

Shāh-zādā *Mungīrī*, son of Naṣrat Shāh — negociates with Bābur (935) 676 (where the note reference "5" should follow Mungir).

Shaibak *pīāda*—brings news of Hind-āl's birth (925) 385.

A **Shaibān-Aūzbeg Sulṭān's** marriage 23.

[1] For further particulars see Add. Note under p. 688.
[2] For "H.S. ii" read iii (as also in some other places).

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Muḥammad **Shaibānī Khān** — Shaibāq Khān [1] — *Aūzbeg-Shaibān Chīngīz-khānid* — his relations with Ḥamza and Mahdī Sulṭāns *q.v.*; invited to help Bāī-sunghar (903) 73; raids Shīrāz 92; defeats Tarkhāns in Dabūsī (905) 40, 124, (906) 137; takes Bukhārā 125; is given Samarkand by 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* 125; murders the Mīrzā (906) 128; his men murder Khwāja Yaḥyā and two sons 128; loses Samarkand by Bābur's surprise attack 131, 132, 134; Bābur's comparison of this capture with Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* of Herāt 135; Bābur's estimate of Shaibāni's position 137–8; defeats Bābur at Sar-i-pul (Khwāja Kārdzan) 138–141; besieges Samarkand and effects its surrender (906) 142–7; receives an envoy from Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* 145; crosses the frozen Saihūn and raids Shahrukhiya 151; plunders Aūrā-tīpā 152–3; referred to (908) 158, 168; invited into Farghāna 172; defeats the Chaghatāī Khāns and Bābur at Archīān 18, ☞ 183; captures Andijān (909?) 192; beheads Walī *Qībchāq* (910) 196; takes Khwārizin (911) 242, 255–6; co-operation against him invited by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* (910) 190, (911) 255; his men beaten in Badakhshān (911–2) 294–5; takes Balkh 300; his capture of Herāt (913) 263, 275, 296–7, 325–330; besieges Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* in Qandahār and retires 339–40, 343; a recognized menace to Kābul 21 n. 4; 340, 342; orders Sa'īd *Chaghatāī's* death (914) 349; ☞ murders Chaghatāī and Dughlāt chiefs 350; war begun with Shāh Ismā'īl (915) 350; defeated and killed at Merv 350; his wives Mihr-nigār *Chaghatāī*, Khān-zāda *Mīrān-shāhī*, Zuhra *Aūzbeg q.v.*; his sons Tīmūr and Khurram *q.v.*; Banā'ī his retainer (906) 136; creates a Tarkhān 133; [†915 AH.–Dec. 1510 AD.].

Shaikhī—receives gifts (935) 633.

Shaikhīm Beg, amīr and poet of Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*—particulars 277, 286; [†918 AH.–1512–3 AD.].

Shaikhīm Mīrzā *Aūzbeg* — holding Qarshī for his nephew 'Ubaidu'l-lāh (918) 360.

Shaikhīm *mīr-shikār*—loses one of Bābur's good hawks (925) 394.

Shaikhī *nāyī*, flautist in Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā's* Court—particulars 291; owed his training to Nawā'ī 272.

[1] Down to p. 131 the Ḥai. MS. uses the name Shaibānī or Shaibānī Khān; from that page onwards it writes Shaibāq Khān, in agreement with the Elphinstone MS. —Other names found are *e.g.* Gulbadan's Shāhī Beg Khān and Shah-bakht. (My note 2 on p. 12 needs modification.)

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Shaikh **Sharaf** *Qarā-bāghī*—his arrest for sedition (935) 687–8.

Shaikh **Sharafu'd-dīn** *Munīrī* — his father Shaikh Yaḥyā *Chishtī* 666; his writings read aloud to Akbar 666 n. 7; [†782 AH.–1380 AD.].

Shāmī (Syrian)—deserts from Qandahār (913) 343.

Sher-afgan, brother of Ṭardī and Qūj Begs—on Bābur's service (933) 538.

Sher-i-aḥmad—belittled as good company (935) 648.

Sherak Beg *Arghun* (var. Sher, Sherka) — serving Muqīm *Arghūn* (910) 195; defeated and takes service with Bābur 196, 198; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335.

Sher-i-'alī *Aūghlān*,[1] *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khanīd*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Sher-i-'alī *chuhra* (a brave?)—deserts Bābur (906) 129; put to death under suspicion (911) 248.

Mīr **Sher Ḥājī Beg** *Kūnjī Mughūl*—his daughter's marriage with Yūnas Khān 20 (where for "'Alī-sher" read Sher Ḥājī).

Sherīm (Sher-i-muhammad?) *chuhra*, a brave?—defends Ḥiṣār (910) 244; killed at Qūndūz *ib.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

Sherīm Ṭaghāī *Kūnjī Mughūl*—Ṭaghāī Beg—maternal uncle of Bābur's mother—supports Bābur (899) 29, (903) 91, 98; captured by Tambal (905) 110; released 119; in Samarkand (906) 141, 143, 188; Bābur's reflections on his conduct 141, 188; thinks of leaving Bābur (910) 188; on his service 194, 197, 234; loses an index-finger 235; his post against rebels (912) 314; an opinion on game (*kiyīk*) (913) 325; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334, 337; counsels a retreat to Badakhshān from Kābul 340; ☞ disloyal (916) 351; heads Mughūl revolt in Ghaznī (921) 363; defeated 364, 397; takes refuge with Bābur 364; his son Tūqā *q.v.*; his (and other) abbreviated names 29 n. 2.

Sherīm Ẓikr Beg—put to death in Kābul under 'Abdu'r-razzāq (909?) 195 n. 3.

Sher Khān *Lūdī Afghān*, son of 'Ālam Khān—on his father's service (932) 455.

Sher Khān Sūr *Afghān*—Farīd Khān—Sher Shāh—favoured by Bābur (934) 652; serving Maḥmūd *Lūdī* (935) 652; co-guardian of Jalāl Khān *Nūḥānī* with Dūdū Bībī 652 n. 1, 664 n. 2; writes dutifully to Bābur 659; his training, cog-

[1] The title "Aūghlān" (child, boy) indicates that the bearer died without ruling.

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nomen and one of his marriages 664 n. 2, 659 n. 4; his victory over Humāyūn (1540) 652 n. 3.

Sher Khān *Tarkalānī*—host to Bābur (926) 424.

Sher-qulī *qarāwal Mughūl*—loyal to Bābur (912) 315; at Qandahār (913) 333, 335; rebels (914) 345.

Bābā **Sher-zād,** *see* Bābā Sher-zād.

Mullā **Shams**—very riotous (932) 453.

Sulṭān **Shamsu'd-dīn** *Āīltmīsh*[1] (*Altamsh*) of the Slave dynasty in Dihlī—his buildings in Gūālīār 610, 611; [†633 AH.–1236 AD.].

Sayyid **Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad**—Mīr Sar-i-barahna—particulars 280.

Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad—bearer of letters between Khwāja Kalān and Bābur (935) 644, 645, 649.

Maulānā **Shihāb** *mu'ammāī*—arrives in Āgra from Herāt (935) 605; invited in verse by Bābur 683; [†942 AH.–1535 AD.].

Khusrau's **Shihabu'd-dīn**—on Bābur's service (935) 689, (936) 690.

Shaikh **Shihābu'd-dīn** *'Arab*—at a feast (935) 631.

Mu'ẓẓu'd-dīn **Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad** *Ghūrī*—his capital Ghaznī 217; mentioned as a conqueror of Hindūstān 479; his position contrasted with Bābur's 479–80, 481; [†602 AH.–1206 AD.].

Shāh **Sikandar**—on Bābur's service (932–3) 546; sent to Bihār (935) 664.

Sikandar-i-Filkūs—Alexander of Macedon—Badakhshī chiefs claim of descent from him 22; a surmise that he founded Samarkand 75; his supposition that the Indus was the Nile a probable root of a geographical crux 206 n. 3; [†327 B.C.].

Sulṭān **Sikandar Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, nephew of Ḥusain—parentage 257; his wife Sulṭān-niẓhad *q.v.*; [†908 AH.–1502–3 AD.].

Sulṭān **Sikandar** *Lūdī Afghān*, son of Buhlūl—over-lord in Bhīra (910) 382, 383; his treasure 470, exhausted (935) 617; his siege of Gūālīār 477; his capture of Jūnpūr and Dihlī (881) 481, 571 n. 5; Bābur visits his tomb (932) 476; his brother 'Ālam Khān and sons Ibrāhīm and Maḥmūd *q.v.*; ☞ his death and its date 427 and n. 3; [†923 AH.–1517 AD.].

[1] This cognomen was given because the bearer was born during an eclipse of the moon (*āī*, moon and the root *al* taking away); *see* Badāyūnī Bib. Ind. ed. i, 62.

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Sikandar Shāh *Gujrātī* — his accession and murder 534–5 (where for "2nd" read 932); [†932 AH.–1526 AD.].

Sīktū *Hindū*—father of Dīwa *q.v.*

Sīūndūk *Turkmān*—his hands frost-bitten (912) 311; in the centre at Qandahār (913) 335; rebels against Bābur (914) 355.

Sīūnjuk Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān, Chīngīz-khānid*, son of Abu'l-khair—☞ besieges Tāshkīnt (918) 358, 396; his son Bārāq at Jām (935) 622.

Sohrāb Mīrzā *Bāī-qarā*, son of Abū-turāb—particulars 262.

The **Spanish Ambassadors**—the place of their first interview with Tīmūr 78 n. 2.

Sulaimān—offers his horse to a wounded man (908) 175.

Sulaimān Āqā *Turkmān* — envoy of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* to Bābur (933) 540, 583; in the right wing at Kānwa 566.

Sulaimān Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Mīrzā Khān (Wais)[1]—☞ brought to Kābul on his father's death (927) 433 n. 1; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, and at Kānwa (933) 565; ☞ sent to govern Badakhshān (936) 697–8, 699; ☞ Bābur's protective warning to Sa'īd *Chaghatāī* 697–8 (here styled Shāh Mīrzā); on his descent 698 nn. 2, 3; meets his rebel grandson Shāhrukh (*cir.* 983) 191 n. 2; [†997 AH.–1589 AD.].

Mīān **Sūlaimān Shaikh-zāda** *Farmūlī Afghān* — reinforces 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* (932) 456; gives him 4 *laks* 457; Bābur dismounts at his Dihlī home 476.

Malik Shāh **Sulaimān** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān* — murdered by Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī* App. K, xxxvi; his sons Manṣūr and Ṭāūs, his nephew Aḥmad *q.v.*

Sulṭān-bakht Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Abū-sa'īd—her daughter visited by Bābur (935) 616.

Sulṭānīm Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), daughter of Aḥmad and Qātāq—particulars 36.

Sultānīm Begīm *Bāī-qarā* (*ut supra*), daughter of Ḥusain and Chūlī Begīm—particulars 265; arrives in Kābul (925) 397; dies on her way to Āgra (933) 265; her husbands Wais *Bāī-qarā* and 'Abdu'l-bāqī *Mīrān-shāhī*, her son Muḥammad

[1] Here *delete* "Sulṭān-nigar Khānīm", who was his grandmother and not his mother.

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Sulṭān Mīrzā and grandson Aūlūgh Mīrzā (265 n. 5) *q.v.*; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Sulṭān Malik *Kāshgharī, Duldāī Barlās Turk* — his sons Ḥāfiz Muḥammad and Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg, his brother Jānī Beg *q.v.*

Sulṭān-nigār Khānīm *Chaghatāī Chingīz-khānid*, daughter of Yūnas Khān and Shāh Begīm—particulars 23; long parted from a half sister (907) 149; meets her brother Aḥmad (908) 159; mentioned in Bābur's reflection on disloyal kinsfolk (912) 318; writes to him from Kāshghar (932) 446 n. 2; her son Wais [Mīrzā Khān] and grandson Sulaimān *q.v.*[1]; [†934 AH.–1527–8 AD.].

Sulṭān-niẕhād Begīm *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Ḥusain and Pāpā—particulars 266; her husband Sikandar *Bāī-qarā q.v.*

Sultān-qulī and Sulṭān 'Alī, see Bābā-qulī and Bābā 'Alī.

Sulṭān-qulī *chūnāq, Mughūl*—his fidelity (904) and treachery(?) (914 and 921) 105, 109 n. 5; falls into a pit outside Kābul (910) 198; does a bold deed 236; out with Bābur (911) 252–3; rejoins Bābur from Herāt (913) 330–1; in the Mughūl rebellion at Ghaznī (921) 364 n. 1.

Sulṭān **Suyūrghatmish Mīrzā** *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Shāh-rukh—mentioned in his son Mas'ūd's genealogy 382.

Ṭaghāī Beg, see Sherīm Ṭaghāī.

Ṭaghāī Shāh *bakhshī*—put in charge of Shāh Beg's treasury (913) 338.

Tāham-tan *Turkmān*—particulars 279; his grandson Muḥammad-i-zamān *q.v.*

Ṭāhir Beg *Dūldāī Barlās Turk*, son of Ḥāfiẓ-i-muḥammad—joint governor of Mīrzā Khān (905) 122; feeds the famished Bābur (907) 148.

Ṭāhir *tībrī*—finds Ibrāhīm *Lūdī's* body (932) 475; surprised by Rājpūts (933) 549.

Shāh-zāda[2] **Ṭahmāsp** *Ṣafawī 'Arab*, son of Ismā'īl—☞ mentioned as reigning from 930–932 AH. 427; Bābur's envoy to him (930) returns with gifts (933) 540, 560 n. 2, 538, ☞ 712; his campaigns against the Aūzbegs (934) 618, (935) the battle of Jām 617 n. 3, 622–4 (where on p. 622 n. 1 read 935

[1] On p. 433 n. 1 her name is mistakenly entered as that of Sulaimān's mother.

[2] Concerning this title, see Add. Notes under p. 540.

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for "934"), 625 n. 4, 635–6; his own account of the battle 635–6; desires peace 639 n. 3; his envoys in Āgra 630, 632; his friendship enjoined on Kāmrān 645; [†984 AH.–1576 AD.].

Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī Afghān* — sends Bābur news that Maḥmūd *Ḷūdī's* army has broken up (935) 654; waits on Bābur 657; brings news which prevents hunting 658; sent on service 682; superseded in Chunār by Junaid *Barlās* 683.

Tāju'd-dīn Maḥmūd *Arghūn* — holding Qalāt for Muqīm (913) 339; waits on Bābur (925) 418.

Sultān Aḥmad **Tambal** *Itārachī Mughūl*—with Bābur at Asfara (900) 53; wounded near Samarkand (902) 67; promoted (903) 86; deserts Bābur under privation 86, 87; joins Aūzūn Ḥasan in supporting Jahāngīr in Farghāna 87–8; induces The Khān (Maḥmūd) to withdraw support from Bābur 91; his tyranny (904) 100–1; brings Jahāngīr against Bābur in Marghīnān 101; his men drubbed out of Akhsī and defeated at the ferry 101–2; loses Andijān 103; is joined by anxious Mughūls 105; takes Jahāngīr against Andijān and retires 106–7; Bābur's campaign against him (905) 108–110, 112–5; defeated at Khūbān 113; helped feebly by The Khān 115–6; opposes Bābur at Archīān 117 and at Bīshkārān 118; terms made 118–9; waits on Bābur 119; his ill-influence 119, 125; makes Qambar-i-'alī prisoner 124; deserters to him 118, 125, 156; moves against The Khān (906) 145, 154; an uncle's rough comment on him 145; is sent Nūyān's sword by Bābur (907) 150–1; conspiracy against him 154; the two Khāns join Bābur against him (908) 161–176; wounds Bābur with Nūyān's sword 166–7, 396; terms with him repudiated by Bābur 169, 171; invites Shaibānī into Farghāna 172; occupies Akhsī citadel 173; left by Jahāngīr 173–174; mentioned to Bābur in the flight from Akhsī 178, 182; ☞ helped by Shaibānī 183; defeated by him and killed 244 and n. 3; a couplet of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's about him 289; his brothers Beg Tīlba, Khalīl, Muḥammad and Bāyazīd *q.v.*; [†909 AH.–1504 AD.].

Tāng-ātmīsh Sulṭān *Aūzbeg-Shaibān ?*—at a feast (935) 631; his descent 631 n. 4; in the battle of the Ghogrā 669.

Tardī Beg, brother of Qūj (Qūch) and Sher-afgān—in the left centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473, and at Kānwa (933) 565; on service 538–9, 582, (934) 590, 602; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Tardī Beg *khāksār*—Bābur visits him (925) 417–8; makes verse dropping down the Kābul-river (932) 448; praises a

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spring and receives a district 467, 581; returns to the darwesh-life (933) 583; conveys a gift to Kāmrān in Qandahār 583.

Tardīka—Tardi *yakka* (568 n. 1)—on service (932) 462; in the right wing [*tūlghuma*] at Kānwa (933) 568, 579; joins Bābur at Dugdugī (935) 651; on service 678.

Tardī-muḥammad *Jang-jang*, son of Muḥammad *Jang-jang*—sent into Bhīra (935) 661, 664.

Tardī-muḥammad *Qībchāq*—at entertainments (925) 386, 400.

Tarkhān Begīm *Arghūn Chīngīz-khānid*, daughter of 'Abdu'l-'alī—particulars 36.

Tarsam Bahādur—punishes the Mundāhirs (936) 700–1.

Tarsūn-muḥammad Sulṭān—serving Humāyūn (935) 640.

Malik **Ṭāūs** *Yūsuf-zāī Afghān*—escorts his sister Mubāraka to her wedding with Bābur (925) 375.

Tātār Khān *Kākār* (or *Gakar*)—particulars 387; detains one travelling to Bābur (925) 386; killed by his cousin Hātī 387, 389; Bābur dismounts at his house in Pauhāla 390; [†925 AH.–1519 AD.].

Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī Afghān*—Khān-i-jahān—in Gūālīār and not submissive to Bābur (932) 523; surrenders (933) 539–40; on Bābur's service (935) 582 (here Khān-i-jahān).

Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khail Lūdī Afghān*—particulars 382, 383; his son Daulat Khān *q.v.*; [†a few years before 910 AH.–1504–5 AD.].

Amīr **Tīmūr Beg** *Barlās Turk*—Ṣaḥib-i-qirān—mentioned in genealogies 14, 256; his birthplace Kesh 83; Samarkand his capital 75, 77, 78; his description of Soghd 84; his removal of the body of Sayyid Barka to Samarkand 266 n. 4; circumambulates Shaikh Māṣlaḥat's tomb (790) 132 n. 2; and Aḥmad *Yassawī's* (799) 356; captures of Qarshī 134 n. 1; his example followed in the bestowal of Farghāna 14; his gifts of the governments of Dihlī 487 and Samarkand 85; his descendants styled Mīrzā down to 913 AH. 344; Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* the best swordsman of his line 259 and greatest in his lands 191; a descendant 567; favoured begs 19, 39; one of his old soldiers 150; a descendant effects the migration of fowlers to Multān 225; Bābur's victory where his had been at Pul-i-sangīn 352; his and his descendants rule in Hindūstān 382; their loss of lands to the Aūzbegs 340; his builders and Bābur's numerically compared 520; [†807 AH.–1405 AD.].

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Tīmūr 'Uṣmān *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*—mentioned 280.

Tīngrī-bīrdī *Bashaghī* (?) *Mughūl*—in the left wing [*tūlghumā*] at Pānīpat (932) 473.

Tīngrī-bīrdī Beg, son of Qāsim *qūchīn*—helps to beat down snow for a road (912) 308–9; in the left wing at Qandahār (913) 334, 336; his servant at Bajaur (925) 361; entertains Bābur 401; returns to his districts Khwāst and Andar-āb 403; overtakes Bābur at Jūī-shāhī 410; acts swiftly for him (932–3) 546.

Tīngrī-qūlī, a musician—plays at Bābur's entertainments (925) 385, 386, 388; upset into the Parwān-water 407; first given wine 415.

Tīrahī Sulṭān—takes a letter to Khwāja Kalān (925) 411.

Mullā **Tirik-i-'alī** (= Pers. Jān-i-'alī ?)—fights for Bābur at Bajaur (925) 368 and (on his name) n. 5; on service (933) 551 (where read Tirik).

Tīzak, son of Qūl-i-bāyazīd *bakāwal*—captured as a child and kept 4 years (910) 197.

Ṭūfān *Arghūn*—joins Bābur and so creates a good omen (913) 333.

Sayyid **Ṭufān**—on Bābur's service (932) 453.

Tūghlūq-tīmūr Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Tūka *Hindū* (var. Nau-kār)—given charge of gifts for Kābul (932) 525.

Tūkhtā-būghā Sulṭān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Aḥmad (Alacha Khān)—waits on Bābur (934) 601; at a feast (935) 631; referred to as serving Bābur 318; works magic 654; in the battle of the Ghogrā 672, 673; receives praise, thanks, and guerdon 674, 677; on service 682; [†*cir.* 940 AH.–1533–4 AD.].

Tūlik Kūkūldāsh[1]—Tambal strikes him with Bābur's sword (912) 316; defeats Aūzbegs in Badakhshān (925) 408; on Humāyūn's service (935) 640; his servant Barlās Jūkī *q.v.*

Tūlmīsh *Aūzbeg*—in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 669; on service 678.

Tūlūn Khwāja Beg, *Bārīn Mughūl*—particulars 87; on Bābur's service (902) 66, (903) 88; killed 88; [†903 AH.–1498 AD.].

[1] He may be the Tūlik Khān *qūchīn* of the *Ma'asiru'l-umrā* i, 475.

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Tūn-sulṭān (var. Yūn) *Mughūl—ghūnchachī* of 'Umar Shaikh 24.

Tūqā Beg, son of Sherīm Ṭaghāī — captured by Tambal when serving Bābur (904) 106; killed as a prisoner 107; [†904 AH.–1499 AD.],

Khwāja **'Ubāidu'l-lāh** *Aḥrārī Naqshbandī* — his righteous influence in Samarkand 42; his intervention for peace between 'Umar Shaikh and kinsmen 62 and n. 1; Pashāghar once his village 97; disciples named by Bābur, Aḥmad and 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*, Darwesh Beg Tarkhān, and Maulānā-i-qāzī *q.v.*; held in slight esteem by Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 46; his family ill-treated by Maḥmūd (899) 41; dreamed of by Bābur (906) 132; his *Wālidiyyah-risāla* versified by Bābur 619–20, 468 n. 4, ☞ 604; his sons [Muḥammad 'Ubaidu'l-lāh] Khwājakā Khwāja and Yaḥya *q.v.*; [†895 AH.–1491 AD.].

'Ubaidu'l-lāh Sulṭān Khān *Aūzbeg, Shaibānī Chīngīz-khānid,* son of Maḥmūd and nephew of Shaibānī—defeats two pairs of Bāī-qarā Mīrzās (913) 263, 329–30; defeated at Merv (917) 354; defeated north of Bukhārā *ib.*; his vow and return to obedience 348, 356; victorious over Bābur at Kūl-i-malik (918) 201 n. 7, 357–8; routs Najm Ṣānī at Ghaj-davān 360–1; avenges Mughūl tyranny in Ḥiṣār 362; attacks Herāt (927) 434; takes Merv (932) 534, 617 n. 2; takes Mashhad (933) 534, 623 n. 3; attacked by Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī* (934) 618, 622; defeated at Jām (935) 622 (where in n. 1 for "934" read 935), 635–6; Ṭahmāsp's description of him 636 n. 2[1]; his wives by capture Ḥabība *Dūghlāt* and Mihr-angez *Bāī-qarā q.v.*; [†946 AH.–1539 AD.].

Rāwāl **Ūdai-singh** *Bāgarī*—his force at Kānwa (933) 562; his death 573; [†933 AH.–1527 AD.].

Ūlugh, Ūlūs, see Aūlūgh, Aūlūs.

Mīr **'Umar Beg** *Turkmān*—particulars 279; his sons Abū'l-fatḥ and 'Alī Khān *q.v.*

'Umar Mīrzā *Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk,* son of Mīrān-shāh—mentioned 262 n. 3.

'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā I, son of Tīmūr—mentioned 14 (where in l. 3 for "and" read who); receives Farghāna 14; [†797 AH.–1395 AD.].

[1] Ḥaidar Mīrzā gives an interesting account of his character and attainments (T.R. trs. p. 283).

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'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā II *Mīrān-shāhī*, father of Bābur—particulars 16–19, 24–28; his lands 17, 24, 50, 55, 95 n. 2, 103; Akhsī his capital 10; his ambition 12; his family relations 12; betroths Bābur 35, 120; Farghāna invaded (899) 13; his death 13, 29, 32, App. A, i, iii; his house used by Bābur (908) 172 and his tomb visited (900) 54, (908) 173; his mother Shāh Sulṭān Begīm *q.v.*; his retainers Tūlūn Khwāja, 'Abdu'l-wahhāb, Khwājakī Khwāja *q.v.*; his old tailor 30; mentioned 6; [†899 AH.–1494 AD.].

Umīd Āghācha *Andijānī, ghūnchachī* of 'Umar Shaikh—her son Nāṣir *q.v.*; [†before 899 AH.–1494 AD.].

'Uṣmān, the Third Khalif—Bābur surmised that Samarkand became Muṣalmān in his reign 75; [†murdered 35 AH.–665 AD.].

Mullā-zāda Mullā **'Uṣmān**—particulars 284; his birthplace Chīrkh 217.

Amīr **Wāḥid**—his tomb in Herāt visited by Bābur (912) 306; [†35 AH.–655–6 AD.?].

Beg **Wais**—brings news from Kābul to Āgra (933) 536.

Pīr (or Mīr) **Wais**—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; released (905) 119; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146.

Shaikh **Wais**—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146.

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Wais Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*, father of Yūnas Khān—mentioned 19; his sons Yūnas and Aīsān-būghā *q.v.*; [†832 AH.–1428–9 AD.].

Sulṭān **Wais** *Kūlābī*—his friendship recommended to Humāyūn (935) 627; ☞ reinforces Qila'-i-ẓafar (935 or 936) 696; his daughter Ḥaram Begīm *q.v.*

Wais *Lāgharī* **Beg** *tūghchī*—particulars 28; joins The Khān (Maḥmūd) (899) 32; safe-guards his ward Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī ib.*; on service for Bāī-sunghar (902) 65; waits on Bābur 66; stays with him at a crisis (903) 91; on his service (904) 98, 100, 101, 106; at Khūbān (905) 113; advises 117; plundered by 'Alī-dost 119; leaves Samarkand during the siege (906–7) 146; his son (?) Beggīna *q.v.*

Wais *Mīrān-shāhī*, see Mīrzā Khān.

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Sulṭān **Wais Mīrzā** *Bāī-qarā Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Bāī-qarā II—parentage 257; his cousin and wife Sulṭanīm *q.v.*

Sulṭān **Wais** *Sawādī*—mentioned 372; sent to collect a tax he had fixed (925) 374; receives gifts and leave 376.[1]

Sulṭān **Wālāma** *Taklū*—mentioned in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's account of the battle of Jām (935) 626 n. 2.

Pīr **Walī** *Bārlas Turk*—☞ loses Sīwīstān to Shāh Beg (*cir.* 917) 429 n. 1.

Walī Beg *Barlās*—particulars 272–3; his son Muḥammad-i-Walī *q.v.*; [†973 AH.].

Walī Beg *Qībchāq Turk*, brother of Khusrau Shāh[2]—particulars 51; on his brother's service (901) 60, 64, (902) 71, (903) 93–4; mentioned (906) 129, (910) 191 by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā*; inquired for from Khusrau by Bābur 193; defeated by Aīmaqs 196; his death 51, 196; his former followers gathered together 242; [†910 AH.–1504 AD.].

Walī *khazānchī, Qarā-qūzī*—captured by Tambal in Akhsī (908) 181; in the left centre at Qandahār (913) 335; his matchlock shooting at Bajaur (925) 369; on service 391, (932) 458, 465–6, 471; in the right wing at Pānīpat 472, 475, and at Kanwā (933) 566; his ill-behaviour in the heats 524.

Walī *pārschī* (cheeta-keeper)—receives a gift (935) 633.

Walī Qīzīl *Mughūl*—rebuked (932) 453; in the right-wing [*tūlghuma*] at Pānīpat 473; made *shiq-dār* of Dihlī 476; on service (934) 601, (935) 638.

Yādgār-i-muḥammad[3] **Mīrzā** *Shāh-rukhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Muḥammad—his capture of Herāt referred to 278; his defeat by Ḥusain *Bāī-qarā* at Chanārān (874) 260; his loss of Herāt to Ḥusain (875) 260, 279, compared with Shaibānī's of Samarkand to Bābur (906) 134–5; the date of his death referred to 259 n. 1; his Master-of-horse Mīr (Qambar-i-)'alī *q.v.*; [†875 AH.–1470–1 AD.].

Yādgār-i-nāsir Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, son of Nāṣir—gifts made to him (935) 632; [†953 AH.–1546 AD.].

Yādgār-i-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī* (*ut supra*), daughter of 'Umar Shaikh—particulars 18; her Aūzbeg marriage (908) 18, 356; her return to Bābur (917) 356.

[1] See Additional Note under P. 372.
[2] See Additional Notes under P. 51.
[3] Here the Ḥai. MS. and Ilminsky's Imprint add "Nāṣir".

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Yādgār Ṭaghāī—his daughter Bega Begīm *q.v.*

Khwāja **Yaḥyā,** younger son of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrārī*—his part in the Tarkhān revolt (901) 63; treats with Bābur (904) 98; welcomes him to Samarkand (905) 124; waits on Shaibānī (906) 127; banished by him and murdered with two sons 128,147 n. 4; his house mentioned 133; his sons Muḥammad Zakariya and Bāqī, his grandsons 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān *q.v.*; [†906 AH.–1500 AD.].

Shaikh **Yaḥyā** *Chīshtī*—his tomb visited by Bābur (935) 666; his son Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī q.v.*

Yaḥyā *Nūḥānī*, at the head of Hindūstān traders—allowed to leave Kābul (925) 416.

Yaḥyā Nūḥānī (perhaps the man last entered)—waits on Bābur (935) 676; a grant and leave given 683; his younger brother (no name) 683.

Yakka Khwāja—on Bābur's service (934) 598; in the battle of the Ghogrā (935) 671; drowned 674; his brother Qāsim *q.v.*; [†935 AH.–1529 AD.].

Yāngī Beg Kūkūldāsh—brings Bābur letters and gifts from Kāshghar (932) 445–6.

Ya'qūb-i-ayūb *Begchīk*, son of Ayūb—on Ḥusain Bāī-qarā's service (901) 58; proffers Khusrau Shāh's service to Bābur (910) 192–3.

Sulṭān **Ya'qūb Beg** *Āq-qūīlūq Turkmān*—a desertion to him 275; affords refuge to Banā'ī 287; his beg Tīmūr 'Uṣman *Mīrān-shāhī q.v.*; [†896 AH.–1491 AD.].

Maulānā **Ya'qūb** *Naqshbandī*—his birthplace Chīrkh 217; [†851 AH.–1447 AD.].

Ya'qūb *tez-jang*—☞ one of five champions defeated in single combat by Bābur (914) 349 n. 1.

Ya'qūb Sulṭān—mentioned as at Jām 636 n. 2.

Mullā **Yārak**—plays one of his compositions and incites Bābur to compose (926) 422.

Yārak Ṭaghāī (var. Yārīk)—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; *locum tenens* in Akhsī (905) 116; retaliates on Turkmān Hazāras (911) 253; takes charge of sheep raided by Bābur (912) 313; in the right wing at Qandahār (913) 334.

Yār-i-'alī *Balāl, Bahārlū Qarā-qūīlūq Turkmān*, grandfather of Bairām Khān-i-khānān—stays with Bābur at a crisis (903) 91; wounded (905) 109 (where in n. 5 for "father" read

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grandfather); rejoins Bābur (910) 189; on his Tramontane service (932–3) 546.

Yār-i-ḥusain, grandson of Mīr (Shaikh) 'Alī Beg—waits on Bābur (910) 228; asks permission to raise a force in Bābur's name 231; kills Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* (911) 250–1.

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Yīsūn-tawā Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid*—mentioned in Yūnas Khān's genealogy 19.

Yūl-chūq—conveys a message to Bābur (904) 99.

Yūnas-i-'alī, son of Bābā 'Alī Lord-of-the-Gate—surprised at a Tuesday's fast (925) 398; on Bābur's service 278, 468 (where read his name in l. 3) 475, 521; in the right centre at Pānīpat (932) 472, 473 and at Kānwa (933) 565, 569; has charge of Ibrāhīm's mother 543, 545; makes a garden (932) 532; in social charge of Ṭahmāsp *Ṣafawī's* envoys (935) 631; inquires into Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā's* objections to Bihār 661, 662; in the battle of the Ghogrā 671; at entertainments (925) 400, (935) 683; his kinsman Ibrāhīm *qanūnī q.v.*

Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāī Chīngīz-khānid,* Bābur's maternal grandfather—particulars[1] 19–24; made Khān of the Mughūls by Bābur's grandfather 20, 344 n. 2, 352; his friendly relations with Bābur's father 12; receives Tāshkīnt from him 13; defeats him 16; his sons Maḥmūd and Aḥmad *q.v.* and daughters 21–4; his servant Qambar-i-'alī *q.v.* mentioned 92 n. 1, 149, 565 n. 1; [†892 AH.–1487 AD.].

Khwāja **Yūnas** *Sajāwandī*—his birthplace in Luhūgur (Logar) 217.

Yūsuf-i-'alī—musician at entertainments (925) 385, 387, 388; 418.

Yūsuf-i-'alī *bakāwal*—on Bābur's service in Bajaur (925) 375.

Yūsuf-i-'alī Kūkūldāsh—made joint-*dārogha* in Herāt (911) 293; Bābur's cicerone in Herāt (912) 304; his good dancing 303.

Yūsuf-i-'alī *rikābdār*—conveys a letter concerning Hind-āl's pre-natal adoption (925) 374; receives a gift for swimming

[1] The natural place for this Section of record is at the first mention of Yūnas Khān (p. 12) and not, as now found, interrupting another Section. See p. 678 and n. 4 as to "Sections".

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401; meets Bābur 418; (?) in Saṃbhal (934) 587; (?) dies there 675, 687 (here 'Alī-i-yūsuf); [†935 AH.–1529 AD.].[1]

Khwāja **Yūsuf** *Andijānī*, a musician—particulars 4.

Yūsuf-i-ayūb *Begchīk*, son of Ayūb—Bābur warned against him (910) 190; takes service with Bābur 196; winters with Nāṣir 241; leaves Bābur for Jahāngīr (911) 190, 254.

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Sayyid **Yūsuf Beg** *Aūghlāqchī*, son of Murād—particulars 39; waits on Bābur from Samarkand (903) 72; holding Yār-yīlāq for 'Alī *Mīrān-shāhī* (904) 98; dismissed from Khurāsān on suspicion 98; joins Bābur (910) 196; advises him 197; his death 241; his brother Ḥasan and sons Muḥammad-i-yūsuf and Aḥmad-i-yūsuf *q.v.*; [†910 AH.–1505 AD.].

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Zāhid Khwāja—abandons Saṃbhal (933) 557; on service (935) 682; [†953 AH.–1546 AD.].

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Zainab-sulṭān Begīm—her granddaughter met by Bābur near Āgra (935) 616.

Zainab-sulṭān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhī Tīmūrid, Barlās Turk*, daughter of Maḥmūd—particulars 48; married to Bābur (910) 48, 711; [†*cir.* 912 AH.–1506–7 AD.].

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Zar-dusht ("Zoroaster")—mentioned in a verse 85.

Bībī **Zarīf Khātūn**—her daughter Māh-chūchūq 199 n. 1, 342 n. 3.

[1] The entries of 934 and 935 may concern a second man 'Alī-i-yūsuf.

[2] Perhaps skilled in the art of metaphors and tropes (*'ilmu'l-badī'*).

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Zubaida Aghācha *Jalāīr*—particulars 267, 273 n. 2 ; [†before 911 AH.–1506 AD.].

Zubaida Khatūn, wife of Khalīfa Hārūnu'r-rashīd—a surmise concerning her 306 n. 1 ; [†216 AH.–831 AD.].

Zubair *Rāghī*—revolts against Aūzbeg rule in Badakhshān (910) 242, (912) 295 ; defeats Nāṣir *Mīrān-shāhī* 321 ; standing firm (913) 340 ; [†914 AH.–1508 AD.].

Zuhra Begī Āghā *Aūzbeg*, concubine of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī*—particulars 47, 49 ; intrigues disastrously with Shaibānī (905) 125–6, (906) 127–8.

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[1] My text has *julgāsī*, but I am advised to omit the genitive *sī*; so, too, in aīkī-sū-ārā-sī, Rabāṭik-aūrchīn-ī *q.v.*
[2] Cf. *s.n.* Āhangaran-julga n. as to form of the name.

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[1] Bābur uses this name for, Anglicé, the Kābul-river as low as nearly to Dakka.

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[1] "The Dara-i-ṣūf, often mentioned by the Arabian writers, seems to lie west of Bāmīān" (Erskine, *Memoirs*, p. 152 n. 1).

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[1] Bābur's itinerary gives Gharjistan a greater eastward extent than the Fr. map Maïmènè allows, thus agreeing with Ferishta [illegible]

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[1] Cf. *Life of Busbecq* (Forster and Daniels) i, 252–7, for feats of Turkish archery.

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(4) **Turki-English work**:—*The Bābur-nāma in English* (*Memoirs of Babūr*), Annette S. Beveridge—*see* Preface and other contents of these volumes.

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[1] For the Bukhara (Bābur-nāma) Compilation *see Wāqi'-nāma-i-pādshāhī*; as also for its Codices, descendants and offtakes, *viz.* Ilminski's "*Bābur-nāma*" and de Courteille's *Mémoires de Baber*.

[2] The confusion of identity has become clear to me in 1921 only.

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Bibliothèque Orientale, B. d'Herbélot — (*see nn. on pp. named*), 'Umar Skaikh 13; Sātūq-būghrā Khān 29; Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* 46; Mātarīdiyah and Ash'ariyah Sects 75–6; Ismā'īl *Khartank* 76; Naṣīru'd-dīn *Tūsī* 79; Nīl-āb 206; "Qizīl-bāsh" explained 630.

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Birds of India, T. C. Jerdon—partridge-tippets 496; cries *ib.*; bustard 498; *mānek* 499; *likhh* (florican) App. N; *kabg-i-darī* and *chīūrtīka* (snow-cock) *ib.*

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Books (*no titles*)—Exposition of the *Nafahāt* 284; On Jurisprudence 285,—prosody 271, —rhyme 285,—riddles 289.

Botany of the Afghan Delimitation Commission, Aitchison—regional grasses 222; *qarqand* = *sax-aol* (?) 223.

Brahminical thread 561.

Bridge of boats *see* Boats.

Buddhist Records, S. Beal—Greater Udyāna-pūra App. E, xxi; sugarcane in Lāmghān 203 (*where read Beal*).

Browne, Professor Edward Granville — the Haidarābād Codex Facsimile, Preface xlvi (No. x).

Building-stone — Samarkand 83, Kābul 710, Chandīrī 597, Dūlpūr 606, Gūāliār 608, Bīāna 611.

"Bukhārā Compilation," known as "*Bābur-nāma*" see *Wāqi'āt-nāma-i-pādshāhī*.

Bullies of Marghīnān (Marghīlān) 7 (*where in line 1, add*, "They are notorious in Māwarā'u'n-nahr for their bullyings").

Burhān-i-qāṭi' (Pers. Dict.) *see* Dictionaries.

Buried Cities of Khotan, Sir M. Aurel Stein—Aq-būrā-rūd 4.

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Caboul (Kabul), Sir Alex. Burns—(*see nn. on pp. named*); wind and running sands 201, 215; climate 204; *kabg-i-darī* 213; Kohistān 214; millet 215; Bābur's Burial-garden 710.

Cadell, Jessie E.—quoted Preface xxvii.

[1] One of the nine great gods of the Etruscans was called Tūrān. Etr. *Tūr* means strong, a strong place (fortress); with it may connect L. *turma* (troop) and the name of Virgil's Rutulian hero Turmus may root in the Mongol tongue. Professor Jules Marthe writes in *La Langue Etrusque* (Pref. vi), "Il m'a paru qu'il y avait entre l'Etrusque et les langues finns-ougriennes d'étroites affinités" (hence with the Mongol tongue). "Tarkhān" is "Tūrkhān" in Miles trs. p. 71 of the *Shajaratu'l-atrāk* (H.B.).

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[1] On this peg may be hung the following note:—The *Pādshāh-nāma* (*q.v.*) calls the author and presenter of the above translation "Abū-ṭālib" *Husainī* (Bib. Ind. ed. vol. i, part 2, p. 288), but its index contains many references seemingly to the same man as Khwāja Abū'l-husain *Turbatī*. The P. N. says the book which it entitles *Wāqi'āt-i-ṣaḥib-qirān* (The Acts of Tīmūr), was in Turki, was brought forth from the Library of the (Turk) Governor of Yemen and translated by Mīr Abū-ṭālib *Ḥusainī*; that what Tīmūr had done with this book of counsel (*dastān-i-naṣā'iḥ*) when he sent it to his son Pīr-i-muḥammad, then succeeding (his brother) Jahāngīr [in Kābul, the Ghaznis, Qandahār, *etc.*] Shāhjahān also did by sending it, out of love, to his son Aurangzīb who had been ordered to the Deccan.

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1 In n. 5 for "*parwān*" read *parrān*, and *read* Blanford.

2 which *read* (*l. 17*) for *yak rang*. The name *bak-dīng* appears due to the clapping of the bird's mandibles and its pompous strut ; (cf. Ross' *Polyglot List*, No. 336).

3 Following the *zammaj* insert "Another is the buzzard (T. *Sār*) ; its back and tail are red". (*Cf.* Omission List under p. 500.)

4 *See* Omission List under p. 498.

5 After "Tramontane", *add* Its breast is less deeply black.

6 The bird being black, its name cannot be translated "yellow-bird" ; as noted on p. 373 *sārīgh* = thief ; [*sārāgh* or *sārīgh* means a bird's song].

fish 503; cray fish 502; unnamed 663; frog 503; porpoise 502; crocodile var. 501-2, 663;—**Various**:—lizard 501-2; locust (*chīūrtīka*) 421, App. N, 1; mosquito 204; snakes, 8, 147, 406; **Flowers**:—Farghāna 5, 10; Kābul 215-7; Peshāwar 393; Hind 513-5;—*arghwān* (red, the Judas-tree) 216-7, 305, (yellow) 217; hibiscus 513; jasmine 515; oleander 514, 580, 610; roses 5, 321 (couplet), 513; screw-pine 516; tulips 5, 215, 321; violets 5;—**Fruits**:—Farghāna 2, 3, 6, 8, 10; Samarkand 77, 82-4; Kābul 202-3-8-9-10-12-16-18-20-21; Hind 503 to 513, App. O;—*'ain-ālū* 506; almond 6, 7, 9, 223, 507-8; *ālū-bālū* 203; apple 2, 8, 77, 202-20, 507; apricot 6, 202; *badrang* 203; plantain (banāna) 208, 504; cherry 203; *chīr ūnjī* 508; citron var. 203-8-10, 501-11; clustered-fig 508; coco-nut 509; colocynth-apple (*wild gourd*) 410-11 (*where for khunṭal read ḥunẓal*); coriander 211; corinda 507; date-palm 410-24, 506-8; date-plum (T. *qarā-yīmīsh*) 203-10; fig 508; grape 3, 77, 202-3-10-12-18-21-507-8, 646-86-87; jack-fruit 506; *jāman* 506, 606; *jīlghūza* (pine-seeds) 203-13; jujube (*sinjid*) 196, 208; *chīkdā* 506; *kamrak* 506 (*where add, It has no stone*); lemon 512, 614; lime var. 512; lote-fruit 507; lotus-seed (*dūdah*) 666; mango 503; melon var. 10, 82-4, 92, 411, 645-6; 686-7; mimusops 505; myrobalan 508; *nāshpāti* 3; orange var. 203-10-11, 414, 510, 512, Add. N. P. 512, 614, App. O, liii; pear 203; peach 203; pistachio 508; plum 82; monkey-jack 506-7; pomgranate 6, 8, 77, 202-8, 507; quince 202, 507-12; tamarind 505 (*n. ref. to būtā*) walnut 203, 508;—**Trees and plants**:—*amān-qarā*, maize (?) 504, small almond 223, *būtā* 505, *būtā-kūh* 221, clover, trefoil, *sih-barga, yūrūnchqā* 6, 209, 346, conifers, *archa*, 221-2, cypress 81, 222, *dhak* 472; ebony-tree 585, 614, hardwood-elm 81, grass (*cuscus*) 631 n. 2, holm-oak 213-16-23, madder 218, *mahuwā* 505-8, male-reed 514, mandrake and its similars 11, mastic 213-23, millet 81, 215, mulberry (*tūt*) 248, 494, olive 222, palmyra palm 509, App. O, liv, Pinus Gerardiana, *jilghūza* 203-13, plane 216, 398, poplar var. 13, 15, (*tūrūk*) 145 and 156, 414 (*where for "purslain" read poplar*), *qarqand* 223, reed 514, rice 210, 342, rhubarb 203, 345, 507, spikenard 392, sugar-cane 208, 388, *tabalghū* 11, tamarisk 14, 463 (*where, wrongly, "Tamarind"*);—willow 217, 306, (weeping) 304, App. I, (*amāl-bīd*) 512;—**Physical various**—**Climate**:—change on the Kindīrlīk-pass (?) 2; meeting places of hot and cold in Kābul 208 and 229, 220; both near the town 202; good climate Aūsh 4-6 Kāsān 10, Soghd 84, Kābul 263;—**Climes**:—Farghāna and Samarkand in the 5th 1, 74; Kābul in the 4th 199;—cold, Akhsī 116, Hasht-yak 151, Ghazni 219, 526, Khwārizm 219, upper Herī-rūd valley 311, Kābul 314;—

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[1] For references to Niẓāmī's text, I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge's knowledge of the poems.

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Turkmān:—White-sheep Horde 49 (*where read White for "Black"*);—its Bahārlū clan 49; its Balāl 911 and Bayandar 279;—Black-sheep Horde 10;—Qajar 666; Turkmāns serve Bābur 47, 279, 361;—features 111;—Hazāras (*infra*); Tūrūq-shār 101;—

[1] Abū'l-ghāzī classes Manghit with Mughul tribes, Radloff with Turk tribes (*Récueils p. 325*), Erskine says, "modern Nogais."

Various :—'Arab 207, 522, 631 ; Arlāt (Turk?) 265 ; Ashpārī 101 ; Asiqānchī [*var.* Saqānchī] 197 ; Balūchī 383, 459, 522; Bengali (race) 482 ; Būgiāl 452 ; Kāfir 212–3, 342–72, 421 ; Kakar (*var.*) 387–9 ; Kas 484 ; Kīb (or Kītib) 393 ; Meos 577 ; Farsī (Persian, race) 7, 207, 507–55 ; Ghiyās-wāl (or-dāl) 393 ; Gūjūr 250, 379–87, 454 ; Habshi 483 ; Janjuha-khail and Jūd-khail 379–80–87 ; Jats 250, 387, 454 ; Jīgrāk (*var.*) 55, 101; Nīkdīrī (*var.*) 196–7, 200–1–7, 275, 326, 430 (*cf. E. & D. iv, 304, Tukdarī*) Nīl-ābī 379 (*see Index II*) ; Parājī 207 ;—Rājpūt ;—Chūhān 573, Tānk sept 481 ;—Tājik 6, 207, 420, 535 ;—

Hazāra (1000) :—Gadāī or Kīdī 250, Qārlūq 391–3, 403 ; Rustāq [or Rusta] 196 ; Sl. Mas'ūdī 221–8, 525; Turkmān 27, 214–51, 311 to 313 ; **Hazāras** :—w. of Kābul 200–7–22, 430 ; e. of the Sind 457, 522 ; in the open country of Ghazni 218, Kābul 221, Heri-rūd valley 308 ; refuge taken amongst 95 ; traversed 254.

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Tuḥfa-i-sāmī (*a Turkī anthology*), Sām M. *Safawi*—Marwārīd 278 ; syphilis 279 ; a jeer 648.

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Turkī tongue, Preface xxvii, Cap. iv.

Turkistan, Alex. Petzhold—Ṣārts 6.

,, E. Schuyler—[*see nn. on pp. named*], **Farghāna** :—extent of 2, various 5, 6, 8 ; (wind) 9 ; (out-of-doors life) 29 ; *kūk-būrā* (a game) 39 ; Old Akhsī App. A ; Ṣārts 6 ;—**Samarkand** :—67, 74–5–7, 83, (Aūrgūt) 68 ; Kesh 83; **Various** :—Sarā-tāq pass 129 ; Lake Iskandar *ib.* Hazrat Turkistan (shrine) 356 ; a distance 9 ; a lizard 501 ;—Bābur's Moscow Embassy App. Q, lxiii ; Gregorief's *Russian Policy*, (*App. iv trs.*) Preface, liii.

,, Franz v. Schwarz—autumn fever 4 ; running-waters 4, recipe for *ma'jūn* 16 ; *yīghāch* (measure) 4 ; a Kīrghis measure 196 ; loess constructions 30 ; *charkh* (a hunting bird) 224 ; Mogol-tau 8 ; duties of the Lord of the Gate 24 ; *kūk būrā*, *baiga* 39 ; Greek descent 22 ; various App. A, v.

Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, Jahāngīr Pādshāh (*trs. Rogers and Beveridge*)—Bugials 452 ; Daulat Khān *Lūdī* 461 ; measures 189 ; birds 497 ; *kishmīsh* 515 ; couplet 670 ; metrical amusement App. Q, lxvi–vii ; its titles for Bābur varied *ib.* lxi ; Jahāngīr's additions to the B.N. App. D, xiii, Preface xlv (No. viii), lii ; his pilgrimage to B.'s burial-garden App. V, lxxx ; his stay in B.'s Garden *ib.*

Noticeable words :—*tabalghū*, a tree 11 ; *tāsh-chantāī*, outside bag (?) 160 ; *ṭāsh*, stone confused with *tāsh*, outer 3, 43, 78, 80, 160 ; *ṭaūrī*, complete, enclosed 109, 280, 501 (*where this better describes the koel's song*) ; *tipūchāg* a horse and its points 38 ; *tīr-gīz*, arrow 34 ; *tīrik* 36, 362 ; P. *tū*, turn of a hill 205–8 *etc.* ; *tūlūk* vegetable food, other than grain 114 ; *tūn-yārīm*, half-dark 100 ; *tūrā* (ordinances) 38, *tūrā* (army mantelets) 108–13–55, 368, 469, 593 ; *tūmān*, 10,000, a district command 17 ; *tūq-bāī*, one using a standard 313 ; *tūlghuma s.n.* Military ; *tusqāwal* 224, 314 ; *tūghāī* and *tuqāī* 643.

'Umar Khayyām's Quatrains (*trs. E. H. Whinfield*) — a couplet Bābur's words recal 203.

Upper Basin of the Kābul-river, Sir C. Markham (*PRGS. 1879*) — Hindu-kush passes 204, maps of Koh-i-baba 216.

Veliaminof-Zernof, editor of the *Sharaf-nāma* 635 and *Abūshqa* App. Q, lxiii.

Vergleichunge-Tabellen des Muh. und Christlichen Zeitrechnung, F. Wüstenfeld—dates of 935 AH. 629, App. S.

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Visit to Kafiristan, W. W. Macnair (*PRGS. 1884*)—Ning-nahār App. E, xxiii.

Voyage dans le Turkistan, Fedtschenko (*trs. G. du Laurens*) — Sang-aina, Mirror-stone, 7.

,, *dans l'Asie septentrionale*, P. S. Pallas —*āq kīyīk*, *argālī* (Ovis poli) 6.

,, *des Pélerins Bouddhistes*, S. A. Julien—Nanganahāra App. E, xviii.

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Wāqi'-nāma-i-pādshāhī (Record of Royal Acts), 'Abdu'l-wahhāb *akhund* of Ghaj-

dāvān (1709)—(*found mentioned as the Bābur-nāma, the "Bukhārā Bābur-nāma" and the "Bukhārā Compilation"*)—for its seeming author's colophon JRAS. 1900, p. 474 and Preface lvii; its divergence from the true text Preface xxxix, its element of true text (Kāmrān's tattered Codex) li; its dual purpose xxxix, lxii; its character xl; its stop-gaps xlv; its use by Leyden xlviii; **Described** (*as it is in Kehr's transcript*):—Preface, Cap. III, Parts I and III; its history liii, author and colophon lvii, (*cf.* JRAS. 1900, p. 474); its identity confused with Bābur's true text Preface, Cap. III, Part III;

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(*b*) Pet. F. O. School of Oriental Languages Codex, entitled *Bābur-nāma*, scribe G. J. Kehr—referred to *in loco*:—diction of the Farghāna Section 1, of the Kābul Sect. 187, of the Hindūstān Sect. 445; its Persified character exemplified 147, 150, 167, and Add. Note, 177, (*cf. JRAS. 1908, pp. 76, 88*); its Latin version App. J, xxxv, Preface liv;—Other references 9, 18, 19, 44–8, 88, 164, 169; **Full contents**:—Preface lii; their reconstruction by Ilminski lii–iv, (*cf. his own Preface JRAS. 1900 and a separate form in B.M., I.O., R.A.S. Libraries, etc.*); the "Fragments" Preface xlv (No. viii), lii, (*in loco*) 438, 549, (*a discussion*) 574, 630, 640 (*cf.* JRAS. 1900–6–8).

(*c*) The "*Bābur-nāma*" Imprint (*constructed and edited by*) N. I. Ilminski—referred to *in loco*, App. D, 227–59, 336, 420, App. I, xxxii; modelled on the L. and E. *Memoirs of Baber* 326, 337, App. T, lxxiv, Preface lii (*cf. Ilminski's Preface ref. supra*), 574; Preface:—its Kasan publication li; its deviation from its sole basis (*Kehr's Codex*) lii; Ilminski's work and some results lii, with n.1 mid-page, liv; his doubts and achievement of a Turki reading book *see* his own Preface ref. *supra*;

(*d*) *Mémoires de Bāber*, (*French trs. of Ilminski's Bābur-nāma*) A. Pavet de Courteille—referred to *in loco*, 215, 227, 346, 347, 407, 446, 478, 489, 559, 632, App. T, lxxviii, App. M, xlv;—the *Mubīn* not recognized 449, 630; an illness 619; mistakenly controverted 468; surmised ground on which it accepted the "Rescue Passage", App. D, xiv; its help in considering Shaikh Zain's compositions 553, 559;—questioned readings 223–5, 327–33–69, 421 (*chūrtīka*), 462–70, 534, 617–19–38–40–47; a surmise discussed 574;—reviewed by Defrémery 562; its title Preface xxxiii, translation li, source liv, diction lix.

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Yāqūt *see* Dictionary of Towns.

Noticeable words :—*Yada-tāsh*, jade-stone *see* Magic; *yāghrūnchī*, divination from sheep's-blades 233; *yīghāch*, tree, wood 11, 81; *yīghāch see* Measures; *yīgīt*, a brave 16, 53, 70, App. H, xxvii; *yīlāq*, alp see *i.a.* Yār- and Būrka-; *yīnka-chīcha*, maternal-uncle's mother-in-law (?); *yīnkalīk*, levirate 23, 267, 306, 616; *yūkūnmāk*, to bend the knee 301; *yūsūnlūq*, hereditary 23.

Ẓafar-nāma (Book of Victory *i.e.* Tīmūr's) Maulana Sharafu'd-dīn 'Ali *Yazdī* —[*see nn. on pp. named*], places 10, 74–8, 83–4; persons 39, 272; meaning of Sawālak 485; Tīmūr's capture of Qarshī 134; his burial at a saint's feet 266; his workmen 77, 520; partly translated in *Histoire de Tīmūr Beg q.v.*; the book and its main basis, the *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* Preface xxix, xxx, its author xxxiii.

Zainu'd-dīn *Khawāfī* (Shaikh Zain)'s writings —(1) *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī q.v.*; (2) *Mubīn*, a Commentary on Bābur's *Mubīn* 438; (3) *Farmān* announcing Bābur's renouncement of wine and remission of *ṭamghā*-tax 553; (4) *Fatḥ-nāma* of the victory at Kānwa 559 to 574; Bābur's reason for inserting it (4) in his book 559; the sole Letter of victory so preserved 561; grounds against supposing Bābur wrote a plain Turkī account of the battle 574.

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OMISSIONS FROM TRANSLATION AND FOOT-NOTES.

p.7 l.1 "turbulent" *add* They are notorious in Mawara'u'n-nahr for their bullyings.
p.27 l.5 "(1504)" *add* when, after taking Khusrau Shah, we besieged Muqim in Kabul.
p.31 l.1 "paid" *add* no (attention).
p.43 l.9 *enter* f. 24*b*.
ib. l.8 fr.ft. "Taghai" *add* and Auzun Hasan.
p.45 Sec. c, l.2 "good" *add* he never neglected the Prayers.
p.48 l.16 "grandmother" *add* Khan-zada Begim.
p.52 l.4 fr.ft. "childhood" *add* and had attained the rank of Beg.
p.88 l.9 Hasan *add* and Sl. Ahmad Tambal.
p.92 l.8 "on" *add* to Sang-zar.
p.95 l.12 "service" *add* did not stay in Khurasan but.
p.128 l.18 "two" *add* young (sons).
p.131 l.12 "Jan-wafa" *add* Mirza.
p.134 l.7 fr.ft. "that" *add* night that.
ib. l.3 fr.ft. "was" *add* in my 19th (lunar) year.
p.136 l.5 "was" *add* in my 19th (lunar) year.
p.139 l.11 fr.ft. *read* Jani Beg Sultan.
p.141 l.10 "Khusrau Shah" *add* my highly-favoured beg Qambar-i-ali *the Skinner Mughul*, not acting at such a time as this according to the favour he had received, came and took his wife from Samarkand; he too went to Khusrau Shah.
p.143 l.16 "that" *add* near Shutur-gardan.
p.152 l.12 fr.ft. "dead" *add* A few days later we went back to Dikh-kat.
p.164 Sec. d, l.6 fr.ft. "for" *add* Sairam.
p.201 l.12 *read* Kabul-fort.
p.205 l.10 fr.ft. *read* "are closed for" 4 or 5 months in winter. After crossing Shibr-tu people go on through Ab-dara. In the heats, when the waters come down in flood, these roads have the same rule as in winter ("because" *etc.*).
p.217 l.11 "Sih-yaran" *add* It became a very good-halting-place. I had a vine-yard planted on the hill above the seat.
p.221 Sec.h, at the beginning *insert* The mountains to the eastward of the cultivated land of Kabul are of two kinds as also are those to its westward ("Where the mountains" *etc.*).
p.230 last line "men" *add* Khusrau *Gagiani*.
p.247 l.1 "Qush-nadir" *add* meadow.
p.308 l.14 "ground" *add* Moreover it snowed incessantly and after leaving Chiragh-dan, not only was there very deep snow but the road was unknown.
p.391 March 18th "darogha-ships" *add* Sangur Khan Qarluq and Mirza-i-malui Qarluq came leading 30 or 40 men of the Qarluq elders, made offering of a horse in mail, and waited on me. Came also the army of the Dilah-zak Afghans.
p.393 March 25th l.2 "out" *add* from the river's bank.
p.454 l.5 "boat" *add* There was a party; some drinking *'arag*, some beer. After leaving the boat at the Bed-time Prayer, there was more drinking in the *khirgah* (tent). For the good of the horses, we gave them a day's breathing on the bank of this water.
p.468 l.3 "sent" *add* Yunas-i-'ali and Ahmadi and ("'Abdu' l-lah").
p.484 l.1 "Rao" *add* with four or five thousand Pagans.
p.498 (*s.n.* florican), "colour" *add* The flesh of the florican is very delicate. As the *kharchal* (Indian buzzard) resembles the *tughdaq* (great buzzard) so the *charz* (florican) resembles the *tughdiri*.

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ib. (*s.n.* sand-grouse) "Tramontana" *add* the blackness of its breast is less deep, its cry also is sharper.
p.500 after l.11 "eagle" *add* (new para.) Another is the buzzard (T. *sar*); its tail and back are red.
p.506 (*s.n. kamrak*) "long" *add* It has no stone.
p.507 n.3 "name" *add* also; "plantain" *add* (banana).
p.510 l.5 see App. O, p. liv for *addendum*.
p.529 l.4 fr.ft. "Dulpur" *add* Gualiar.
p.595 l.19 "other" read 2 or 3 (places); the Pagans in the *du-tahi* began to run away; "the *du-tahi* was taken."
p.603 l.7 fr.ft. "(366*b*)" *add* and between Ghazipur and Banaras (p. 502).
p.674 l.2 "river" *add* in his mail.
p.678 l.2 "amirs" *add* Sultan.
p.679 l.8 fr.ft. "given" *add* It was settled that a son of each of them should be always in waiting in Agra; l. 7 fr.ft. "Araish" *add* and two others; l. 2 fr.ft. "Saru" *add* towards Oude.
p.689 l.2 fr.ft. "laks" *add* and a head-to-foot (dress).
App. Q l.1 "interpret" add those of.

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CORRIGENDA.

To ensure notice many of these are entered in the Indices.

Pages

6 l.4 "meadow" *read* plain (*maidan*).
11 n.4, "siyar" unaccented; (H.S.) ii *read* iii n.n. pp. 18, 38, 48, 244.
12 n.4 l.3 "attack in" *read* attacking.
14 l.3 "and" *read* who.
16 l.10 n. ref. "3" *tr. to* "amorous".
24 n.1 "932" *read* 923.
27 para.2 *read* "Baba 'Ali Beg's Baba-quli".
28 l.8 "leaders" *read* Mughul mirzadas.
29 n.6 l.5 "then" *read* his.
37 l.8 "916" *read* 917; and tr. nn. 2 and 3.
38 l.9 "favour" *run on* to Ahmad.
44 l.9 55 l.12 *delete* "Sayyid".
46 l.12 *read* Chikman.
49 l.3 "Black" *read* White.
51 l.12 fr. ft. "Badakhshan" read Hisar.
55 "f. 34" *read* f. 32*b*.
57 l.1, enter f. 33 and *move* "f. 33*b*" to 58 l. 2.
61 l.4 "Beg" *read* Baba-quli Beg.
68 l.10 fr. ft. *tr.* n. ref. 4 to "Aurgut".
69 n.2, read *aunutung*; and *tr. nakunid* and *bakunid*.
79 l.5 tr. n.ref. 3 to *qibla*; in author's n. *read* Batalmius; and in n.4 *read Ayin*.
85 l.9 *read* 851 A.H.–1447 A.D.; l.3 fr.ft. *move* "Jumada I, 22, 855 A.H." to p.86 l.1, after "years".
94 l.6 "Chirik" *read* Char-yak.
95 l.2 fr.ft. "Aubaj" *read* Char-jui.
96 last line "Qasim" *read* Kamal (or Kahal).
109 l.16 "qasim" *read* qadus.
ib. n.5 l.3 *read* grand" father".
117 n.2 "909" *read* 908.
122 n.4 "*bulghar*" *read buljar*.
129 l.14 "*daban*" *read kutal*.
131 ll.3–4 fr.ft. *read* Khan-quli and Karim-dad.
134 l.3 fr.ft. and 136 l. 5 *read* in my 19th (lunar) year.
144 para.3 "rain" *read* grain.
148 n.2 "f. 18" *read* f. 118.
149 l.17 *read* Khanim.
154 n.3 "f. 183*b*" *read* f. 103*b* and for f. 264*b read* f. 264.
168 Sect. heading "Kasan" *read* Karnan.
175 l.11 *read* Mirza-quli.
183 last line "Kulja" *read* Khuldja.
192 l.3 *read* Taliqan.
194 l.12 *read* Quhlugha.

Pages

ib. n.3 *read* Bai-sunghar.
204 l.16 *read* Curriers'.
205 l.5 *read* Sir; l.13 *read* Wa(lian); l.14 *read* Qibchaq.
205 l.10 fr.ft. "three or four" *read* four or five (cf. omissions p.205).
211 para. 3, end, "920" *read* 924.
212 n.2 l.2 *read chiqmaq*.
213 n.5 "*parwan*" *read parran*; and nn.5, 6, 7 *read* Blanford.
244 ll.8 and 25 "page" *read* preferably, brave; l.19 *read* gallopers.
273 n.2 *read* grand-"daughter".
282 n.3 l.2 "345" *read* 348–9.
289 l.5 "wonderful" *read* metaphorist.
342 mid-page *read* Pur-amin.
344 last line "Appendix" *read* Trs.' note 711.
351 l.15 "Akhsi" *read* Archian.
387 n.3 *delete* sentence 2.
410 last line "*khuntul*" *read hunzal*.
414 l.2 "18th" *read* 13th; and l.2 fr.ft. "purslain" *read* poplar.
438 l.15 "son" *read* grandson.
447 n.3 para.2 l.1 "month" *read* week.
470 n. l.5 fr.ft. "p.66" *read* p.166.
482 n.3 "~~Gujrat~~" *read* Malwa.
485 sec.e l.7 "Gumti *read* Gui.
499 l.17 "*yak-rang*" *read bak-ding* (see Add. Note P.499).
500 l.15 *s.n.* crow "*qarcha*" *read qargha*; n. 6 "f. 136" *read* f. 135.
505 l.6 tr. n.ref. "2" to, *buia*.
520 n.1 "1854" *read* 1845.
534 l.2 fr.ft. "and" *read* 932.
535 l.2 fr.ft. *delete* "others".
579 l.8 "April 13th" *read* April 3rd.
591 n.2 "*qurughir read quruqtur*.
604 n.l.1 *read Afaghana*.
616 l.5 *read* Madhakur; and Sect. m "*qara-su*" *read darya qaraghi* or *qaraghina*.
620 l.7 *rahim read rahman*.
621 l.11 after "servants" *read* Beg-gina "had come".
622 l.12 *read* Siunjuk; l.13 Tashkint.
631 l.13 *delete* the parenthesis (see Add. Note P.631).
632 l.4 *read* Farrukh.
636 l.7 "rest" *read* eight others.
640 l.1 *read* quli.
643 (Feb. 4th) "Muhammad" *read* Mahmud.
644 n.5 "323" *read* 232.
699 l.13 "935" *read* 938.
713 l.3 *read* Saliha; and l.11 fr.ft. Miran-shahi.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 16 l. 11.—Niẓāmī mentions "lover's marks" where a rebel chieftain commenting on Khusrau's unfitness to rule by reason of his infatuation for Shīrīn, says, "*Hinoz az'āshīqbāzī garm dāgh ast.*" (H.B.)

P. 22 n. 2.—Closer acquaintance with related books leads me to delete the words "Chaghatāī Mughūl" from Ḥaidar *Dūghlāt's* tribal designations (p. 22, n. 2, l. 1). (1) My "Chaghatāī" had warrant (now rejected) in Ḥaidar's statement (T.R. trs. p. 3) that the Dūghlāt amīrs were of the same stock (*abna'-i-jins*) as the Chaghatāī Khāqāns. But the Dūghlāt off-take from the common stem was of earlier date than Chīngīz Khān's, hence, his son's name "Chaghatāī" is a misnomer for Dūghlāts. (2) As for "Mūghūl" to designate Dūghlāt, and also Chaghatāī chiefs—guidance for us rests with the chiefs themselves; these certainly (as did also the Begchīk chiefs) held themselves apart from "Mughūls of the horde" and begs of the horde—as apart they had become by status as chiefs, by intermarriage, by education, and by observance of the amenities of civilized life. To describe Dūghlāt, Chaghatāī and Begchīk chiefs in Bābur's day as Mughūls is against their self-classification and is a discourtesy. A clear instance of need of caution in the use of the word Mughūl is that of 'Alī-sher *Nawā'ī Chaghatāī*. (Cf. Abū'l-ghāzī's accounts of the formation of several tribes.) (3) That "Mughūl" described for Hindustānīs Bābur's invading and conquering armies does not obliterate distinctions in its chiefs. Mughūls of the horde followed Tīmūrids when to do so suited them; there were also in Bābur's armies several chiefs of the ruling Chaghatāī family, brothers of The Khān, Sa'īd (*see* Chīn-tīmūr, Aisan-tīmūr, Tūkhta-būghā). With these must have been their following of "Mughūls of the horde".

P. 34 l. 12.—"With the goshawks" translates *qīrchīgha bīla* of the Elph. MS. (f. 12*b*) where it is explained marginally by *ba bāzī*, with the falcon or goshawk. The Ḥai. MS. however has, in its text, *pīāzī bīla* which may mean with arrows having points (*Sanglākh* f. 144*b* quoting this passage). Ilminski has no answering word (*Mémo.* i, 19). Muh. *Shirāzī* [p. 13 l. 11 fr. ft.] writes *ba bāzī mīandākhtan.*

P. 39.—The *Ḥabību's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 217 l. 16) writes of Sayyid Murād *Aūghlāqchī* (the father or g.f. of Yūsuf) that he (who had, Bābur says, come from the Mughūl horde) held high rank under Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, joined Ḥusian *Bāī-qarā* after the Mīrzā's defeat and death (873 A.H.), and (p. 218) was killed in defeat by Amīr 'Alī *Jalāīr* who was commanding for Yādgār-i-muḥammad *Shāh-rukhī*.

P. 49.—An *Aīmāq* is a division of persons and not of territory. In Mongolia under the Chinese Government it answers to khanate. A Khān is at the head of an *aīmāq*. Aimāqs are divided into *koshung*, *i.e.* banners (*Mongolia*, N. Prejevalsky; trs. E. Delmar Morgan, ii, 53).

P. 75 and n. 1.—For an explanation, provided in 94 AH., of why Samarkand was called *Baldat-i-maḥfūẓa*, the Guarded-city, see Daulat-shāh, Browne's ed. *s.n.* Qulaiba p. 443.

P. 85 n. 2.—The reference to the *Ḥabību's-siyar* confuses two cases of parricide:—'Abdu'l-latīf's of Aulugh Beg (853–1447) to which H.S. refers [Vol. III, Part 2, p. 163, l. 13 fr. ft.] with (one of 7–628) Shīrūya's of Khusrau Parvīz (H.S. Vol. I, Part 2, p. 44, l. 11 fr. ft.) where the parricide's sister tells him that the murderer of his father (and 15 brothers) would eventually be punished by God, and (a little lower) the couplet Bābur quotes (p. 85) is entered (H.B.).

P. 154 n. 3.—The Persian phrase in the *Siyāsat-nāma* which describes the numbering of the army (T. *dīm kūrmāk*) is *ba sar-i-tāzīāna shumurdan.* Schafer translates *tāzīāna* by *cravache.* I have nowhere found how the whip was used; (cf. S.N. Pers. text p. 15 l. 5).

P. 171 n. 1.—Closer acquaintance with Bābur's use of *daryā*, *rūd*, *sū*, the first of which he reserves for a great river, casts doubt on my suggestion that *daryā* may stand for the Kāsān-water. But the narrative supports what I have noted.

The "upper villages" of Akhsī might be, however, those higher up on the Saiḥūn-daryā (Sīr-daryā).

P. 189 and n. 1.—A third and perhaps here better rendering of *bī bāqī* is that of p. 662 (*s.d.* April 10th), "leaving none behind."

P. 196.—The *Ḥabību's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 250 l. 11 fr. ft.) writes of *barādarān* of Khusrau Shāh, Amīr Walī and Pīr Walī. As it is improbable that two brothers (Anglicé) would be called Walī, it may be right to translate *barādarān* by brethren, and to understand a brother and a cousin. Bābur mentions only the brother Walī.

P. 223 ll. 1–3 fr. ft.—The French translation, differing from 'Abdu'r-rahim's and Erskine's, reads Bābur as saying of the ranges separating the cultivated lands of Kabul, that they are *comme des ponts de trèfle*, but this does not suit the height and sometimes permanent snows of some of the separating ranges.—My bald "(great) dams" should have been expanded to suit the meaning (as I take it to be) of the words *Yūr-ūnchaqā pul-dik*, like embankments (*pul*) against going (*yūr*) further; (so far, *ūncha*). Cf. Griffiths' *Journal*, p. 431).

P. 251.—Niẓāmī expresses the opinion that "Fate is an avenging servitor" but not in the words used by Bābur (p. 251). He does this when moralizing on Farhad's death, brought about by Khusrau's trick and casting the doer into dread of vengeance (H.B.).

P. 266 n. 7.—On p. 266 Bābur allots three daughters to Pāpā Aghācha and on p. 269 four. Various details make for four. But, if four, the total of eleven (p. 261) is exceeded.

P. 276 para. 3.—Attention is attracted on this page to the unusual circumstance that a parent and child are both called by the same name, Junaid. One other instance is found in the *Bābur-nāma*, that of Bābur's wife Ma'ṣuma and her daughter. Perhaps "Junaid" like "Ma'ṣūma" was the name given to the child because birth closely followed the death of the parent (*see s.n.* Ma'ṣūma).

P. 277.—Concerning Bih-būd Beg the *Shaibānī-nāma* gives the following information:—he was in command in Khwārizm and Khīva when Shaibānī moved against Chīn *Ṣūfī* (910 AH.), and spite of his name, was unpopular (Vambéry's ed. 184, 186). Vambéry's note 88 says he is mentioned in the (anonymous) prose *Shaibānī-nāma*, Russian trs. p. lxi.

P. 372 l. 2 fr. ft.—Where the Ḥai. MS. and Kāsān Imp. have *mu'āraẓ*, rival, E. and de C. translate by representative, but the following circumstances favour "rival":—Wais was with Bābur (pp. 374–6) and would need no representative. His arrival is not recorded; no introductory particulars are given of him where his name is first found (p. 372); therefore he is likely to have joined Bābur in the time of the gap of 924 AH. (p. 366), before the siege of Bajaur-fort and before 'Alā'u'd-dīn did so. The two Sawādī chiefs received gifts and left together (p. 376).

P. 393 l. 4.—In this couplet the point lies in the double-meaning of *ra'iyat*, subject and peasant.

P. 401.—Under date Thursday 25th Bābur mentions an appointment to read *fiqah sabaqī* to him. Erskine translated this by "Sacred extracts from the Qorān" (I followed this). But "lessons in theology" may be a better rendering—as more literal and as allowing for the use of other writings than the Qorān. A correspondent Mr. G. Yazdānī (Gov. Epigraphist for Muslim Inscriptions, Haidarabad) tells us that it is customary amongst Muslims to recite religious books on Thursdays.

P. 404 l. 7 fr. ft.—Bābā Qashqa (or Qāshqā)'s family-group is somewhat interesting as that of loyal and capable men of Mughūl birth who served Bābur and Humāyūn. It must have joined Bābur in what is now the gap between 914 and 925 AH. because not mentioned earlier and because he is first mentioned in 925 AH. without introductory particulars. The following details supplement *Bābur-nāma* information about the group:—(1) Of Bāba Qashqa's murder by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāī-qarā* Gul-hadan (f. 23) makes record, and Badāyūnī (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 450) says that (*cir.* 952 AH.) when Bābā's son Ḥājī Muḥ. Khān *Kūkī* had pursued and overtaken the rebel Kāmrān, the Mīrzā asked, as though questioning the Khān's ground of hostility to himself, "But did I kill thy father

Bābā Qashqa?" (*Pidrat Bābā Qashqa magar man kushta am?*).—(2) Of the death of Bābā Qashqa's brother "Kūkī", Abū'l-faẓl records that he was killed in Hindūstān by Muḥammad Sl. M. *Bāī-qarā* (952 AH.), and that Kūkī's nephew Shāh Muḥ. (*see* p. 668) retaliated (955 AH.) by arrow-shooting one of Muḥ. Sl. Mīrzā's sons. This was done when Shāh Muḥ. was crossing Mīnār-pass on his return journey from sharing Humāyūn's exile in Persia (*see* Jauhar).—(3) Hājī Muḥ. Khān *Kūkī* and Shāh Muḥammad Khān appear to have been sons of Bābā Qashqa and nephews of "Kūkī" (*supra*). They were devoted servants of Humāyūn but were put to death by him in 958 AH.–1551 AD. (cf. Erskine's *H. of I. Humāyūn*).—(4) About the word *Kūkī* dictionaries afford no warrant for taking it to mean foster-brother (*kokah*). Chīngīz Khān had a beg known as Kūk or Kouk (or Gūk) and one of his own grandsons used the same style. It may link the Bābā Qashqā group with the Chīngīz Khānid Kūkī, either as descendants or as hereditary adherents, or as both. (*See* Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-Turk*, trs. Désmaisons, Index *s.n. Kouk*, and also its accounts of the origin of several tribal groups.)

P. 416.—The line quoted by 'Abdu'l-lāh is from the *Anwār-i-suhailī*, Book II, Story i. Eastwick translates it and its immediate context thus:—

"People follow the faith of their kings."

"My heart is like a tulip scorched and by sighings flame;

"In all thou seest, their hearts are scorched and stained the same." (H.B.)

The offence of the quotation appears to have been against Khalīfa, and might be a suggestion that he followed Bābur in breach of Law by using wine.

P. 487 n. 2.—The following passages complete the note on *wulsa* quoted by Erskine from Col. Mark Wilks' *Historical Sketches* and show how the word is used:—"During the absence of Major Lawrence from Trichinopoly, the town had been completely depopulated by the removal of the whole *Wulsa* to seek for food elsewhere, and the enemy had been earnestly occupied in endeavouring to surprise the garrison." (Here follows Erskine's quotation *see in loco* p. 487). "The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the *Wulsa* of that district, a state of utmost misery, involving precaution against incessant war and unpitying depredation—so peculiar a description as to require in any of the languages of Europe a long circumlocution, is expressed *in all the languages of Deckan and the south of India by a single word.* No proofs can be accumulated from the most profound research which shall describe the immemorial condition of the people of India with more precision than this single word. It is a bright distinction that the *Wulsa* never departs on the approach of a British army when this is unaccompanied by Indian allies."—By clerical error in the final para. of my note *ūlwash* is entered for *ūlvan* [Molesworth, any desolating calamity].

P. 540 n. 4.—An explanation of Bābur's use of Shāh-zāda as Ṭahmāsp's title may well be that this title answers to the Tīmūrid one Mīr-zāda, Mīrzā. If so, Bābur's change to "Shāh" (p. 635) may recognize supremacy by victory, such as he had claimed for himself in 913 AH. when he changed his Tīmūrid "Mīrzā" for "Pādshāh".

P. 557.—Ḥusain *Kashifī*, also, quotes Firdausī's couplet in the *Anwār-i-suhailī* (Cap. I, Story XXI), a book dedicated to Shaikh Aḥmad *Suhailī* (p. 277) and of earlier date than the *Bābur-nāma*. Its author died in 910 AH.–1505 AD.

P. 576 n. 1.—Tod's statement (quoted in my n. 1) that "the year of Rānā Sangā's defeat (933 AH.) was the last of his existence" cannot be strictly correct because Bābur's statement (p. 598) of intending attack on him in Chitor allows him to have been alive in 934 AH. (1528 AD.). The death occurred, "not without suspicion of poison," says Tod, when the Rānā had moved against Irij then held for Bābur; it will have been long enough before the end of 934 AH. to allow an envoy from his son Bikramājīt to wait on Bābur in that year (pp. 603, 612). Bābur's record of it may safely be inferred lost with the once-existent matter of 934 AH.

P. 631.—My husband has ascertained that the "Sayyid Daknī" of p. 631 is Sayyid Shāh Ṭāhir *Daknī* (*Deccani*) the Shiite apostle of Southern India, who in 935 AH. was sent to Bābur with a letter from Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, in which (if there were not two embassies) congratulation was made on

the conquest of Dihlī and help asked against Bahādur Shāh *Gujrātī*. A second but earlier mention of "Sayyid *Dakhnī*" (*Zakhnī*, *Ṛukhnī* ?) *Shīrāzī* is on p. 619. Whether the two entries refer to Shāh Ṭāhir nothing makes clear. The cognomen Shīrāzī disassociates them. It is always to be kept in mind that preliminary events are frequently lost in gaps; one such will be the arrivals of the various envoys, mentioned on p. 630, whose places of honour are specified on p. 631. Much is on record about Sayyid Shāh Ṭāhir *Dakhnī* and particulars of his life are available in the histories by Badāyūnī (Ranking trs.) and Firishta Nawal Kishor ed. p. 105); B.M. Harleyan MS. No. 199 contains his letters (*see* Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 395).

P. 699 and n. 3.—The particulars given by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* about Multān at this date (932–4 AH.) are as follows:—After Bābur took the Panj-āb, he ordered Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn* to attempt Multān, then held by one Sl. Mahmūd who, dying, was succeeded by an infant son Ḥusain. Shāh Ḥāsan took Multān after a 16 (lunar) months' siege, at the end of 934 AH. (in a B.N. *lacuna* therefore), looted and slaughtered in it, and then returned to Tatta. On this Langar Khān took possession of it (H.B.). What part 'Askarī (*æt.* 12) had in the matter is yet to learn; possibly he was nominated to its command and then recalled as Bābur mentions (935 AH.).

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[APPENDICES TO THE HINDŪSTĀN SECTION.]

M.—ON THE TERM *BAḤRĪ QŪṬĀS.*

THAT the term *baḥrī qūṭās* is interpreted by Meninski, Erskine, and de Courteille in senses so widely differing as *equus maritimus*, mountain-cow, and *bœuf vert de mer* is due, no doubt, to their writing when the *qūṭās*, the yāk, was less well known than it now is.

The word *qūṭās* represents both the yāk itself and its neck-tassel and tail. Hence Meninski explains it by *nodus fimbriatus ex cauda seu crinibus equi maritimi.* His "sea-horse" appears to render *baḥrī qūṭās*, and is explicable by the circumstance that the same purposes are served by horse-tails and by yāk-tails and tassels, namely, with both, standards are fashioned, horse-equipage is ornamented or perhaps furnished with fly-flappers, and the ordinary hand-fly-flappers are made, *i.e.* the *chowries* of Anglo-India.

Erskine's "mountain-cow" (*Memoirs* p. 317) may well be due to his *munshī's* giving the yāk an alternative name, *viz. Koshgau* (Vigne) or *Khāsh-gau* (Ney Elias), which appears to mean mountain-cow (cattle, oxen).[1]

De Courteille's *Dictionary* p. 422, explains *qūtās* (*qūṭās*) as *bœuf marin* (*baḥrī qūṭās*) and his *Mémoires* ii, 191, renders Bābur's *baḥrī qūṭās* by *bœuf vert de mer* (f. 276, p. 490 and n. 8).

The term *baḥrī qūṭās* could be interpreted with more confidence if one knew where the seemingly Arabic-Turkī compound originated.[2] Bābur uses it in Hindūstān where the neck-tassel

[1] Vigne's *Travels in Kāshmīr* ii, 277–8; *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs., p. 302 and n. and p. 466 and note.

[2] It is not likely to be one heard current in Hindūstān, any more than is Bābur's Ar. *bū-qalamūn* as a name of a bird (Index *s.n.*); both seem to be "book-words" and may be traced or known as he uses them in some ancient dictionary or book of travels originating outside Hindūstān.

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and the tail of the domestic yāk are articles of commerce, and where, as also probably in Kābul, he will have known of the same class of yāk as a saddle-animal and as a beast of burden into Kashmīr and other border-lands of sufficient altitude to allow its survival. A part of its wide Central Asian habitat abutting on Kashmīr is Little Tibet, through which flows the upper Indus and in which tame yāk are largely bred, Skardo being a place specially mentioned by travellers as having them plentifully. This suggests that the term *baḥrī qūṭās* is due to the great river (*baḥr*) and that those of which Bābur wrote in Hindūstān were from Little Tibet and its great river. But *baḥrī* may apply to another region where also the domestic yāk abounds, that of the great lakes, inland seas such as Pangong, whence the yāk comes and goes between *e.g.* Yārkand and the Hindūstān border.

The second suggestion, *viz.* that "*baḥrī qūṭās*" refers to the habitat of the domestic yāk in lake and marsh lands of high altitude (the wild yāk also but, as Tibetan, it is less likely to be concerned here) has support in Dozy's account of the *baḥrī* falcon, a bird mentioned also by Abū'l-faẓl amongst sporting birds (*Āyīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann's trs. p.295) :—"*Baḥrī, espèce de faucon le meilleur pour les oiseaux de marais. Ce renseignment explique peut-être l'origine du mot. Marguerite en donne la même etymologie que Tashmend et le Père Guagix. Selon lui ce faucon aurait été appelé ainsi parce qu'il vient de l'autre côté de la mer, mais peut-être dériva-t-il de baḥrī dans le sens de marais, flaque, étang.*"

Dr. E. Denison Ross' *Polyglot List of Birds* (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* ii, 289) gives to the *Qarā Qīrghāwal* (Black pheasant) the synonym "Sea-pheasant", this being the literal translation of its Chinese name, and quotes from the Manchū-Chinese "Mirror" the remark that this is a black pheasant but called "sea-pheasant" to distinguish it from other black ones.

It may be observed that Bābur writes of the yāk once only and then of the *baḥrī qūṭās* so that there is no warrant from him for taking the term to apply to the wild yāk. His cousin and

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contemporary Ḥaidar Mīrzā, however, mentions the wild yāk twice and simply as the wild *qūṭās.*

The following are random gleanings about "*baḥrī*" and the yāk :—

(1) An instance of the use of the Persian equivalent *daryā'ī* of *baḥrī*, sea-borne or over-sea, is found in the *Akbar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. ii, 216) where the African elephant is described as *fīl-i-daryā'ī.*

(2) In Egypt the word *baḥrī* has acquired the sense of northern, presumably referring to what lies or is borne across its northern sea, the Mediterranean.

(3) Vigne (*Travels in Kashmīr* ii, 277–8) warns against confounding the *qūch-qār i.e.* the gigantic *moufflon*, Pallas' *Ovis ammon*, with the *Kosh-gau*, the cow of the Kaucasus, *i.e.* the yāk. He says, "Kaucasus (*hodie* Hindū-kush) was originally from Kosh, and Kosh is applied occasionally as a prefix, *e.g. Kosh-gau*, the yāk or ox of the mountain or Kaucasus." He wrote from Skardo in Little Tibet and on the upper Indus. He gives the name of the female yāk as *yāk-mo* and of the half-breeds with common cows as *bzeh*, which class he says is common and of "all colours".

(4) Mr. Ney Elias' notes (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. pp. 302 and 466) on the *qūṭās* are of great interest. He gives the following synonymous names for the wild yāk, *Bos Poëphagus*, *Khāsh-gau*, the Tibetan yāk or Dong.

(5) Hume and Henderson (*Lāhor to Yārkand* p. 59) write of the numerous black yāk-hair tents seen round the Pangong Lake, of fine saddle yāks, and of the tame ones as being some white or brown but mostly black.

(6) Olufsen's *Through the Unknown Pamirs* (p. 118) speaks of the large numbers of *Bos grunniens* (yāk) domesticated by the Kirghiz in the Pamirs.

(7) Cf. Gazetteer of India *s.n.* yāk.

(8) Shaikh Zain applies the word *baḥrī* to the porpoise, when paraphrasing the *Bābur-nāma* f. 281*b*.

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N.—NOTES ON A FEW BIRDS.

In attempting to identify some of the birds of Bābur's lists difficulty arises from the variety of names provided by the different tongues of the region concerned, and also in some cases by the application of one name to differing birds. The following random gleanings enlarge and, in part, revise some earlier notes and translations of Mr. Erskine's and my own. They are offered as material for the use of those better acquainted with bird-lore and with Himālayan dialects.

a. Concerning the lūkha, lūja, lūcha, kūja (f. 135 and f. 278*b*).

The nearest word I have found to *lūkha* and its similars is *likkh*, a florican (Jerdon, ii, 615), but the florican has not the chameleon colours of the *lūkha* (var.). As Bābur when writing in Hindūstān, uses such "book-words" as Ar. *baḥrī* (*qūṭās*) and Ar. *bū-qalamūn* (chameleon), it would not be strange if his name for the "*lūkha*" bird represented Ar. *awja*, very beautiful, or connected with Ar. *loḥ*, shining splendour.

The form *kūja* is found in Ilminsky's imprint p. 361 (*Mémoires* ii, 198, *koudjeh*).

What is confusing to translators is that (as it now seems to me) Bābur appears to use the name *kabg-i-darī* in both passages (f. 135 and f. 278*b*) to represent two birds; (1) he compares the *lūkha* as to size with the *kabg-i-darī* of the Kābul region, and (2) for size and colour with that of Hindūstān. But the bird of the Western Himālayas known by the name *kabg-i-darī* is the Himālayan snow-cock, *Tetraogallus himālayensis*, Turkī, *aūlār* and in the Kābul region, *chīūrtika* (f. 249, Jerdon, ii, 549–50); while the *kabg-i-darī* (syn. *chikor*) of Hindūstān, whether of hill or plain, is one or more of much smaller birds.

The snow-cock being 28 inches in length, the *lūkha* bird must be of this size. Such birds as to size and plumage of changing colour are the *Lophophori* and *Trapagons*, varieties of which are found in places suiting Bābur's account of the *lūkha*.

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It may be noted that the Himālayan snow-cock is still called *kabg-i-darī* in Afghānistān (Jerdon, ii, 550) and in Kashmīr (Vigne's *Travels in Kashmīr* ii, 18). As its range is up to 18,000 feet, its Persian name describes it correctly whether read as "of the mountains" (*darī*), or as "royal" (*darī*) through its splendour.

I add here the following notes of Mr. Erskine's, which I have not quoted already where they occur (cf. f. 135 and f. 278*b*) :—

On f. 135, "*lokheh*" is said to mean *hill-chikor*.

On f. 278*b*, to "*lūjeh*", "The Persian has *lūkheh*."

„ to "*kepki durrī*", "The *kepkī deri*, or *durri* is much larger than the common *kepk* of Persia and is peculiar to Khorāsān. It is said to be a beautiful bird. The common *kepk* of Persia and Khorāsān is the *hill-chikor* of India."

„ to "higher up", "The *lujeh* may be the *chikor* of the plains which Hunter calls bartavelle or Greek partridge."

The following corrections are needed about my own notes:— (1) on f. 135 (p. 213) n. 7 is wrongly referred; it belongs to the first word, *viz. kabg-i-darī*, of p. 214; (2) on f. 279 (p. 496) n. 2 should refer to the second *kabg-i-darī*.

b. Birds called mūnāl (var. monāl and moonaul).

Yule writing in *Hobson Jobson* (p. 580) of the "*moonaul*" which he identifies as *Lophophorus Impeyanus*, queries whether, on grounds he gives, the word *moonaul* is connected etymologically with Sanscrit *muni*, an "eremite". In continuation of his topic, I give here the names of other birds called *mūnāl*, which I have noticed in various ornithological works while turning their pages for other information.

Besides *L. Impeyanus* and *Trapagon Ceriornis satyra* which Yule mentions as called "*moonaul*", there are *L. refulgens*, *mūnāl* and *Ghūr* (mountain)-*mūnāl; Trapagon Ceriornis satyra*, called *mūnāl* in Nipāl; *T. C. melanocephalus*, called *sing*

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(horned)-*mūnāl* in the N.W. Himālayas; *T. himālayensis*, the *jer-* or *cher-mūnāl* of the same region, known also as *chikor*; and *Lerwa nevicola*, the snow-partridge known in Garhwal as *Quoir-* or *Qūr-mūnāl*. Do all these birds behave in such a way as to suggest that *mūnāl* may imply the individual isolation related by Jerdon of *L. Impeyanus*, "In the autumnal and winter months numbers are generally collected in the same quarter of the forest, though often so widely scattered that each bird appears to be alone?" My own search amongst vocabularies of hill-dialects for the meaning of the word has been unsuccessful, spite of the long range *mūnāls* in the Himālayas.

c. Concerning the word chīūrtika, chourtka.

Jerdon's entry (ii, 549, 554) of the name *chourtka* as a synonym of *Tetraogallus himālayensis* enables me to fill a gap I have left on f. 249 (p. 491 and n. 6),[1] with the name Himālayan snow-cock, and to allow Bābur's statement to be that he, in January 1520 AD. when coming down from the *Bād-i-pīch* pass, saw many snow-cocks. The *Memoirs* (p. 282) has "*chikors*", which in India is a synonym for *kabg-i-darī*; the *Mémoires* (ii, 122) has *sauterelles*, but this meaning of *chīūrtika* does not suit wintry January. That month would suit for the descent from higher altitudes of snow-cocks. Griffith, a botanist who travelled in Afghānistān *cir.* 1838 AD., saw myriads of *cicadæ* between Qilat-i-ghilzai and Ghazni, but the month was July.

d. On the qūṭān (f. 142, p. 224; *Memoirs*, p. 153; *Mémoires* ii, 313).

Mr. Erskine for *qūṭān* enters *khawāṣil* [gold-finch] which he will have seen interlined in the Elphinstone Codex (f. 109*b*) in explanation of *qūṭān*.

Shaikh Effendi (Kunos' ed., p. 139) explains *qūṭān* to be the gold-finch, *Steiglitz*.

Ilminsky's *qūṭān* (p. 175) is translated by M. de Courteille as *pélicane* and certainly some copies of the 2nd Persian translation [Muḥ. *Shīrāzi's* p. 90] have *ḥawāṣil*, pelican.

The pelican would class better than the small finch with the

[1] My note 6 on p. 421 shows my earlier difficulties, due to not knowing (when writing it) that *kabg-ī-darī* represents the snow-cock in the Western Himālayas.

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herons and egrets of Bābur's trio; it also would appear a more likely bird to be caught "with the cord".

That Bābur's *qūṭān* (*ḥawāṣil*) migrated in great numbers is however against supposing it to be *Pelicanus onocrotatus* which is seen in India during the winter, because it appears there in moderate numbers only, and Blanford with other ornithologists states that no western pelican migrates largely into India.

Perhaps the *qūṭān* was Linnæus' *Pelicanus carbo* of which one synonym is *Carbo comoranus*, the cormorant, a bird seen in India in large numbers of both the large and small varieties. As cormorants are not known to breed in that country, they will have migrated in the masses Bābur mentions.

A translation matter falls to mention here:—After saying that the *aūqār* (grey heron), *qarqara* (egret), and *qūtān* (cormorant) are taken with the cord, Bābur says that this method of bird-catching is unique (*bū nūḥ qūsh tūtmāq ghair muqarrar dūr*) and describes it. The Persian text omits to translate the *tūtmāq* (by *P. giriftan*); hence Erskine (*Mems.* p.153) writes, "The last mentioned fowl" (*i.e.* the *qūṭān*) "is rare," notwithstanding Bābur's statement that all three of the birds he names are caught in masses. De Courteille (p.313) writes, as though only of the *qūtān*, "*ces derniers toutefois ne se prennent qu'accidentelment*," perhaps led to do so by knowledge of the circumstance that *Pelicanus onocrotatus* is rare in India.

O.—NOTES BY HUMĀYŪN ON SOME HINDŪSTĀN FRUITS.

THE following notes, which may be accepted as made by Humāyūn and in the margin of the archetype of the Elphinstone Codex, are composed in Turkī which differs in diction from his father's but is far closer to that classic model than is that of the producer [Jahāngīr?] of the "Fragments" (Index *s.n.*). Various circumstances make the notes difficult to decipher *verbatim* and, unfortunately, when writing in Jan. 1917, I am unable to collate

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with its original in the Advocates Library, the copy I made of them in 1910.

a. On the kadhil, jack-fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia (f. 283*b*, p. 506; Elphinstone MS. f. 235*b*).[1]

The contents of the note are that the strange-looking pumpkin (*qar'*, which is also Ibn Batuta's word for the fruit), yields excellent white juice, that the best fruit grows from the roots of the tree,[2] that many such grow in Bengal, and that in Bengal and Dihli there grows a *kadhil*-tree covered with hairs (*Artocarpus hirsuta*?).

b. On the amrit-phal, mandarin-orange, Citrus aurantium (f. 287, p. 512; Elphinstone Codex, f. 238*b*, l. 12).

The interest of this note lies in its reference to Bābur.

A Persian version of it is entered, without indication of what it is or of who was its translator, in one of the volumes of Mr. Erskine's manuscript remains, now in the British Museum (Add. 26,605, p. 88). Presumably it was made by his Turkish *munshi* for his note in the Memoirs (p. 329).

Various difficulties oppose the translation of the Turkī note; it is written into the text of the Elphinstone Codex in two instalments, neither of them in place, the first being interpolated in the account of the *amil-bīd* fruit, the second in that of the *jāsūn* flower; and there are verbal difficulties also. The Persian translation is not literal and in some particulars Mr. Erskine's rendering of this differs from what the Turkī appears to state.

The note is, tentatively, as follows:[3]—"His honoured Majesty Firdaus-makān[4]—may God make his proof clear!—did not

[1] By over-sight mention of this note was omitted from my article on the Elphinstone Codex (JRAS. 1907, p. 131).

[2] Speede's *Indian Hand-book* (i, 212) published in 1841 AD. thus writes, "It is a curious circumstance that the finest and most esteemed fruit are produced from the roots below the surface of the ground, and are betrayed by the cracking of the earth above them, and the effluvia issuing from the fissure; a high price is given by rich natives for fruit so produced."

[3] In the margin of the Elphinstone Codex opposite the beginning of the note are the words, "This is a marginal note of Humāyūn Pādshāh's."

[4] Every Emperor of Hindūstān has an epithet given him after his death to distinguish him, and prevent the necessity of repeating his name too familiarly. Thus *Firdaus-makān* (dweller-in-paradise) is Bābur's; Humāyūn's is *Jannat-ashiyānī*, he whose nest is in Heaven; Muḥammad Shāh's *Firdaus-āramgāh*, he whose place of rest is Paradise; *etc.* (Erskine).

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favour the *amrit-phal*;[1] as he considered it insipid,[2] he likened it to the mild-flavoured[3] orange and did not make choice of it. So much was the mild-flavoured orange despised that if any person had disgusted (him) by insipid flattery (?) he used to say, 'He is like orange-juice.'"[4]

"The *amrit-phal* is one of the very good fruits. Though its juice is not relishing (?*chūchūq*), it is extremely pleasant-drinking. Later on, in my own time, its real merit became known. Its tartness may be that of the orange (*nāranj*) and *lemu*."[5]

The above passage is followed, in the text of the Elphinstone Codex, by Bābur's account of the *jāsūn* flower, and into this a further instalment of Humāyūn's notes is interpolated, having opposite its first line the marginal remark, "This extra note, seemingly made by Humāyūn Pādshāh, the scribe has mistakenly written into the text." Whether its first sentence refer to the *amrit-phal* or to the *amil-bīd* must be left for decision to those well acquainted with the orange-tribe. It is obscure in my copy and abbreviated in its Persian translation; summarized it may state that when the fruit is unripe, its acidity is harmful to the digestion, but that it is very good when ripe.—The note then continues as below :—

c. The kāmila, H. kauṅlā, the orange.[6]

"There are in Bengal two other fruits of the acid kind. Though the *amrit-phal* be not agreeable, they have resemblance to it (?)."

[1] Here Mr. Erskine notes, "Literally, *nectar-fruit*, probably the mandarin orange, by the natives called *nāringī*. The name *amrat*, or pear, in India is applied to the guava or *Psidium pyriferum*—(*Spondias mangifera*, Hort. Ben.—D. Wallich)." . . . Mr. E. notes also that the note on the *amrit-phal* "is not found in either of the Persian translations".

[2] *chūchūmān*, Pers. trs. *shīrīni bī maza*, perhaps flat, sweet without relish. Bābur does not use the word, nor have I traced it in a dictionary.

[3] *chūchūk*, savoury, nice-tasting, not acid (Shaw).

[4] *chūchūk nāranj āndāq* (?) *maṭ'ūn aīdī kīm har kīm-nī shīrīn-kārlīghī bī maza qīlkāndī, nāranj-sū'ī dīk tūr dīrlār aīdī.*

[5] The *lemu* may be *Citrus limona*, which has abundant juice of a mild acid flavour.

[6] The *kāmila* and *samṭara* are the real oranges (*kauṅlā* and *sangtāra*), which are now (*cir.* 1816 AD.) common all over India. Dr. Hunter conjectures that the *sangtara* may take its name from Cintra, in Portugal. This early mention of it by Bābur and Humāyūn may be considered as subversive of that supposition. (This description of the *samṭara*, vague as it is, applies closer to the *Citrus decumana* or *pampelmus*, than to any other.—D. Wallich.)—Erskine.

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"One is the *kāmila* which may be as large as an orange (*nāranj*); some took it to be a large *nārangī* (orange) but it is much pleasanter eating than the *nārangī* and is understood not to have the skin of that (fruit)."

d. The samṭara.[1]

The other is the *samṭara* which is larger than the orange (*nāranj*) but is not tart; unlike the *amrit-phal* it is not of poor flavour (*kam maza*) or little relish (*chūchūk*). In short a better fruit is not seen. It is good to see, good to eat, good to digest. One does not forget it. If it be there, no other fruit is chosen. Its peel may be taken off by the hand. However much of the fruit be eaten, the heart craves for it again. Its juice does not soil the hand at all. Its skin separates easily from its flesh. It may be taken during and after food. In Bengal the *samṭara* is rare (*ghārib*) (or excellent, *'azīz*). It is understood to grow in one village Sanārgām (Sonargaon) and even there in a special quarter. There seems to be no fruit so entirely good as the *samṭara* amongst fruits of its class or, rather, amongst fruits of all kinds."

Corrigendum:—In my note on the *turunj bajāurī* (p. 511, n. 3) for *bijaurā* read *bījaurā*; and on p. 510, l. 2, for *palm* read *fingers*.

Addendum:—p. 510, l. 5. After *yūsūnlūk* add:—"The natives of Hindūstān when not wearing their ear-rings, put into the large ear-ring holes, slips of the palm-leaf bought in the bāzārs, ready for the purpose. The trunk of this tree is handsomer and more stately than that of the date."

P.—REMARKS ON BĀBUR'S REVENUE LIST (fol. 292).

a. Concerning the date of the List.

The Revenue List is the last item of Bābur's account of Hindūstān and, with that account, is found *s.a.* 932 AH., manifestly

[1] Humāyūn writes of this fruit as though it were not the *sang-tara* described by his father on f. 287 (p. 511 and note).

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too early, (1) because it includes districts and their revenues which did not come under Bābur's authority until subdued in his Eastern campaigns of 934 and 935 AH., (2) because Bābur's statement is that the "countries" of the List "are *now* in my possession" (*in loco* p. 520).

The List appears to be one of revenues realized in 936 or 937 AH. and not one of assessment or estimated revenue, (1) because Bābur's wording states as a fact that the revenue was 52 *krūrs*; (2) because the Persian heading of the (Persian) List is translatable as "Revenue (*jama'*)[1] of Hindūstān from what has so far come under the victorious standards".

b. The entry of the List into European Literature.

Readers of the L. and E. *Memoirs of Bābur* are aware that it does not contain the Revenue List (p. 334). The omission is due to the absence of the List from the Elphinstone Codex and from the 'Abdu'r-rahīm Persian translation. Since the *Memoirs of Bābur* was published in 1826 AD., the List has come from the *Bābur-nāma* into European literature by three channels.

Of the three the one used earliest is Shaikh Zain's *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* which is a Persian paraphrase of part of Bābur's Hindūstān section. This work provided Mr. Erskine with what he placed in his *History of India* (London 1854, i, 540, Appendix D), but his manuscript, now B.M. Add. 26,202, is not the best copy of Shaikh Zain's book, being of far less importance than B.M. Or. 1999, [as to which more will be said.][2]

The second channel is Dr. Ilminsky's imprint of the Turkī text (Kāsān 1857, p. 379), which is translated by the *Mémoires de Bâber* (Paris 1871, ii, 230).

The third channel is the Ḥaidarābād Codex, in the English translation of which [*in loco*] the List is on p. 521.

Shaikh Zain may have used Bābur's autograph manuscript for his paraphrase and with it the Revenue List. His own autograph manuscript was copied in 998 AH. (1589–90 AD.) by

[1] M. de Courteille translated *jama'* in a general sense by *totalité* instead of in its Indian technical one of revenue (as here) or of assessment. Hence Professor Dowson's "totality" (iv, 262 n.).

[2] The B.M. has a third copy, Or. 5879, which my husband estimates as of little importance.

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Khwānd-amīr's grandson 'Abdu'l-lāh who may be the scribe "Mīr 'Abdu'l-lāh" of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* (Blochmann's trs. p. 109). 'Abdu'l-lāh's transcript (from which a portion is now absent,) after having been in Sir Henry Elliot's possession, has become B.M. Or. 1999. It is noticed briefly by Professor Dowson (*l.c.* iv, 288), but he cannot have observed that the "old, worm-eaten" little volume contains Bābur's Revenue List, since he does not refer to it.

c. Agreement and variation in copies of the List.

The figures in the two copies (Or. 1999 and Add. 26,202) of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* are in close agreement. They differ, however, from those in the Ḥaidarābād Codex, not only in a negligible unit and a ten of *tankas* but in having 20,000 more *tankas* from Oudh and Baraich and 30 *laks* of *tankas* more from Transsutlej.

The figures in the two copies of the *Bābur-nāma*, *viz.* the Ḥaidarābād Codex and the Kehr-Ilminsky imprint are not in agreement throughout, but are identical in opposition to the variants (20,000 *t.* and 30 *l.*) mentioned above. As the two are independent, being collateral descendants of Bābur's original papers, the authority of the Ḥaidarābād Codex in the matter of the List is still further enhanced.

d. Varia.

(1) The place-names of the List are all traceable, whatever their varied forms. About the entry L:knū [or L:knūr] and B:ks:r [or M:ks:r] a difficulty has been created by its variation in manuscripts, not only in the List but where the first name occurs *s.a.* 934 and 935 AH. In the Ḥaidarābād List and in that of Or. 1999 L:knūr is clearly written and may represent (approximately) modern Shahābād in Rāmpūr. Erskine and de Courteille, however, have taken it to be Lakhnau in Oudh. [The distinction of Lakhnaur from Lakhnau in the historical narrative is discussed in Appendix T.]

(2) It may be noted, as of interest, that the name Sarwār is an abbreviation of Sarjūpār which means "other side of Sarjū" (Sarū, Goghrā; E. and D.'s H. of I. i, 56, n.4).

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(3) Rūp-narāīn (Deo or Dev) is mentioned in Ajodhya Prasad's short history of Tirhut and Darbhanga, the *Gulzār-i-Bihār* (Calcutta 1869, Cap. v, 88) as the 9th of the Brahman rulers of Tirhut and as having reigned for 25 years, from 917 to 942 *Faslī* (?). If the years were Ḥijrī, 917–42 AH. would be 1511–1535.[1]

(4) Concerning the *tanka* the following modern description is quoted from Mr. R. Shaw's *High Tartary* (London 1871, p.464) "The *tanga*" (or *tanka*) "is a nominal coin, being composed of 25 little copper cash, with holes pierced in them and called *dahcheen.* These are strung together and the quantity of them required to make up the value of one of these silver ingots" ("*kooroos* or *yamboo*, value nearly £17") "weighs a considerable amount. I once sent to get change for a *kooroos*, and my servants were obliged to charter a donkey to bring it home."

(5) The following interesting feature of Shaikh Zain's *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* has been mentioned to me by my husband :— Its author occasionally reproduces Bābur's Turkī words instead of paraphrasing them in Persian, and does this for the noticeable passage in which Bābur records his dissatisfied view of Hindūstān (f.290*b*, *in loco* p.518), prefacing his quotation with the remark that it is best and will be nearest to accuracy not to attempt translation but to reproduce the Pādshāh's own words. The main interest of the matter lies in the motive for reproducing the *ipsissima verba.* Was that motive deferential? Did the revelation of feeling and opinion made in the quoted passage clothe it with privacy so that Shaikh Zain reserved its perusal from the larger public of Hindūstān who might read Persian but not Turkī? Some such motive would explain the insertion untranslated of Bābur's letters to Humāyūn and to Khwāja Kalān which are left in Turkī by 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mīrzā.[2]

[1] Sir G. A. Grierson, writing in the *Indian Antiquary* (July 1885, p. 187), makes certain changes in Ajodhya Prasad's list of the Brahman rulers of Tirhut, on grounds he states.

[2] Index *s.n.* Bābur's letters. The passage Shaikh Zain quotes is found in Or. 1999, f. 65*b*, Add. 26,202, f. 66*b*, Or. 5879, f. 79*b*.

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Q.—CONCERNING THE "RĀMPŪR DĪWĀN".

PENDING the wide research work necessary to interpret Bābur's Hindūstān poems which the Rāmpūr manuscript preserves, the following comments, some tentative and open to correction, may carry further in making the poems publicly known, what Dr. E. Denison Ross has effected by publishing his Facsimile of the manuscript.[1] It is legitimate to associate comment on the poems with the *Bābur-nāma* because many of them are in it with their context of narrative; most, if not all, connect with it; some without it, would be dull and vapid.

a. An authorized English title.

The contents of the Rāmpūr MS. are precisely what Bābur describes sending to four persons some three weeks after the date attached to the manuscript,[2] *viz.* "the Translation and what-not of poems made on coming to Hindūstān";[3] and a similar description may be meant in the curiously phrased first clause of the colophon, but without mention of the Translation (of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*).[4] Hence, if the poems, including the Translation, became known as the *Hindūstān Poems* or *Poems made in Hindūstān*, such title would be justified by their author's words. Bābur does not call the Hindūstān poems a *dīwān* even when, as in the above quotation, he speaks of them apart from his versified translation of the Tract. In what has come down to us of his autobiography, he applies the name *Dīwān* to poems of his own once only, this in 925 AH. (f. 237*b*) when he records sending "my *dīwān*" to Pūlād Sl. *Aūzbeg*.

[1] Cf. Index *in loco* for references to Bābur's metrical work, and for the Facsimile, JASB. 1910, Extra Number.

[2] Monday, Rabī' II. 15th 935 AH.—Dec. 27th 1528 AD. At this date Bābur had just returned from Dhūlpūr to Āgra (f. 354, p. 635, where in note 1 for Thursday read Monday).

[3] Owing to a scribe's "skip" from one *yībārīldī* (was sent) to another at the end of the next sentence, the passage is not in the Hai. MS. It is not well given in my translation (f. 357*b*, p. 642); what stands above is a closer rendering of the full Turkī, *Humāyūngha tarjuma* [*u*?] *nī-kīm Hindūstāngha kīlkānī aītqān ash'ārnī yībārildī* (Ilminsky p. 462, l. 4 fr. ft., where however there appears a slight clerical error).

[4] Hesitation about accepting the colophon as unquestionably applying to the whole contents of the manuscript is due to its position of close association with one section only of the three in the manuscript (cf. *post* p. lx).

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b. The contents of the Rāmpūr MS.

There are three separate items of composition in the manuscript, marked as distinct from one another by having each its ornamented frontispiece, each its scribe's sign (*mīm*) of Finis, each its division from its neighbour by a space without entry. The first and second sections bear also the official sign [*ṣaḥḥ*] that the copy has been inspected and found correct.

(1) The first section consists of Bābur's metrical translation of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrārī's Parental Tract* (*Wālidiyyah-risāla*), his prologue in which are his reasons for versifying the Tract and his epilogue which gives thanks for accomplishing the task. It ends with the date 935 (Ḥai. MS. f. 346). Below this are *mīm* and *ṣaḥḥ*, the latter twice ; they are in the scribe's hand-writing, and thus make against supposing that Bābur wrote down this copy of the Tract or its archetype from which the official *ṣaḥḥ* will have been copied. Moreover, spite of bearing two vouchers of being a correct copy, the Translation is emended, in a larger script which may be that of the writer of the marginal quatrain on the last page of the [Rāmpūr] MS. and there attested by Shāh-i-jahān as Bābur's autograph entry. His also may have been the now expunged writing on the half-page left empty of text at the end of the Tract. Expunged though it be, fragments of words are visible.[1]

(2) The second section has in its frontispiece an inscription illegible (to me) in the Facsimile. It opens with a *masnawī* of 41 couplets which is followed by a *ghazel* and numerous poems in several measures, down to a triad of rhymed couplets (*matla'*?), the whole answering to descriptions of a *Dīwān* without formal arrangement. After the last couplet are *mīm* and *ṣaḥḥ* in the scribe's hand-writing, and a blank quarter-page. Mistakes in this section have been left uncorrected, which supports the view that its *ṣaḥḥ* avouches the accuracy of its archetype and not its own.[2]

[1] Plate XI, and p. 15 (mid-page) of the Facsimile booklet.—The Facsimile does not show the whole of the marginal quatrain, obviously because for the last page of the manuscript a larger photographic plate was needed than for the rest. With Dr. Ross' concurrence a photograph in which the defect is made good, accompanies this Appendix.

[2] The second section ends on Plate XVII, and p. 21 of the Facsimile booklet.

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(3) The third section shows no inscription on its frontispiece. It opens with the *masnawī* of eight couplets, found also in the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 312), one of earlier date than many of the poems in the second section. It is followed by three *rubā'ī* which complete the collection of poems made in Hindūstān. A prose passage comes next, describing the composition and transposition-in-metre of a couplet of 16 feet, with examples in three measures, the last of which ends in l. 4 of the photograph.—While fixing the date of this metrical game, Bābur incidentally allows that of his *Treatise on Prosody* to be inferred from the following allusive words:—"When going to Sambhal (f. 330*b*) in the year (933 AH.) after the conquest of Hindūstān (932 AH.), two years after writing the *'Arūz*, I composed a couplet of 16 feet."—From this the date of the Treatise is seen to be 931 AH., some two years later than that of the *Mubīn*. The above metrical exercise was done about the same time as another concerning which a Treatise was written, *viz.* that mentioned on f. 330*b*, when a couplet was transposed into 504 measures (Section *f*, p. lxv).—The Facsimile, it will be noticed, shows something unusual in the last line of the prose passage on Plate XVIII B, where the scattering of the words suggests that the scribe was trying to copy page *per* page.

The colophon (which begins on l. 5 of the photograph) is curiously worded, as though the frequent fate of last pages had befallen its archetype, that of being mutilated and difficult for a scribe to make good; it suggests too that the archetype was verse.[1] Its first clause, even if read as *Hind-stān jānibī 'azīmat qīlghānī* (i.e. not *qīlghālī*, as it can be read), has an indirectness unlike Bābur's corresponding "after coming to Hindūstān" (f. 357*b*), and is not definite; (2) *bū aīrdī* (these were) is not the complement suiting *aūl dūrūr* (those are); (3) Bābur does not use the form *dūrūr* in prose; (4) the undue space after *dūrūr* suggests connection with verse; (5) there is no final verb such as prose needs. The meaning, however, may be as follows:—The poems made after resolving on (the)

[1] Needless to say that whatever the history of the manuscript, its value as preserving poems of which no other copy is known publicly, is untouched. This value would be great without the marginal entries on the last page; it finds confirmation in the identity of many of the shorter poems with counterparts in the *Bābur-nāma*.

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Hindūstān parts (*jānibī*?) were these I have written down (*taḥrīr qīldīm*), and past events are those I have narrated (*táqrīr*) in the way that (*nī-chūk kīm*) (has been) written in these folios (*aūrāq*) and recorded in those sections (*ajzā'*).—From this it would appear that sections of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 376*b*, p. 678) accompanied the Hindūstān poems to the recipient of the message conveyed by the colophon.

Close under the colophon stands *Ḥarara-hu Bābur* and the date Monday, Rabī' II. 15th 935 (Monday, December 27th 1528 AD.), the whole presumably brought over from the archetype. To the question whether a signature in the above form would be copied by a scribe, the Elphinstone Codex gives an affirmative answer by providing several examples of notes, made by Humāyūn in its archetype, so-signed and brought over either into its margin or interpolated in its text. Some others of Humāyūn's notes are not so-signed, the scribe merely saying they are Humāyūn Pādshāh's.—It makes against taking the above entry of Bābur's name to be an autograph signature, (1) that it is enclosed in an ornamented border, as indeed is the case wherever it occurs throughout the manuscript; (2) that it is followed by the scribe's *mīm*. [See end of following section.].

c. The marginal entries shown in the photograph.

The marginal note written length-wise by the side of the text is signed by Shāh-i-jahān and attests that the *rubā'ī* and the signature to which it makes reference are in Bābur's autograph hand-writing. His note translates as follows :—This quatrain and blessed name are in the actual hand-writing of that Majesty (*ān ḥaẓrat*) *Firdaus-makānī* Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*—May God make his proof clear !—Signed (*Ḥararā-hu*), Shāh-i-jahān son of Jahāngīr Pādshāh son of Akbar Pādshāh son of Humāyūn Pādshāh son of Bābur Pādshāh.[1]

[1] Another autograph of Shāh-i-jahān's is included in the translation volume (p. xiii) of Gul-badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*. It surprises one who works habitually on historical writings more nearly contemporary with Bābur, in which he is spoken of as *Firdaus-makānī* or as *Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī* and not by the name used during his life, to find Shāh-i-jahān giving him the two styles (cf. *Jahāngīr's Memoirs* trs. ii, 5). Those familiar with the writings of Shāh-i-jahān's biographers will know whether this is usual at that date. There would seem no doubt as to the identity of *ān Ḥaẓrat*.—The words *ān ḥaẓrat* by which Shāh-i-jahān refers to Bābur are used also in the epitaph placed by Jahāngīr at Bābur's tomb (Trs. Note p. 710–711).

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The second marginal entry is the curiously placed *rubā'ī*, which is now the only one on the page, and now has no signature attaching to it. It has the character of a personal message to the recipient of one of more books having identical contents. That these two entries are there while the text seems so clearly to be written by a scribe, is open to the explanation that when (as said about the colophon, p. lx) the rectangle of text was made good from a mutilated archetype, the original margin was placed round the *rifacimento* ? This superposition would explain the entries and seal-like circles, discernible against a strong light, on the reverse of the margin only, through the *rifacimento* page. The upper edge of the rectangle shows sign that the margin has been adjusted to it [so far as one can judge from a photograph]. Nothing on the face of the margin hints that the text itself is autograph ; the words of the colophon, *taḥrīr qīldīm* (*i.e.* I have written down) cannot hold good against the cumulative testimony that a scribe copied the whole manuscript.—The position of the last syllable [*nī*] of the *rubā'ī* shows that the signature below the colophon was on the margin before the diagonal couplet of the *rubā'ī* was written,—therefore when the margin was fitted, as it looks to have been fitted, to the *rifacimento*. If this be the order of the two entries [*i.e.* the small-hand signature and the diagonal couplet], Shāh-i-jahān's "blessed name" may represent the small-hand signature which certainly shows minute differences from the writing of the text of the MS. in the name Bābur (*q.v. passim* in the Rāmpūr MS.).

d. The Bāburī-khaṭṭ (*Bābūr's script*).

So early as 910AH. the year of his conquest of Kābul, Bābur devised what was probably a variety of *nakhsh*, and called it the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* (f. 144*b*), a name used later by Ḥaidar Mīrzā, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l-qādir *Badāyūnī*. He writes of it again (f. 179) *s.a.* 911AH. when describing an interview had in 912 AH. with one of the Harāt Qāẓīs, at which the script was discussed, its specialities (*mufradāt*) exhibited to, and read by the Qāẓī who there and then wrote in it.[1] In what remains to us

[1] The Qāẓī's rapid acquirement of the *mufradāt* of the script allows the inference that few letters only and those of a well-known script were varied.—*Mufradāt* was translated by Erskine, de Courteille and myself (f. 357*b*) as alphabet but reconsideration

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of the *Bābur-nāma* it is not mentioned again till 935 AH. (fol. 357*b*) but at some intermediate date Bābur made in it a copy of the Qorān which he sent to Makka.[1] In 935 AH. (f. 357*b*) it is mentioned in significant association with the despatch to each of four persons of a copy of the Translation (of the *Wālidiyyah-risāla*) and the Hindūstān poems, the significance of the association being that the simultaneous despatch with these copies of specimens of the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* points to its use in the manuscripts, and at least in Hind-āl's case, to help given for reading novel forms in their text. The above are the only instances now found in the *Bābur-nāma* of mention of the script.

The little we have met with—we have made no search—about the character of the script comes from the *Abūshqā, s.n. sīghnāq*, in the following entry :—

Sīghnāq ber nū'ah khaṭṭ der Chaghatāīda khaṭṭ Bāburī u ghairī kibī ki Bābur Mīrzā ash'ār'nda kīlūr bait

Khūblār khaṭṭī naṣīb'ng būlmāsā Bābur nī tāng ?
Bāburī khaṭṭī aimās dūr khaṭṭ sīghnāqī mū dūr ?[2]

The old Osmanli-Turkish prose part of this appears to mean :—"*Sīghnāq* is a sort of hand-writing, in Chaghatāī the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* and others resembling it, as appears in Bābur Mīrzā's poems. Couplet" :—

Without knowing the context of the couplet I make no attempt to translate it because its words *khaṭṭ* or *khaṭ* and

by the light of more recent information about the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* leads me to think this is wrong because "alphabet" includes every letter.—On f. 357*b* three items of the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* are specified as despatched with the Hindūstān poems, *viz. mufradāt, qita'lār* and *sar-i-khaṭṭ*. Of these the first went to Hind-āl, the third to Kāmrān, and no recipient is named for the second ; all translators have sent the *qita'lār* to Hind-āl but I now think this wrong and that a name has been omitted, probably Humāyūn's.

[1] f. 144*b*, p. 228, n. 3. Another interesting matter missing from the *Bābur-nāma* by the gap between 914 and 925 AH. is the despatch of an embassy to Czar Vassili III. in Moscow, mentioned in Schuyler's *Turkistan* ii, 394, Appendix IV, Grigorief's *Russian Policy in Central Asia*. The mission went after "Sulṭān Bābur" had established himself in Kābul ; as Bābur does not write of it before his narrative breaks off abruptly in 914 AH. it will have gone after that date.

[2] I quote from the Véliaminof-Zernov edition (p. 287) from which de Courteille's plan of work involved extract only ; he translates the couplet, giving to *khaṭṭ* the double-meanings of script and down of youth (*Dictionnaire Turque s.n. sīghnāqī*). The *Sanglākh* (p. 252) *s.n. sīghnāq* has the following as Bābur's :—

Chū balai khaṭṭī naṣīb'ng būlmāsa Bābur nī tang ?
Bare khaṭṭ almanṣūr khaṭṭ sighnāqī mū dūr ?

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sīghnāq lend themselves to the kind of pun (*īhām*) "which consists in the employment of a word or phrase having more than one appropriate meaning, whereby the reader is often left in doubt as to the real significance of the passage." [1] The rest of the *rubā'ī* may be given [together with the six other quotations of Bābur's verse now known only through the *Abŭshqā*], in early *Taẕkirātu 'sh-shu'āra* of date earlier than 967 AH.

The root of the word *sīghnāq* will be *sīq*, pressed together, crowded, included, *etc.*; taking with this notion of compression, the explanations *feine Schrift* of Shaikh Effendi (Kunos) and Vámbéry's *pétite écriture*, the Sīghnāqī and Bāburī Scripts are allowed to have been what that of the Rāmpūr MS. is, a small, compact, elegant hand-writing.—A town in the Caucasus named Sīghnākh, "*située à peu près à 800 mètres d'altitude, commença par être une forteresse et un lieu de refuge, car telle est la signification de son nom tartare.*" [2] *Sīghnāqī* is given by de Courteille (Dict. p. 368) as meaning a place of refuge or shelter.

The *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* will be only one of the several hands Bābur is reputed to have practised; its description matches it with other niceties he took pleasure in, fine distinctions of eye and ear in measure and music.

e. Is the Rāmpūr MS. an example of the Bāburī-khaṭṭ?

Though only those well-acquainted with Oriental manuscripts dating before 910 AH. (1504 AD.) can judge whether novelties appear in the script of the Rāmpūr MS. and this particularly in its head-lines, there are certain grounds for thinking that though the manuscript be not Bābur's autograph, it may be in his script and the work of a specially trained scribe.

I set these grounds down because although the signs of a scribe's work on the manuscript seem clear, it is "locally" held to be Bābur's autograph. Has a tradition of its being in the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ* glided into its being in the *khaṭṭ-i-Bābur*? Several circumstances suggest that it may be written in the *Bāburī-khaṭṭ*:—(1) the script is specially associated with the four transcripts

[1] Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* i, 113 and ii, 137.
[2] Réclus' *L'Asie Russe* p. 238.

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of the Hindūstān poems (f. 357*b*), for though many letters must have gone to his sons, some indeed are mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, it is only with the poems that specimens of it are recorded as sent; (2) another matter shows his personal interest in the arrangement of manuscripts, namely, that as he himself about a month after the four books had gone off, made a new ruler, particularly on account of the head-lines of the Translation, it may be inferred that he had made or had adopted the one he superseded, and that his plan of arranging the poems was the model for copyists; the Rāmpūr MS. bearing, in the Translation section, corrections which may be his own, bears also a date earlier than that at which the four gifts started; it has its head-lines ill-arranged and has throughout 13 lines to the page; his new ruler had 11; (3) perhaps the words *taḥrīr qīldīm* used in the colophon of the Rāmpūr MS. should be read with their full connotation of careful and elegant writing, or, put modestly, as saying, "I wrote down in my best manner," which for poems is likely to be in the *Bāburī-khatt*.[1]

Perhaps an example of Bābur's script exists in the colophon, if not in the whole of the *Mubīn* manuscript once owned by Berézine, by him used for his *Chréstomathie Turque*, and described by him as "unique". If this be the actual manuscript Bābur sent into Mā warā'u'n-nahr (presumably to Khwāja Aḥrārī's family), its colophon which is a personal message addressed to the recipients, is likely to be autograph.

f. Metrical amusements.

(1) Of two instances of metrical amusements belonging to the end of 933 AH. and seeming to have been the distractions of illness, one is a simple transposition "in the fashion of the circles" (*dawā'ir*) into three measures (Rāmpūr MS. Facsimile, Plate XVIII and p. 22); the other is difficult because of the high number of 504 into which Bābur says (f. 330*b*) he cut up the following couplet:—

Gūz u qāsh u soz u tīlīnī mū dī?
Qad u khadd u saj u bīlīnī mū dī?

[1] On this same *taḥrīr qīldīm* may perhaps rest the opinion that the Rāmpūr MS. is autograph.

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All manuscripts agree in having 504, and Bābur wrote a tract (*risāla*) upon the transpositions.[1] None of the modern treatises on Oriental Prosody allow a number so high to be practicable, but Maulānā Saifī of Bukhārā, of Bābur's own time (f. 180*b*) makes 504 seem even moderate, since after giving much detail about *rubā'ī* measures, he observes, "Some say there are 10,000" (*Arūz-i-Saifī*, Ranking's trs. p. 122). Presumably similar possibilities were open for the couplet in question. It looks like one made for the game, asks two foolish questions and gives no reply, lends itself to poetic license, and, if permutation of words have part in such a game, allows much without change of sense. Was Bābur's cessation of effort at 504 capricious or enforced by the exhaustion of possible changes? Is the arithmetical statement $9 \times 8 \times 7 = 504$ the formula of the practicable permutations?

(2) To improvise verse having a given rhyme and topic must have demanded quick wits and much practice. Bābur gives at least one example of it (f. 252*b*) but Jahāngīr gives a fuller and more interesting one, not only because a *rubā'ī* of Bābur's was the model but from the circumstances of the game:[2]—It was in 1024 AH. (1615 AD.) that a letter reached him from Mā warā'u'n-nahr written by Khwāja Hāshim *Naqsh-bandī* [who by the story is shown to have been of Aḥrārī's line], and recounting the long devotion of his family to Jahāngīr's ancestors. He sent gifts and enclosed in his letter a copy of one of Bābur's quatrains which he said Ḥaẓrat Firdaus-makānī had written for Ḥaẓrat Khwājagī (Aḥrarī's eldest son; f. 36*b*, p. 62 n. 2). Jahāngīr quotes a final hemistich only, "*Khwājagīra māndā'īm, Khwājagīrā bandā'īm*," and thereafter made an impromptu verse upon the one sent to him.

A curious thing is that the line he quotes is not part of the quatrain he answered, but belongs to another not appropriate for a message between *darwesh* and *pādshāh*, though likely to have been sent by Bābur to Khwājagī. I will quote both because

[1] I have found no further mention of the tract; it may be noted however that whereas Bābur calls his *Treatise on Prosody* (written in 931 AH.) the *'Arūz*, Abū'l-faẓl writes of a *Mufaṣṣal*, a suitable name for 504 details of transposition.

[2] *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīr* lith. ed. p. 149; and *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* trs. i, 304. [In both books the passage requires amending.]

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the matter will come up again for who works on the Hindūstān poems.[1]

(1) The quatrain from the *Hindūstān Poems* is :—

Dar hawā'ī nafs gumrah 'umr ẓāi' karda'īm [kanda'īm ?] ;
Pesh ahl-i-allāh az af'āl-i-khūd sharmanda'īm;
Yak naẓr bā mukhlaṣān-i-khasta-dil farmā ki mā
Khwājagīrā mānda'īm u Khwājagīrā banda'īm.

(2) That from the *Akbar-nāma* is :—

Darweshānrā agarcha nah az khweshānīm,
Lek az dil u jān mu'taqid eshānīm ;
Dūr ast magū'ī shāhī az darweshī,
Shāhīm walī banda-i-darweshānīm.

The greater suitability of the second is seen from Jahāngīr's answering impromptu for which by sense and rhyme it sets the model ; the meaning, however, of the fourth line in each may be identical, namely, "I remain the ruler but am the servant of the *darwesh*." Jahāngīr's impromptu is as follows :—

Āī ānki marā mihr-i-tū besh az besh ast,
Az daulat yād-i-būdat āī darwesh ast;
Chandānki 'z muẖdahāt dilam shād shavad
Shadīm az ānki laṭif az ḥadd besh ast.

He then called on those who had a turn for verse to "speak one" *i.e.* to improvise on his own ; it was done as follows :—

Dārīm agarcha shaghal-i-shāhī dar pesh,
Har laḥẓa kunīm yād-i-darweshān besh ;
Gar shād shavad 'z mā dil-i-yak darwesh,
Ānra shumarīm ḥaṣil-i-shāhī khwesh.

R.—CHANDĪRĪ AND GŪĀLĪĀR.

THE courtesy of the Government of India enables me to reproduce from the *Archæological Survey Reports* of 1871, Sir Alexander Cunningham's plans of Chandīrī and Gūālīār, which illustrate Bābur's narrative on f. 333, p. 592, and f. 340, p. 607.

[1] Rāmpūr MS. Facsimile Plate XIV and p. 16, verse 3 ; *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 279, and lith. ed. p. 91.

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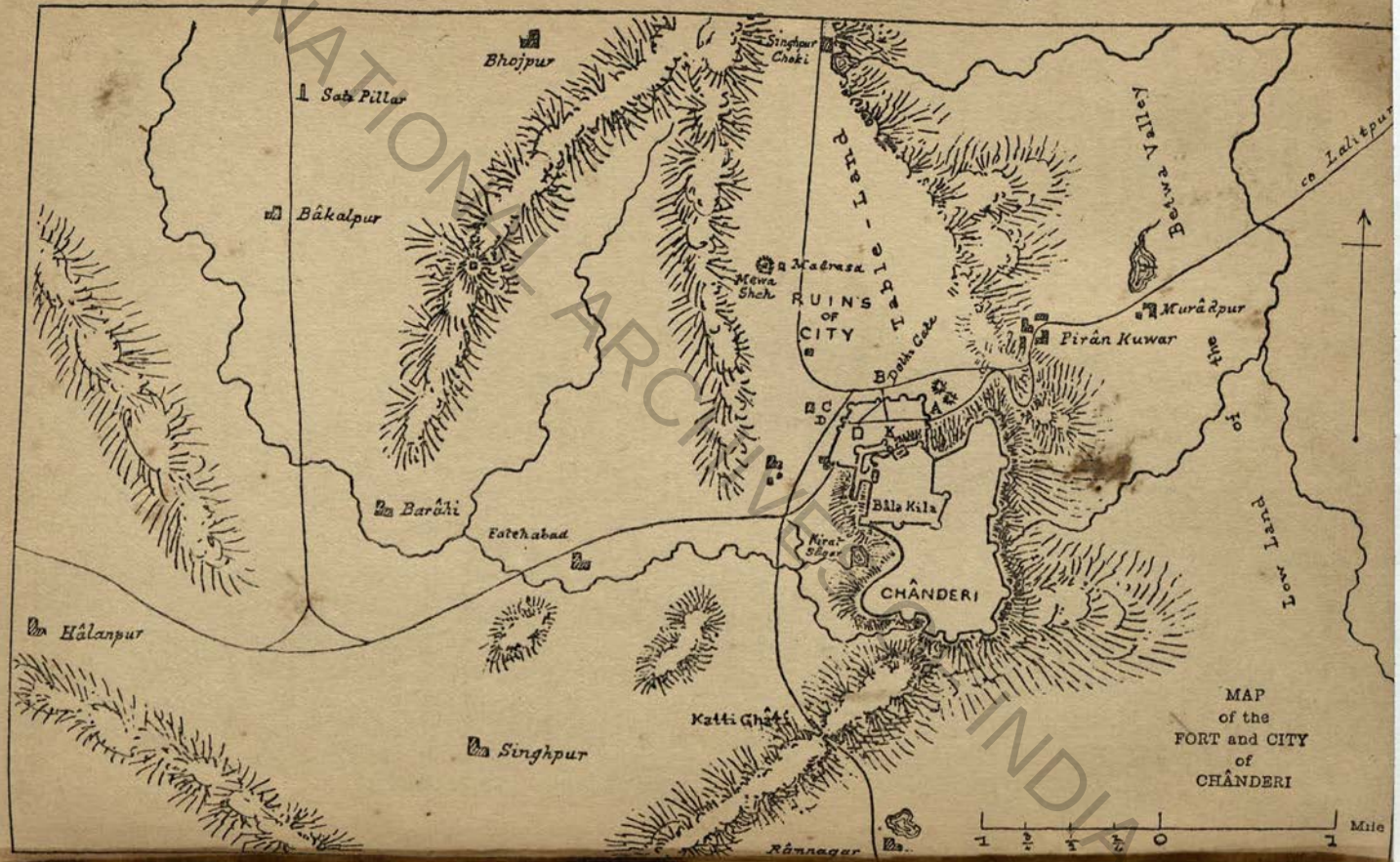

MAP
of the
FORT and CITY
of
CHÂNDERI

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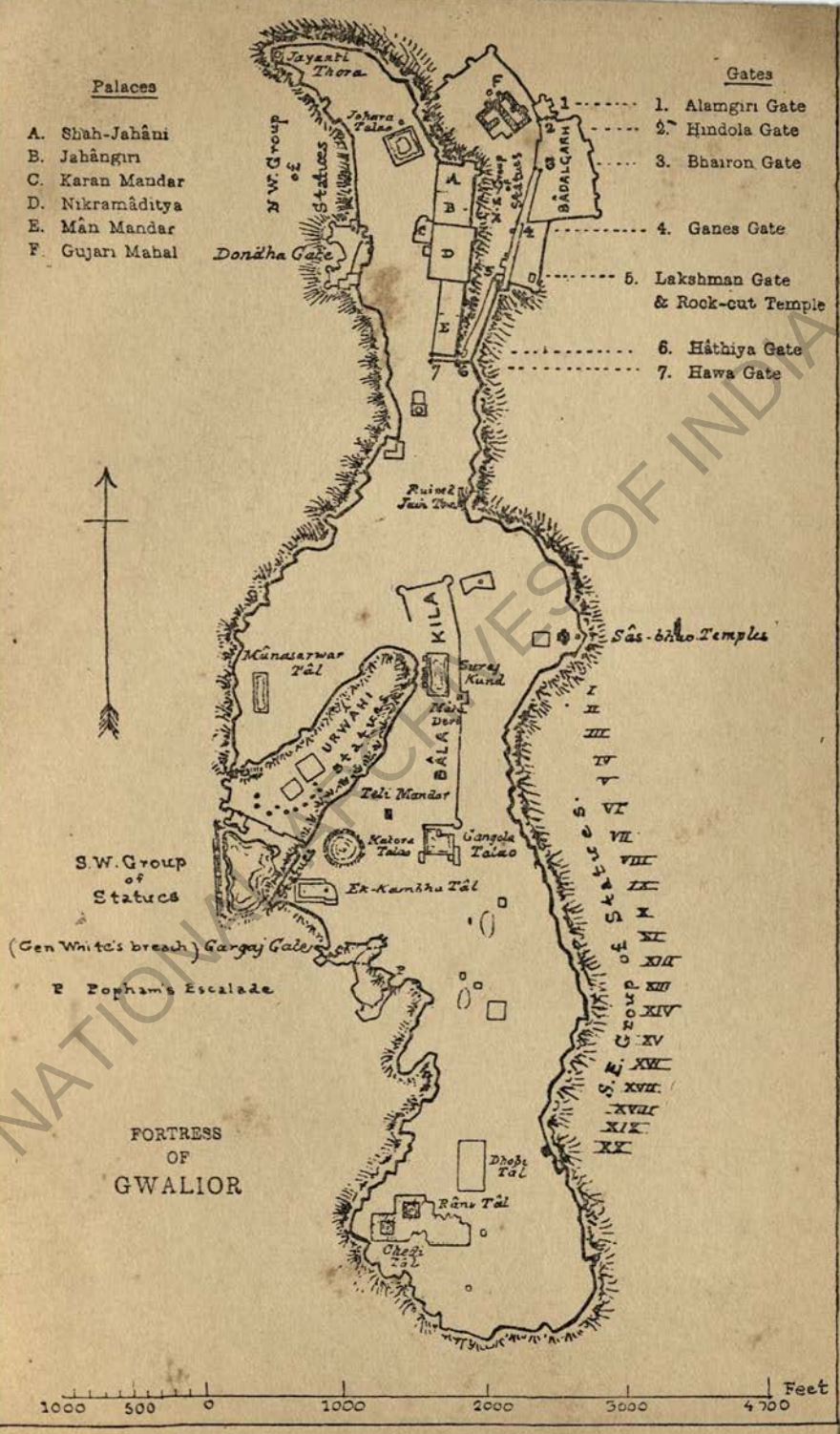

A. Cunningham del.

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S.—CONCERNING THE BĀBUR-NĀMA DATING OF 935 AH.

THE dating of the diary of 935 AH. (f. 339 *et seq.*) is several times in opposition to what may be distinguished as the "book-rule" that the 12 lunar months of the Ḥijra year alternate in length between 30 and 29 days (intercalary years excepted), and that Muḥarram starts the alternation with 30 days. An early book stating the rule is Gladwin's *Bengal Revenue Accounts*; a recent one, Ranking's ed. of Platts' *Persian Grammar*.

As to what day of the week was the initial day of some of the months in 935 AH. Bābur's days differ from Wüstenfeld's who gives the full list of twelve, and from Cunningham's single one of Muḥarram 1st.

It seems worth while to draw attention to the flexibility, within limits, of Bābur's dating, [not with the object of adversely criticizing a rigid and convenient rule for common use, but as supplementary to that rule from a somewhat special source], because he was careful and observant, his dating was contemporary, his record, as being *de die in diem*, provides a check of consecutive narrative on his dates, which, moreover, are all held together by the external fixtures of Feasts and by the marked recurrence of Fridays observed. Few such writings as the Bābur-nāma diaries appear to be available for showing variation within a year's limit.

In 935 AH. Bābur enters few full dates, *i.e.* days of the week and month. Often he gives only the day of the week, the safest, however, in a diary. He is precise in saying at what time of the night or the day an action was done; this is useful not only as helping to get over difficulties caused by minor losses of text, but in the more general matter of the transference of a Ḥijra night-and-day which begins after sunset, to its Julian equivalent, of a day-and-night which begins at 12 a.m. This sometimes difficult transference affords a probable explanation of a good number of the discrepant dates found in Oriental–Occidental books.

Two matters of difference between the Bābur-nāma dating and that of some European calendars are as follows:—

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a. Discrepancy as to the day of the week on which Muḥ. 935 AH. *began.*

This discrepancy is not a trivial matter when a year's diary is concerned. The record of Muḥ. 1st and 2nd is missing from the *Bābur-nāma*; Friday the 3rd day of Muḥarram is the first day specified; the 1st was a Wednesday therefore. Erskine accepted this day; Cunningham and Wüstenfeld give Tuesday. On three grounds Wednesday seems right—at any rate at that period and place:—(1) The second Friday in Muḥarram was 'Āshūr, the 10th (f. 240); (2) Wednesday is in serial order if reckoning be made from the last surviving date of 934 AH. with due allowance of an intercalary day to Ẕū'l-ḥijja (Gladwin), *i.e.* from Thursday Rajab 12th (April 2nd 1528 AD. f. 339, p. 602); (3) Wednesday is supported by the daily record of far into the year.

b. Variation in the length of the months of 935 AH.

There is singular variation between the *Bābur-nāma* and Wüstenfeld's *Tables*, both as to the day of the week on which months began, and as to the length of some months. This variation is shown in the following table, where asterisks mark agreement as to the days of the week, and the capital letters, quoted from W.'s *Tables*, denote A, Sunday; B, Tuesday, *etc.* (the bracketed names being of my entry).

	Bābur-nāma.		*Wüstenfeld.*	
	Days.		Days.	
Muḥarram . .	29	Wednesday	30	C (Tuesday).
Ṣafar	30	Thursday *	29	E (Thursday).*
Rabī' I. . . .	30	Saturday	30	F (Friday).
„ II. . . .	29	Monday	29	A (Sunday).
Jumāda I. . .	30	Tuesday	30	B (Monday).
„ II. . .	29	Thursday	29	D (Wednesday).
Rajab. . . .	29	Friday	30	E (Thursday).
Sha'bān . . .	30	Saturday *	29	G (Saturday).*
Ramẓān . . .	29	Monday	30	A (Sunday).
Shawwal. . .	30	Tuesday *	29	C (Tuesday).*
Ẕū'l-qa'da . .	29	Thursday	30	D (Wednesday).
Ẕū'l-ḥijja . .	30	Friday *	29	T (Friday).*

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The table shows that notwithstanding the discrepancy discussed in section *a*, of Bābur's making 935 AH. begin on a Wednesday, and Wüstenfeld on a Tuesday, the two authorities agree as to the initial week-day of four months out of twelve, *viz.* Ṣafar, Ṣha'bān, Shawwal and Ẕū'l-ḥijja.

Again :—In eight of the months the *Bābur-nāma* reverses the "book-rule" of alternative Muḥarram 30 days, Ṣafar 29 days *et seq.* by giving Muḥarram 29, Ṣafar 30. (This is seen readily by following the initial days of the week.) Again :—these eight months are in pairs having respectively 29 and 30 days, and the year's total is 364.—Four months follow the fixed rule, *i.e.* as though the year had begun Muḥ. 30 days, Ṣafar 29 days—namely, the two months of Rabī' and the two of Jumāda.—Ramẓān to which under "book-rule" 30 days are due, had 29 days, because, as Bābur records, the Moon was seen on the 29th.—In the other three instances of the reversed 30 and 29, one thing is common, *viz.* Muḥarram, Rajab, Ẕū'l-qa'da (as also Ẕū'l-ḥijja) are "honoured" months.—It would be interesting if some expert in this Musalmān matter would give the reasons dictating the changes from rule noted above as occurring in 935 AH.

c. Varia.

(1) On f. 367 Saturday is entered as the 1st day of Ṣha'bān and Wednesday as the 4th, but on f. 368*b* stands Wednesday 5th, as suits the serial dating. If the mistake be not a mere slip, it may be due to confusion of hours, the ceremony chronicled being accomplished on the eve of the 5th, Anglicé, after sunset on the 4th.

(2) A fragment only survives of the record of Ẕū'l-ḥijja 935 AH. It contains a date, Thursday 7th, and mentions a Feast which will be that of the *'Īdu'l-kabīr* on the 10th (Sunday). Working on from this to the first-mentioned day of 936 AH. *viz.* Tuesday, Muḥarram 3rd, the month (which is the second of a pair having 29 and 30 days) is seen to have 30 days and so to fit on to 936 AH. The series is Sunday 10th, 17th, 24th (Sat. 30th) Sunday 1st, Tuesday 3rd.

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Two clerical errors of mine in dates connecting with this Appendix are corrected here:—(1) On p. 614 n. 5, for Oct. 2nd read Oct. 3rd; (2) on p. 619 penultimate line of the text, for Nov. 28th read Nov. 8th.

T.—ON L:KNŪ (LAKHNAU) AND L:KNŪR (LAKHNŪR, NOW SHĀHĀBĀD IN RĀMPŪR).

ONE or other of the above-mentioned names occurs eight times in the *Bābur-nāma* (*s.a.* 932, 934, 935 AH.), some instances being shown by their context to represent Lakhnau in Oudh, others inferentially and by the verbal agreement of the Ḥaidarābād Codex and Kehr's Codex to stand for Lakhnūr (now Shāhābād in Rāmpūr). It is necessary to reconsider the identification of those not decided by their context, both because there is so much variation in the copies of the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation that they give no verbal help, and because Mr. Erskine and M. de Courteille are in agreement about them and took the whole eight to represent Lakhnau. This they did on different grounds, but in each case their agreement has behind it a defective textual basis.—Mr. Erskine, as is well known, translated the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian text without access to the original Turkī but, if he had had the Elphinstone Codex when translating, it would have given him no help because all the eight instances occur on folios not preserved by that codex. His only sources were not-first-rate Persian MSS. in which he found casual variation from terminal *nū* to *nūr*, which latter form may have been read by him as *nūū* (whence perhaps the old Anglo-Indian transliteration he uses, Luknow).[1]—M. de Courteille's position is different; his uniform *Lakhnau* obeyed the same uniformity in his source the Kāsān Imprint, and would appear to him the

[1] Cf. Index *s.n.* Dalmau and Bangarmau for the termination in double *ū*.

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more assured for the concurrence of the *Memoirs*. His textual basis, however, for these words is Dr. Ilminsky's and not Kehr's. No doubt the uniform *Lakhnū* of the Kāsān Imprint is the result of Dr. Ilminsky's uncertainty as to the accuracy of his single Turkī archetype [Kehr's MS.], and also of his acceptance of Mr. Erskine's uniform *Luknow*.[1]—Since the Ḥaidarābād Codex became available and its collation with Kehr's Codex has been made, a better basis for distinguishing between the L:knū and L:knūr of the Persian MSS. has been obtained.[2] The results of the collation are entered in the following table, together with what is found in the Kāsān Imprint and the *Memoirs*. [N.B. The two sets of bracketed instances refer each to one place; the asterisks show where Ilminsky varies from Kehr.]

	Hai. MS.	*Kehr's MS.*	*Kāsān Imprint.*	*Memoirs.*
1.	f. 278*b* . . L:knūr	L:knū . .	L:knū, p. 361 . .	Luknow.
2.	f. 338 . . L:knū	,, . .	,, p. 437 . .	,,
3.	f. 292*b* . . L:knūr	L:knūr . .	,, p. 379* . .	not entered.
4.	f. 329 . . L:knūr	L:knūr . .	,, p. 362* . .	Luknow.
5.	f. 334 . . L:knū	L:knū . .	,, p. 432* . .	,,
6.	f. 376 . . L:knū	L:knūr . .	,, p. 486* . .	,,
7.	f. 376*b* . . L:knūr	,, . .	,, p. 487* . .	,,
8.	f. 377*b* . . L:knū	,, . .	,, p. 488* . .	,,

The following notes give some grounds for accepting the names as the two Turkī codices agree in giving them :—

The first and second instances of the above table, those of the Ḥai. Codex f. 278*b* and f. 338, are shown by their context to represent Lakhnau.

The third (f. 292*b*) is an item of Bābur's Revenue List. The Turkī codices are supported by B.M. Or. 1999, which is a direct copy of Shaikh Zain's autograph *Ṭābaqāt-i-bāburī*, all three having L:knūr. Kehr's MS. and Or. 1999 are descendants of the second degree from the original List; that the Ḥai. Codex is a direct copy is suggested by its pseudo-tabular arrangement

[1] Dr. Ilminsky says of the Leyden & Erskine *Memoirs of Bābur* that it was a constant and indispensable help.

[2] My examination of Kehr's Codex has been made practicable by the courtesy of the Russian Foreign Office in lending it for my use, under the charge of the Librarian of the India Office, Dr. F. W. Thomas.—It should be observed that in this Codex the Hindūstān Section contains the purely Turkī text found in the Ḥaidarābād Codex (cf. JRAS. 1908, p. 78).

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of the various items.—An important consideration supporting *L:knūr*, is that the List is in Persian and may reasonably be accepted as the one furnished officially for the Pādshāh's information when he was writing his account of Hindūstān (cf. Appendix P, p. liv). This official character disassociates it from any such doubtful spelling by the foreign Pādshāh as cannot but suggest itself when the variants of *e.g.* Dalmau and Bangarmau are considered. L:knūr is what three persons copying independently read in the official List, and so set down that careful scribes *i.e.* Kehr and 'Abdu'l-lāh (App. P) again wrote L:knūr.[1]—Another circumstance favouring L:knūr (Lakhnūr) is that the place assigned to it in the List is its geographical one between Saṃbhal and Khairābād.—Something for [or perhaps against] accepting Lakhnūr as the *sarkār* of the List may be known in local records or traditions. It had been an important place, and later on it paid a large revenue to Akbar [as part of Saṃbhal].—It appears to have been worth the attention of Bīban *Jalwānī* (f. 329).—Another place is associated with L:knūr in the Revenue List, the forms of which are open to a considerable number of interpretations besides that of Baksar shown *in loco* on p. 521. Only those well acquainted with the United Provinces or their bye-gone history can offer useful suggestion about it. Maps show a "Madkar" 6m. south of old Lakhnūr; there are in the United Provinces two Baksars and as many other Lakhnūrs (none however being so suitable as what is now Shāhābād). Perhaps in the archives of some old families there may be help found to interpret the entry *L:knūr u B:ks:r* (var.), a conjecture the less improbable that the *Gazetteer of the Province of Oude* (ii, 58) mentions a *farmān* of Bābur Pādshāh's dated 1527 AD. and upholding a grant to Shaikh Qāẓī of Bīlgrām.

The fourth instance (f. 329) is fairly confirmed as Lakhnūr by its context, *viz.* an officer received the district of Badāyūn from the Pādshāh and was sent against Bīban who had laid siege to L:knūr, on which Badāyūn bordered.—At the time Lakhnau may have been held from Bābur by Shaikh Bāyazīd

[1] It may indicate that the List was not copied by Bābur but lay loose with his papers, that it is not with the Elphinstone Codex, and is not with the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation made from a manuscript of that same annotated line.

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Farmūlī in conjunction with Aūd. Its estates are recorded as still in Farmūlī possession, that of the widow of "Kala Pahār" *Farmūlī*.—(*See infra.*)

The fifth instance (f. 334) connects with Aūd (Oudh) because royal troops abandoning the place L:knū were those who had been sent against Shaïkh Bāyazīd in Aūd.

The remaining three instances (f. 376, f. 376*b*, f. 377*b*) appear to concern one place, to which Bīban and Bāyazīd were rumoured to intend going, which they captured and abandoned. As the table of variants shows, Kehr's MS. reads Lakhnūr in all three places, the Ḥai. MS. once only, varying from itself as it does in Nos. 1 and 2.—A circumstance supporting *Lakhnūr* is that one of the messengers sent to Bābur with details of the capture was the son of Shāh Muḥ. *Dīwāna* whose record associates him rather with Badakhshān, and with Humāyūn and Saṃbhal [perhaps with Lakhnūr itself] than with Bābur's own army.—Supplementing my notes on these three instances, much could be said in favour of reading Lakhnūr, about time and distance done by the messengers and by 'Abdu'l-lah *kitābdār*, on his way to Saṃbhal and passing near Lakhnūr; much too about the various rumours and Bābur's immediate counter-action. But to go into it fully would need lengthy treatment which the historical unimportance of the little problem appears not to demand.—Against taking the place to be Lakhnau there are the considerations (*a*) that Lakhnūr was the safer harbourage for the Rains and less near the westward march of the royal troops returning from the battle of the Goghrā; (*b*) that the fort of Lakhnau was the renowned old Machchi-bawan (cf. *Gazetteer of the Province of Oude*, 3 vols., 1877, ii, 366).—So far as I have been able to fit dates and transactions together, there seems no reason why the two Afghāns should not have gone to Lakhnūr, have crossed the Ganges near it, dropped down south [perhaps even intending to recross at Dalmau] with the intention of getting back to the Farmūlīs and Jalwānīs perhaps in Sārwār, perhaps elsewhere to Bāyazīd's brother Ma'rūf.

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U.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON BĀBUR'S MOSQUE IN AJODHYA (OUDH).

THANKS to the kind response made by the Deputy-Commissioner of Fyzābād to my husband's enquiry about two inscriptions mentioned by several Gazetteers as still existing on "Bābur's Mosque" in Oudh, I am able to quote copies of both.[1]

a. The inscription inside the Mosque is as follows :—

۱. بفرموده شاه بابر که عدلش * بنا یست تا کاخ گردون مُلاقی

۲. بنا کرد این مُهبط قُدسیان * امیر سعادت نشان میر باقی

۳. بود خیر باقی چو سال بنایش * عیان شد که گفتم بود خیر باقی

1. *Ba farmūda-i-Shāh Bābur ki 'ādilash*
   Banā'īst tā kākh-i-gardūn mulāqī,
2. *Banā kard īn muhbiṭ-i-qudsiyān*
   Amīr-i-sa'ādat-nishān Mīr Bāqī
3. *Bavad khair bāqī! chū sāl-i-banā'īsh*
   'Iyān shud ki guftam,—Buvad khair bāqī (935).

The translation and explanation of the above, manifestly made by a Musalmān and as such having special value, are as follows :—[2]

1. By the command of the Emperor Bābur whose justice is an edifice reaching up to the very height of the heavens,

2. The good-hearted Mīr Bāqī built this alighting-place of angels ;[3]

3. *Bavad khāir bāqī!* (May this goodness last for ever!)[4]

[1] Cf. *in loco* p. 656, n. 3.

[2] A few slight changes in the turn of expressions have been made for clearness sake.

[3] Index *s.n.* Mīr Bāqī of Tāshkint. Perhaps a better epithet for *sa'ādat-nishān* than "good-hearted" would be one implying his good fortune in being designated to build a mosque on the site of the ancient Hindū temple.

[4] There is a play here on Bāqī's name ; perhaps a good wish is expressed for his prosperity together with one for the long permanence of the sacred building *khair* (*khairat*).

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The year of building it was made clear likewise when I said, *Buvad khair bāqī* (=935).[1]

The explanation of this is :—

1st couplet :—The poet begins by praising the Emperor Bābur under whose orders the mosque was erected. As justice is the (chief) virtue of kings, he naturally compares his (Bābur's) justice to a palace reaching up to the very heavens, signifying thereby that the fame of that justice had not only spread in the wide world but had gone up to the heavens.

2nd couplet :—In the second couplet, the poet tells who was entrusted with the work of construction. Mīr Bāqī was evidently some nobleman of distinction at Bābur's Court.—The noble height, the pure religious atmosphere, and the scrupulous clearliness and neatness of the mosque are beautifully suggested by saying that it was to be the abode of angels.

3rd couplet :—The third couplet begins and ends with the expression *Buvad khair bāqī*. The letters forming it by the numerical values represent the number 935, thus :—

$B = 2, v = 6, d = 4$	total	12
$Kh = 600, ai = 10, r = 200$	,,	810
$B = 2, \bar{a} = 1, q = 100, \bar{i} = 10$	,,	113
Total		935

The poet indirectly refers to a religious commandment (*dictum* ?) of the Qorān that a man's good deeds live after his death, and signifies that this noble mosque is verily such a one.

b. The inscription outside the Mosque is as follows :—

١. بنام انکه دانا هست اکبر * که خالق جمله عالم لامکانی

٢. درود مصطفیٰ بعد از ستایش * که سرور انبیائی دو جهانی

٣. فسانه در جهان بابر قلندر * که شد در دور گیتی کامرانی

[1] Presumably the order for building the mosque was given during Bābur's stay in Aūd (Ajodhya) in 934 AH. at which time he would be impressed by the dignity and sanctity of the ancient Hindū shrine it (at least in part) displaced, and like the obedient follower of Muḥammad he was in intolerance of another Faith, would regard the substitution of a temple by a mosque as dutiful and worthy.—The mosque was finished in 935 AH. but no mention of its completion is in the *Bābur-nāma*. The diary for 935 AH. has many minor *lacunæ*; that of the year 934 AH. has lost much matter, breaking off before where the account of Aūd might be looked for.

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1. *Ba nām-i-anki dānā hast akbar*
   Ki khāliq-i-jamla 'ālam lā-makānī
2. *Durūd Muṣṭafá ba'd az sitāyish*
   Ki sarwar-i-aṃbiyā' dū jahānī
3. *Fasāna dar jahān Bābur qalandar*
   Ki shud dar daur gītī kāmrānī.[1]

The explanation of the above is as follows :—

In the first couplet the poet praises God, in the second Muḥammad, in the third Bābur.—There is a peculiar literary beauty in the use of the word *lā-makānī* in the 1st couplet. The author hints that the mosque is meant to be the abode of God, although He has no fixed abiding-place.—In the first hemistich of the 3rd couplet the poet gives Bābur the appellation of *qalandar*, which means a perfect devotee, indifferent to all worldly pleasures. In the second hemistich he gives as the reason for his being so, that Bābur became and was known all the world over as a *qalandar*, because having become Emperor of India and having thus reached the summit of worldly success, he had nothing to wish for on this earth.[2]

The inscription is incomplete and the above is the plain interpretation which can be given to the couplets that are to hand. Attempts may be made to read further meaning into them but the language would not warrant it.

V.—BĀBUR'S GARDENS IN AND NEAR KĀBUL.

THE following particulars about gardens made by Bābur in or near Kābul, are given in Muḥammad Amīr of Kazwīn's *Pādshāh-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 585, p. 588).

[1] The meaning of this couplet is incomplete without the couplet that followed it and is (now) not legible.

[2] Firishta gives a different reason for Bābur's sobriquet of *qalandar*, namely, that he kept for himself none of the treasure he acquired in Hindūstān (Lith. ed. p. 206).

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Ten gardens are mentioned as made :—the Shahr-ārā (Town adorning) which when Shāh-i-jahān first visited Kābul in the 12th year of his reign (1048 AH.—1638 AD.) contained very fine plane-trees Bābur had planted, beautiful trees having magnificent trunks,[1] — the Chār-bāgh, — the Bāgh-i-jalau-khāna,[2] — the Aūrta-bāgh (Middle-garden),—the Ṣaurat-bāgh,—the Bāgh-i-mahtāb (Moonlight-garden),—the Bāgh-i-āhū-khāna (Garden-of-the-deer-house),—and three smaller ones. Round these gardens rough-cast walls were made (renewed ?) by Jahāngīr (1016 AH.).

The above list does not specify the garden Bābur made and selected for his burial ; this is described apart (*l.c.* p. 588) with details of its restoration and embellishment by Shāh-i-jahān the master-builder of his time, as follows :—

The burial-garden was 500 yards (*gaz*) long ; its ground was in 15 terraces, 30 yards apart (?). On the 15th terrace is the tomb of Ruqaiya Sulṭān Begam[3] ; as a small marble platform (*chabūṭra*) had been made near it by Jahāngīr's command, Shāh-i-jahān ordered (both) to be enclosed by a marble screen three yards high.—Bābur's tomb is on the 14th terrace. In accordance with his will, no building was erected over it, but Shāh-i-jahān built a small marble mosque on the terrace below.[4] It was begun in the 17th year (of Shāh-i-jahān's reign) and was finished in the 19th, after the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, at a cost of 30,000 *rūpīs*. It is admirably constructed. —From the 12th terrace running-water flows along the line (*rasta*) of the avenue ;[5] but its 12 water-falls, because not

[1] Jahāngīr who encamped in the Shahr-ārā-garden in Ṣafar 1016 AH. (May 1607 AD.) says it was made by Bābur's aunt, Abū-sa'īd's daughter Shahr-bānū (Rogers and Beveridge's *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* i, 106).

[2] A *jalau-khāna* might be where horse-head-gear, bridles and reins are kept, but *Āyīn* 60 (A.-i-A.) suggests there may be another interpretation.

[3] She was a daughter of Hind-āl, was a grand-daughter therefore of Bābur, was Akbar's first wife, and brought up Shāh-i-jahān. Jahāngīr mentions that she made her first pilgrimage to her father's tomb on the day he made his to Bābur's, Friday Ṣafar 26th 1016 AH. (June 12th 1607 AD.). She died *æt.* 84 on Jumāda I. 7th 1035 AH. (Jan. 25th 1626 AD.). Cf. *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, Muḥ. Hādī's Supplement lith. ed. p. 401.

[4] Mr. H. H. Hayden's photograph of the mosque shows pinnacles and thus enables its corner to be identified in his second of the tomb itself.

[5] One of Daniel's drawings (which I hope to reproduce) illuminates this otherwise somewhat obscure passage, by showing the avenue, the borders of running-water and the little water-falls,—all reminding of Madeira.

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constructed with cemented stone, had crumbled away and their charm was lost; orders were given therefore to renew them entirely and lastingly, to make a small reservoir below each fall, and to finish with Kābul marble the edges of the channel and the waterfalls, and the borders of the reservoirs.—And on the 9th terrace there was to be a reservoir 11 × 11 yards, bordered with Kābul marble, and on the 10th terrace one 15 × 15, and at the entrance to the garden another 15 × 15, also with a marble border.—And there was to be a gateway adorned with gilded cupolas befitting that place, and beyond (*pesh*) the gateway a square station,[1] one side of which should be the garden-wall and the other three filled with cells; that running-water should pass through the middle of it, so that the destitute and poor people who might gather there should eat their food in those cells, sheltered from the hardship of snow and rain.[2]

[1] *chokī*, perhaps "shelter"; see Hobson-Jobson *s.n.*

[2] If told with leisurely context, the story of the visits of Bābur's descendants to Kābul and of their pilgrimages to his tomb, could hardly fail to interest its readers.

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